Bon Studies 2

NEW HORIZONS IN

Bon Studies

Edited by : Samten G. Karmay & Yasuhiko Nagano



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Samten G. Karmay
Yasuhiko Nagano

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Foreword

As many scholars have long noticed, *Bon* is one of the basic cultural strata of Tibet, without which a well-balanced understanding of Tibet cannot be expected. Unfortunately, however, the study of Bon culture has lagged far behind that of Buddhism. Although several outstanding studies have been published in Europe, far fewer researchers have been engaged in the study of Bon than in the study of Buddhism. This tendency is salient particularly in Japan. Japan boasts a long tradition and high standard in the study of Tibetan Buddhism, but other areas of Tibetan studies remain neglected, with the exception of a few superior linguistic and historical achievements.

To improve this situation, a Bon culture research project was launched in 1996, extending through 2001, with funding for an international field research project supported by the Ministry of Education, Japan. Because the project started virtually from scratch, most of these funds were allocated to a survey of the actual conditions of Bon culture and to the development of the groundwork for research.

Since the general editors of "Bon studies" series, Samten G. Karmay (CNRS, Paris) and I, Yasuhiko Nagano (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka), began to have the fruits of this project published in 1999, we have received many inquiries concerning the series. Most of these were complaints about the lack of availability of our publications. Because the series appeared as part of the Senri Ethnological Reports from the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, on a non-commercial basis, our volumes were distributed only to a limited number of related researchers and libraries.

Fortunately, several publishers were interested in a reprint of the "Bon Studies" series. After comparing the various proposals carefully, the general editors of the series chose Saujanya Publications, Delhi. This publisher generously offered to reprint all our Bon Studies series including future publications, for which we would we like to express our warmest gratitude.

We hope that the reprint is helpful for its wider availability and that it will accelerate Bon studies in general.

December 2003

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Acknowledgments

We are deeply indebted and grateful to the Director-General, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan for granting us the permission to reprint the entire series of Bon Studies. Their generous gesture in selecting us for publishing this work reflects not only their trust in us but has motivated us to take on the reprinting of their future volumes as well.

We are extremely thankful to Professor Yasuhiko Nagano, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan for his tremendous support and enormous help in reprinting this series. He has extended his full cooperation at each and every step in bringing out this reproduction. Our special thanks are also due to Professor Dr. Musashi Tachikawa of the same museum for his moral support. At the same time we cannot forget to mention the name of Lopön Tenzin Namdak, the founder of Tritan Norbutse Bon Education Centre of Nepal, who has not only blessed this project but helped in providing the material on Bon Studies to the original publisher. We believe that this project cannot be successfully launched in India without his blessings.

Last but not the least, we owe our deep respect and gratitude to the learned scholars of International repute, who have graciously contributed their scholarly articles, research papers and art material for inclusion in this invaluable series. Our special thanks to the team of Bon Studies Series, which is headed by Dr. Samten G. Karmay and Dr. Yasuhiko Nagano, who took the initiative in the compilation of these volumes.

We believe that this Bon Studies Series will become the source material to accelerate further studies of this ancient religion of Tibet, which has not received the desired attention of the scholars and academicians of the world so far.

December 2003 - Publisher

Preface

This report contains part of the results of the COE Symposium "New Horizons in Bon Studies" hosted by the Ministry of Education, Japan. Held from August 23 to 27, 1999 at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, this symposium examined general aspects of Bon culture that underlie Tibetan culture.

Bon is one of the pre-Buddhist religions in Tibet. By the term 'pre-Buddhist' here I mean that it existed in Tibet before Buddhism was imported into the area and that it has survived into the present. However, when one refers to Bon, various definitions of it have been proposed. Some particularize Bon as a whole body of folk beliefs, including divination, offerings, curses, beliefs in local deities, shamanistic concepts of souls and the cosmos. Some refer to Bon as a religious complex of ancient Tibet led by its priests called Bonpo, who were believed to have supernatural power and conducted the royal funeral rites. And yet some others say that Bon is the later non-Buddhist religion of Tibet embodying all kinds of beliefs and practices that began to appear in the eleventh century and became well established by the fifteenth century. This 'organized Bon' has characteristics which closely resemble or are even identical to those of Buddhism, and has developed a highly sophisticated metaphysics, philosophy, doctrine and cosmology. Bon boasts a huge scriptural canon equal in size to the Tibetan Buddhist cannon.

Regardless of how we define Bon, it could be properly said that, in the Bonpo culture, we perceive something essential or basic, that has penetrated Tibetan culture from ancient times to the present day. In fact, the indigenous beliefs held by the Bonpo are even universal to humanity.

For linguists, research on the Zhangzhung language which is thought to have been spoken by Bon believers presents an interesting challenge. The attempt to understand Zhangzhung, a language which has been dead for hundreds of years is appealing in and of itself, but linguists also expect that this language will yield important clues for understanding the formation of Written Tibetan which has characteristics quite different from those of other Tibeto-Burman languages. It may also clarify Zhangzhung's historical relationship with the other Himalayish languages.

To deepen our understanding of the Bon culture, we must first grasp its religious, cultural and organizational aspects, lay the groundwork for the study of Bon culture, and develop a means by which scholars can share that groundwork. At the same time, we must work to establish a network among researchers and promote well-organized, interdisciplinary joint research which covers a wide range of fields such as cultural anthropology, Buddhism, religious studies, linguistics, and history, through an effective combination of philological methodology and fieldwork. It was with this in mind that I started a Bon culture research project in close cooperation with Dr. Samten G. Karmay, Directeur de Recherche, C.N.R.S.,

Paris.

Unfortunately, the study of Bon culture has lagged far behind that of Buddhism. Although several outstanding studies have been published by Western scholars and our symposium featured leading researchers, far fewer researchers have been engaged in the study of Bon than in the study of Buddhism, especially in Japan. Japan boasts a long tradition and high standard in the study of Tibetan Buddhism, but other areas of Tibetan studies have remain neglected with the exception of a few superior linguistic and historical studies. In the study of Bon culture, no outstanding achievements have been since the translation and annotation of *Klu-'bum dkar-po* by Enga Teramoto.

To improve this situation, a Bon culture research project was launched in 1996 with funding for joint research from the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, and a subsidy from the Ministry of Education for overseas survey. Because the project started virtually from scratch, most of these funds were allocated to the survey of the actual conditions of Bon culture and to the development of the groundwork for research.

The survey of actual conditions was conducted mainly in China and Nepal. Thanks to the generous support of China Centre for Tibetan Studies, Beijing, and Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, Lhasa, many valuable research materials were collected, which were previously unknown to researchers.

In an effort to develop the groundwork for research, we obtained Bonpo Kangyur, Bonpo Tangyur and other valuable texts of non-Buddhist origin. We also acquired some newly drawn iconographical materials based on texts, through the cooperation of Tritan Norbutse Bonpo Monastic Centre in Kathmandu and Bongya Monastery in Qinghai Province. Our collection also includes a catalogue of Bonpo publications issued after 1960 in India and copies of F.W. Thomas' research notes on the Zhangzhung language discovered in the British Library. We will accelerate the editing of these materials in order to publish them within two years and make them widely available for use by researchers of Bon culture.

Over these three years that were spent in the construction of the groundwork for research many important discoveries were made, and the requests increased for a meeting at which scholars could compare and examine these materials. This report contains an intermediate review of the results of that meeting.

I would also like to add that the human network developed in the process of carrying out this project has been invaluable. The network consists of leading scholars currently studying Tibet who share the premise that the study of Bon culture is indispensable for understanding the basis of Tibetan culture. It is a great pleasure to have been able to provide a venue for discussion among these outstanding scholars and to publish this report on the results of the discussion. I am also proud to note that this report will set a new world standard in the study of Bon culture, and I sincerely hope that it will prove to be an important milestone for future studies on Bon culture.

I would like to offer my deepest gratitude to the Ministry of Education, Japan, the National Museum of Ethnology and the Daido Foundation for their continued support of this project and for their cooperation in making the symposium a success.

The following is a list of publications issued or soon to be issued under the same series as this volume as results of this project:

Bon Studies 1
Mandalas of the Bon Religion
Editors: Tenzin Namdak, Musashi Tachikawa and Yasuhiko Nagano

Bon Studies 2 => This Volume

Bon Studies 3
New Research on Zhangzhung and Related Himalayan Languages
Editors: Yasuhiko Nagano and Randy J. LaPolla

Bon Studies 4
A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts
Editors: Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano

Bon Studies 5
A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts --- Indices
Editors: Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano
[Revised version of Bon Studies 4 and 5 is available in the shape of CD-ROM.]

Bon Studies 6
The Call of the Blue Cuckoo
Editors: Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano

Bon Studies 7
A Survey of Bonpo Monasteries and Temples in Tibet and the Himalaya
Editors: Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano
Compilers: Dondrup Lhagyal, Phuntso Tsering Sharyul, Tsering Thar, Charles Ramble and Marietta Kind

Bon Studies 8
A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur
Editors: Dan Martin, Per Kvaerne and Yasuhiko Nagano
Authors: Namgyal Nyima, Tsering Thar, Dondrup Lhagyal, Tseyang Changgnoba and Donatella Rossi

Bon Studies 9
Khyungpo Collection of Bonpo Thangkas (tentative title)
Editors: Musashi Tachikawa, Per Kvaerne, Tenzin Namdak and Yasuhiko Nagano

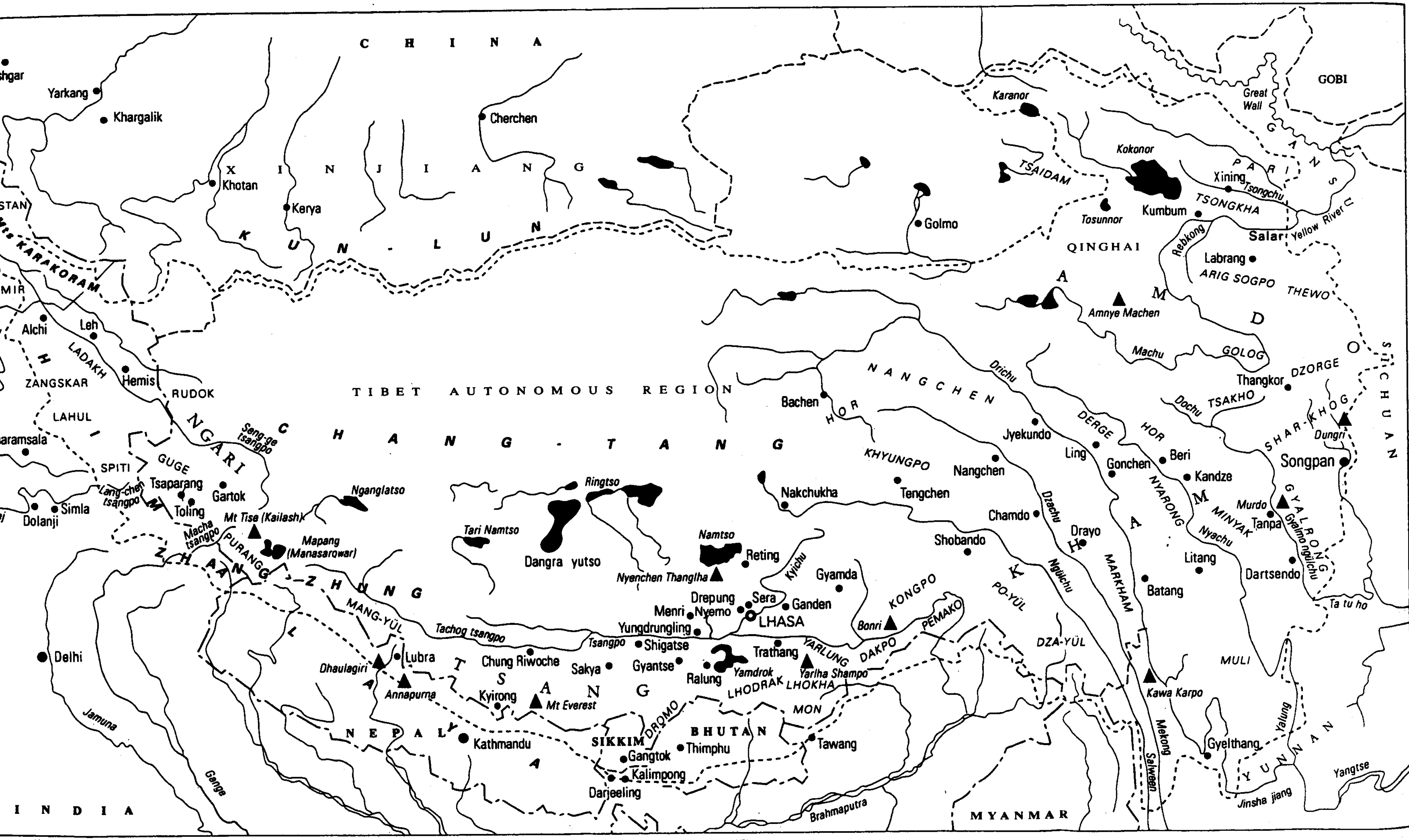
Bon Studies 10
A Research Notes of the Zhangzhung Language (tentative title)
Author: F. W. Thomas
Editors: Tsuguhito Takeuchi, G. Quessel and Yasuhiko Nagano

Bon Studies 11
Amdo Rebkong Collection of Bonpo Thangkas (tentative title)
Editors: Alag Bongya, Musashi Tachikawa and Yasuhiko Nagano

Finally, let me again express my heartfelt appreciation to the National Museum of Ethnology for allowing us to publish this report, and to Mrs. Junko Nakamura and Mrs. Yuko Matsumoto for their devotion to the editing of this report.

Yasuhiko Nagano
December 2003

Table of Contents



mten Karmay 2000

TIBET

Introduction

In August 1999 an international symposium entitled "New Horizons in Bon Studies" was held in the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. It was organized by Professor Yasuhiko Nagano in a milieu that could not be more appropriate for such an international gathering. A number of outstanding specialists attended it. Indeed, the presence of these scholars obviously gave it an extra dimension and the symposium itself was as much a pleasant occasion as it was a time of serious reflection for all the participants including the non-initiated observers. It truly widened horizons for Bon studies.

The symposium dealt not with just a specific theme but it also strove to view the aspects of the religion from all angles. The process through which the Bon religion developed over the centuries has certainly proved problematic for researchers since it has adopted such a variety of elements of different origins in order to adapt itself to various situations and times. In this connection, I am tempted to cite here a passage by Professor David Snellgrove, because it rightly puts in a nutshell the whole problem that the participants of the symposium endeavored to disentangle during a whole week. Here is his verdict on it: "We are thus concerned not only with pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion, but with Tibetan religion regarded as one single cultural complex..... Regarded in this way, Bon might indeed claim to be the true religion of Tibet. Accepting everything, refusing nothing through the centuries, it is the one all-embracing form of Tibetan religion" (*The Nine Ways of Bon*, London Oriental Series, Vol.18, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p.13).

If this has any truth, it should not surprise us to find the mass of material Buddhist or otherwise, written or oral, that has been collected and interwoven into its philosophical and religious fabric during its long process of growth and change. Indeed, the whole gamut of Buddhist learning is reflected in it and yet it has not entirely detached itself from the early indigenous beliefs and practices. On the contrary, it professes under its name what one calls "nameless religion" or "popular religion."

One third of the symposium was devoted to the linguistic study of the Zhang-zhung language to which Professor Nagano will introduce our readers in a separate volume.

The first section of the volume opens with a most lucid exposition that takes a bird's eye view of Bon studies from the past until the present time (P. Kvaerne). It is followed by an enlightened philological study of a fairly old text (D. Martin). This is succeeded by a clear analysis of an extract of a fourteenth century encyclopedic work (K. Mimaki). The section then ends with an article that investigates with insight the origin of a group of deities (H. Blezer). The works in

this section are mainly orientated towards a comparative study between Bonpo and Buddhist works that has never been undertaken on such a scale before.

The second section starts with a vivid account of an important work on Dzogchen, but unknown until now to Western students (D. Rossi) followed by a thorough examination of another work rarely cited in modern studies on Dzogchen (A. Klein).

The third section commences with a soul-searching discussion on the notion of meditative visualization and spirit possession (M. Tachikawa) that leads to a perspicacious analysis of a ritual in which representation of the universe is the main topic (A.-M. Blondeau). This is followed by an analysis in depth of the inner workings of an unknown local ritual (Ch. Rambe). Then there is an attentive scrutiny of the ritualized economic relation between monastic establishments and their lay patrons in a local area (M. Schrempf). This is followed by an interesting comparative presentation of cycle rituals (H. Ishii). This section closes with a short comparative description of the cult of local deities in two areas (S. Karmay).

The fourth section begins with a work that considers critically the change of roles played by the lamas in Bonpo society in two regions (TseringThar). This leads to a detailed historical review of the five sacred family lineages in Central Tibet (Dondrup Lhagyal). This is followed by an observant iconographic description of murals and *thangka* paintings in a monastery (M. Mori). The section then ends with a minutely detailed account of the daily life and training courses of monks in a recently established monastery in Kathmandu (S. Yamaguch).

The Fifth section commences with a pristine study of a little known annual festival performed by Buddhist adepts in village communities in Amdo (S. Nagano). There comes next an article that contemplates the possible connection of Bon beliefs with Indus valley civilization (G. Samuel). This is followed by a precise account of a popular ritual in Eastern Bhutan that features a phallic symbol in its ritual construction (U. Pelgen). The section then terminates with an interesting commentary on a stupa found in the Himalayan foothills (B. Bickel).

As we review briefly all the themes that have been dealt with in this volume, it is evident that the diversification of approach is as wide as the length of time-span covered. However, this is just a beginning and let us hope more symposiums on the subject similar in scope will be held. As Professor Nagano has pointed out in his preface, it would be vain try to understand Tibetan culture without being fully aware of the underlying factors such as popular beliefs which are often more manifestly expressed in the Bon context than the purely Buddhist.

An attempt is made by the editors to homogenize various features, such as Tibetan transliteration or the form of proper names in this volume. However, it has been daunting to cope with the length of the articles, the diversity of the ways in which each contributor has made his or her presentation and the time limit that was

set for bringing out the volume. It is therefore still possible that irregularities may persist and we take full responsibility for them.

Samten Karmay
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Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

28th January 2000

Bon and its Relationship to Buddhism

The study of Bon in the West: Past, present, and future

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In the West, pre-Buddhist religious beliefs and practices in Tibet have generally been referred to by the Tibetan term *bon*. As Geoffrey Samuel has pointed out (1993: 320), "the special nature of Tibetan religion has often been explained in terms of the influence of Bon on Buddhism." At the same time, and in conformity with Tibetan usage, *bon* also refers to one of the organised, monastic religious schools of present-day Tibet, a school which manifestly has many points of similarity with Buddhism. Accordingly, among the most pertinent questions which the study of *bon* in the West has attempted to answer, are: What is the relationship, if any, between early, pre-Buddhist *bon* and the present, organised religious school likewise styled *bon*? What is the relationship between this religious school and Buddhism? What is the relationship between *bon* in either sense of the word and popular, non-monastic religion? The present paper will present an outline of various responses to these questions, and suggest areas which would seem to be in particular need of research in the years to come.

In 1993, Geoffrey Samuel published a short but useful survey of Western research concerning Bon (referred to above), and the following year I published a similar survey (Kvaerne 1994). Inevitably, I shall repeat much of what has already been said, although the present paper will bring these surveys up to date and also offer some additional remarks.

Although several scholars, above all, perhaps, the Indian pundit Sarat Chandra Das and the German missionary A. H. Francke had already written about the Bon religion, the first scholar who set himself the task of dealing with it in a comprehensive manner and on the basis of all the sources which were available at the time, was Helmut Hoffmann. His study, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion* (Hoffmann 1950) was completed in manuscript as early as 1944, but was only published in 1950. It was based on ethnographic material provided by Western travellers in Tibet and adjacent regions, as well as on the few Bonpo texts available in Europe at the time; it also made use of a selection of Tibetan Buddhist texts, mainly historical works, in which Bon is referred to.

Hoffmann's work remains an impressive and in a sense, fundamental study. However, it is based on a particular theory of the development of the Bon religion. Briefly, this theory had two components. The first component concerned the nature of the 'original' (i.e. pre-Buddhist) Bon religion. Hoffmann claimed that this religion was characterised by the total dependence of the Tibetans on the natural

environment in which they lived. In order to cope with the fear and awe which this environment engendered in their minds, Tibetans worshipped nature spirits and made use of magic and divination. In a work published a few years later, he wrote: "...the Tibetans of those days were apparently completely subject to the powerful and formidable nature of their natural surroundings. Their completely nature-rooted and nature-dominated religious ideas revolved reverently and submissively around the powers and forces of their wild highland landscape whose divinities were reflected in the idea of numerous good and evil spirits the Tibetans thought to see all around them" (Hoffmann 1961: 17). In adopting this argument, Hoffmann only followed nature-romantic ideas which had been current in Europe since the early nineteenth century, but which by the 1950s were outdated both in anthropology and in the study of religion. However, in defining this early religion of Tibet, Hoffmann made use of two terms which were to prove to be tenacious in the study of Bon: *animism* and *shamanism*. Hoffmann maintained that it was possible to reconstruct, at least in part, this pre-Buddhist animistic-shamanistic religion by studying the modern popular religion and with the help of literary sources composed after the final triumph of Buddhism in the eleventh century. Further he maintained that "..we are in a position to say with some certainty that the original Bon religion was the national Tibetan form of that old animist-shamanist religion which at one time was widespread not only in Siberia but throughout the whole of Inner Asia, East and West Turkestan, Mongolia, Manchuria, the Tibetan plateaux and even China" (Hoffmann 1961: 14-15).

The second component in Hoffmann's theory was a certain periodization of the development of Bon. Although it is well known, it is necessary to briefly summarize it here. According to Hoffmann, the history of Bon can be divided into three periods. The first, the pre-Buddhist period, was that of the shamanistic-animistic religion outlined above, essentially identical with present-day folk religion in Tibet. The second period was characterized by the emergence of an organised priesthood and a developed doctrine under the influence of religions to the west of Tibet, a process in which, according to Hoffmann, Gnostic, Shaivite, and Buddhist Tantric elements all played a role. This was the religious establishment which confronted Buddhism when the latter was introduced into Tibet during the reign of the kings of the Yarlung dynasty. The third and final stage took place after the triumph of Buddhism. Adherents of Bon, now forced to retreat to outlying parts of the country, in order to ensure the survival of their religion copied essential elements of Buddhism, such as monastic life, religious texts, philosophy, liturgy, and iconography. Although Bon thus underwent a dramatic transformation, it retained, so Hoffmann claimed, a basic characteristic, viz. an implacable hatred of the new, dominant Buddhist religion. This hatred was expressed in the reversal of Buddhist customs; thus, circumambulation of holy objects was performed in a counter-clockwise direction, prayer wheels were rotated in the same contrary fashion, and so on. Bon became a kind of *heresy*, and

Hoffmann put much effort into presenting it as a distortion of Buddhism, characterised by perversion and negation, comparing it, in fact, with the supposed Satanic cults of mediaeval Europe. In *The Religions of Tibet*, Hoffmann goes to the extent of quoting a novel of Alexandra David-Neel, *Magie d'amour et magie noire, Scènes du Tibet inconnu* (Paris 1938) as if it were an ethnographic report: "..some Bon priests are supposed to lengthen their own earthly days by appropriating the life force of others who die a painful death by starvation. However, these victims must be voluntary, as otherwise the sacrifice is of no effect" (Hoffmann 1961: 107).

As is now well known, Hoffmann's account of the development of Bon in three historical stages, completely unknown in Bonpo sources, was based on a work written by the Tibetan Buddhist scholar belonging to the Gelugpa school, Thu'u-kwan Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737-1802), completed in 1801. In this work, Chos-kyi nyi-ma discusses all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism, and also includes a short chapter on Bon. This chapter was translated into English by Sarat Chandra Das and published in 1881, only eighty years after it was written, and thus became the basis for Western conceptions of the history of Bon.

In 1988 Rolf A. Stein pointed out that this periodization, far from being invented by Chos-kyi nyi-ma, was adopted from a much older Buddhist source, viz. the *dGongs gcig yig cha*, a work dating from the early thirteenth century (Stein 1988: 31). Chos-kyi nyi-ma uses this periodization in a polemical context. In fact his attack on Bon is not so much due to ignorance and lack of sources, although that would certainly also seem to have been the case, as to the fact that, as pointed out by E. Gene Smith in 1969, he was "writing at a politically unfavourable time, a few decades after the Manchu campaign against the Bon-led rebellion in the state of Rab-brtan...in the Rgyal-rong" (Smith 1969-1971 vol.1: 1). In other words, Chos-kyi nyi-ma was writing in a specific political situation which no doubt determined his account.

Before moving on to scholars who have been more directly influential for contemporary Bon studies, brief mention must be made of a scholar who shared some of Hoffmann's ideas concerning the syncretistic nature of Bon, viz. Matthias Hermanns. Hermanns, who had lived in Amdo in the 1940s, was convinced that Bon was heavily influenced by Iranian religion and by Manichaeism, and in his work (Hermanns 1965), he argued that the biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab as found in the *gZer mig* was entirely of Manichaean inspiration (Hermanns 1965: 130-131). While Hermanns' claims were certainly wildly extravagant, the whole question of Iranian influences on Tibetan culture in general, and on the Bon religion in particular, remains in my opinion open; one suspects that such influences have made themselves felt, but conclusive evidence is still lacking. (See Kvaerne 1987: 163-174).

Although Hoffmann subsequently modified his views, his basic assumption that pre-Buddhist Bon was "shamanistic" and "animistic" became extremely

influential and has continued to be repeated by other, less critical authors. However, scholarship was soon to develop in new directions. Simplifying a complex process, it may be said that in the early 1960s two new factors became increasingly important: firstly, the presence of learned Bonpo monks in India and the West following the uprising in Tibet, and, secondly, the systematic study of Dunhuang documents (and royal edicts and other inscriptions from Tibet itself). Simplifying even further, one may say that the first factor dominated the study of Bon in England and the second in France.

In the 1950s and 60s, David L. Snellgrove had been one of the first Western scholars to make prolonged visits to Nepal, and he had travelled extensively in the northern parts of that country, where he came into contact with small but ancient Bonpo communities. Not only could he see for himself that the *ethos* of Bon was not one of perversion and negation (as Hoffmann had claimed), but he also discovered that the Bonpos possessed a vast and totally unexplored literature. Although this had been hinted at by earlier travellers to Tibet, such as J.F. Rock and George Roerich, no one had actually looked into this literature *in situ* before.

In 1960, Snellgrove met several learned Bonpo monks from Tibet. These monks had brought not only books, but also a vast treasure of traditional learning. Snellgrove was the first scholar in the West to seize the opportunity which these circumstances offered, and in 1961 he invited three of these monks to London where, for several years, he collaborated closely with them.

The first and most visible result of this collaboration was the publication in 1967 of *The Nine Ways of Bon* (London Oriental Series Vol. 18), which provided, for the first time in the West, a systematic presentation of the teachings of Bon in the form of the text and translation of excerpts from an important Bonpo canonical text. However, equally important was the manner in which the translation had been made: it was the result of line-by-line consultation with a Tibetan Bonpo scholar, the learned head teacher of sMan-ri monastery, Lopön Tenzin Namdak. For the first time, the understanding which the Bonpos themselves have of their religion and history was taken seriously, although it was by no means adopted in the new theory of the nature and history of Bon which Snellgrove proposed in the introduction to his book.

The most important aspect of this theory was that in spite of its polemical attitude towards Buddhism, post-eleventh century Bon was not a sinister perversion of Buddhism, but rather an eclectic tradition which, unlike Buddhism in Tibet, insisted on accentuating rather than denying its pre-Buddhist elements. Nevertheless, the real background of Bon was, Snellgrove stressed, mainly to be found in the Buddhist Mahayana tradition of Northern India, although in the case of Bon, this tradition could have reached Tibet by a different course than that which was followed by the particular Buddhist transmission which eventually came to prevail under the Tibetan term *chos*. Thus, independently of the official introduction of Buddhism into central Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries

under the patronage of the Tibetan kings, Buddhism had also penetrated areas which today are in western Tibet but which at that time were part of the independent kingdom of Zhang-zhung. This form of Buddhism, essentially of a tantric type, adopted the name of *bon* and came to be regarded as the native religion of that kingdom. Thereafter Bon was propagated in central Tibet, where it inevitably came into conflict with *chos*. In the course of time, Bon, itself in reality a form of Buddhism, interacted with the other Buddhist traditions in Tibet, in particular with the Nyingmapa tradition, up to the present day. This historical model was restated in several publications (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968, Snellgrove 1987).

Snellgrove's work, not only with regard to substance, but also with regard to method, has been extremely influential, indeed crucial for subsequent studies. However, his interest was mainly focussed on the organised religious school which, starting in the tenth and eleventh centuries, can be traced continuously up to its present-day adherents in Tibet, Nepal, and in exile. He regarded this religion as fundamentally a form of Buddhism, as heterodox and eclectic rather than "heretical". He had less to say concerning Bon as a non-Buddhist or even pre-Buddhist religion existing in Tibet (as distinct from Zhang-zhung) before the introduction of Buddhism from India under the patronage of the Yarlung dynasty. This aspect of Bon was, however, the special field of the French Tibetologists from the 1960s onwards.

The course of the French school of Bonpo studies had been set as early as 1952 with Marcelle Lalou. Starting with Lalou, the French scholars have completely dominated the study of the extremely problematic Tibetan material from Dunhuang, the only material which, together with a small number of inscriptions in Tibet itself, actually physically dates from the Yarlung period. Lalou's interest in Bon was, however, limited, and in her book (Lalou 1957), one finds the often-quoted statement that "S'il me fallait définir en deux mots ce qui me semble le plus caractéristique du milieu Bon, je dirais: le sang et le poison" (Lalou 1957: 12) ("If I had to define in two words what seems to me most characteristic of the Bon milieu, I would say: blood and poison"). Bon is depicted as a ritualistic religion obsessed with bloody sacrificial rites and with administering poison to enemies. However, she also revealed a nature-mythological turn of mind when she mused, in terms similar to Hoffmann's, that, "Nor is it impossible that some of the events recounted are renderings by means of imagery of the impressive and dangerous phenomena of the Tibetan climate, and that they for the most part are simply inspired by the characteristics of the seasons that regulate the life of the pastoralists" (Lalou 1957: 10).

Needless to say, an excellent scholar like Lalou was perfectly aware that there was more to it than that; however, it was Rolf A. Stein who significantly developed the study of Bon in France. Stein's research in this respect has primarily focused on myths and rituals, and his material has been partly documents from Dunhuang,

partly the ritual compendium *Klu 'bum* which undoubtedly contains much ancient material, and partly but to a lesser extent more recent texts.

In his book *La civilisation tibétaine* (Stein 1962), Stein introduced a major conceptual innovation by distinguishing between popular religion, which he regarded as essentially non-Buddhist, on the one hand, and the Bon religion, not only in its contemporary, organised form, but also in its dynastic, pre-Buddhist form, on the other. In his book, popular religion was styled "the nameless religion" and dealt with in a separate chapter; it was allotted, somehow, a timeless existence as the authentic, autochthonous religious system of the Tibetan people. He regarded Bon, on the contrary, as a specific religious tradition, containing many non-Tibetan religious elements, primarily from India, which had been formed in Tibet in a certain historical period, perhaps simultaneously with the rise of the Yarlung dynasty.

Stein's preference has been for textual and historical specificity, as is consistently reflected in his immense and uniquely learned work. This has in fact all along been the hallmark of French Tibetology. Not long after the publication of Stein's book, an original and, as it turned out, controversial, study was published by another French Tibetologist. In a monumental article entitled, somewhat dauntingly, "Une lecture des Pelliot Tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, et 1290. Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Srong-bcan sgam-po" ("A reading of PT 1286 etc. An essay on the formation and the use of political myths in the royal religion of Srong-bcan sgam-po") (Macdonald 1971), Ariane Macdonald argued, on the basis of an analysis of certain Dunhuang manuscripts, that until the ascendancy of Buddhism, the official religion in Tibet during the Yarlung dynasty was not Bon at all, but a specific cult of the king regarded as a divine being. This cult was known as *gtsug* or *gtsug lag*. The complete triumph of Buddhism explains, so Macdonald maintained, the total silence of later sources with regard to *gtsug*.

Perhaps because of its somewhat inaccessible mode of presentation, Macdonald's article never inspired the broad debate one might have expected. It was only in 1985 that the salient points of her theory were discussed and refuted at length by R.A. Stein (1985: 83-133). However, both scholars would probably have agreed that "the religion of the early Tibetan royal court in the sixth to eighth centuries was an entirely different affair from the Bon religion as it exists today. Neither should be identified with any original Tibetan pre-Buddhist religion" (Samuel 1993: 320), although Stein subsequently documented concrete instances of loans (significantly using the word "emprunts") in the later "organized" Bon from Dunhuang documents (Stein 1988: 55).

The Western scholars discussed so far have had, in spite of their erudition, a tendency to ignore, or at least to not take seriously, the understanding of Bon actually found among adherents of the Bon religion itself. The basic postulate of these scholars was, as we have seen, that there is no direct continuity between the

pre-Buddhist faith and the later Bon religion, and that the latter is, essentially, a form of Buddhism (no matter how heterodox or eclectic). Both postulates are firmly denied by contemporary Bonpos as well as by their entire literary tradition. However, a deeper appreciation of the beliefs and world-view of the many Bonpo monks and laymen in exile as well as in Tibet who over many years have so patiently and generously shared their time and knowledge with inquisitive scholars from the West, has gradually led to a shift of emphasis not only in my own case, but, I think, also in the case of other scholars. Some, including myself, would now maintain that it is perfectly legitimate, indeed necessary, to view Bon as a distinct religion, in the same way, perhaps, that the Sikh religion is distinct from Hinduism or the Druse faith is distinct from Islam. This reassessment of Bon stresses aspects such as historical tradition and sources of authority and legitimation rather than doctrine, philosophy, and external practices and monastic institutions.

Looking back, I think that an important factor in this gradual shift in perspective was the publication in 1972 of Samten G. Karmay's translation of a part of the history of Bon by the Tibetan Bonpo scholar Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1859-1935). Although written in the 1920s, this text presents, with abundant quotations from older sources, the traditional Bonpo view of history. Karmay is by no means uncritical of this version of history – he suggests, for example, that with regard to the Bonpo tradition of two persecutions of Bon "the possibility that later Bon-po historians have made two persecutions out of what was in fact only one" (Karmay 1972: xxxiii). Nevertheless, Shar-rdza's work is an impressive and consistent statement of a coherent historical perspective which it seems impossible to ignore. I shall return to this below.

Our discussion has now brought us to the present time which is, of course, nothing but a transition to the future. I shall therefore say something about the present situation while at the same time suggesting certain future tasks and challenges. I must, however, emphasize that there can be no question of making anything even approaching a complete survey of all the ongoing research regarding Bon.

In a sense, the crucial question regarding the development of Bon is the context and nature of the religious beliefs and practices prevalent in Tibet at the time of the rise of the Yarlung dynasty and up to the final triumph of Buddhism. Without a clearer idea of the religion of this period, its relationship with later developments must necessarily remain obscure. On the assumption that we can reconstruct the pre-Buddhist religion neither on the basis of popular religion as recorded in recent centuries nor on post-tenth century literary sources, we are left with sources which are more or less contemporary with the Yarlung dynasty, i.e. the Dunhuang manuscripts and a limited body of epigraphic material. Unfortunately it does not seem that younger scholars take much interest in continuing research in these crucially important but extremely difficult texts. Nevertheless, I would emphasize that an adequate and coherent description of the

religion of this period is the single most important task in the study of Bon. Perhaps one can hope that archaeological excavations, which have begun to be undertaken on a small scale in Tibet in recent years, may bring new material to light and maybe even open up new perspectives.

While the study of the earliest sources with regard to non-Buddhist religion seems to have entered a period of hibernation, there is considerable activity focused on the subsequent period, i.e. the period of the second propagation of Buddhism in Tibet starting in the eleventh century. As far as Bon is concerned, this period is characterised by the emergence and consolidation of religious beliefs and practices, known as Bon, within certain family lineages and expressed in a growing body of texts. Of particular significance is the research directed towards historiographical and biographical texts from this period. Probably the most important contribution has been made by Anne-Marie Blondeau in the form of an article published in 1990 in which she analyses the contents of the earliest available historical texts in Bon and argues convincingly that the oldest among them probably dates from the twelfth century (Blondeau 1990: 37-54). Blondeau has continued research into these early texts, and also compared them with certain early Buddhist sources, especially the *sBa bzhad.*

The earliest of these texts, the *Grags pa gling grags*, on which all subsequent Bonpo historical texts seem to rely, is of extreme rarity. Until very recently only two manuscripts were known, one preserved in the University Library of Oslo, the other in the Bonpo monastery in India. A third manuscript, which is of particular interest as it is somewhat longer and more detailed than the other two, has now surfaced in Tibet. I have prepared a complete translation of this text, which I plan to publish as soon as possible. Taking this text as a point of departure, I hope other scholars will study and perhaps translate other Bonpo historical texts so that eventually a more complete understanding of the alternative view of Tibetan history as formulated by the Bon tradition may emerge.

In my article (Kvaerne 1994: 139), I wrote that "A title-list, and eventually a proper catalogue of the texts in the Bonpo Kanjur is a research project which should be given high priority". In the academic year 1995-96 I had the good fortune, thanks to a generous grant from the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, to carry out this project. I was able to invite a group of seven scholars, including four Tibetans, to Oslo. In the course of a year we compiled a detailed catalogue of the more than 190 volumes of the Bonpo Kanjur. Within a year or two, this catalogue should be ready for publication and will, hopefully, be of use in the exploration of this vast literary corpus.

With regard to Bonpo literature, a major issue has been the question of its origins. To Hoffmann, it seemed highly probable that "there is some justification of the Buddhist charges of plagiarism" (Hoffmann 1961: 108). Even Snellgrove, in his introduction to *The Nine Ways of Bon* (Snellgrove 1967), stated that "Much of this literature, e.g. some of their *sūtras* and especially the 'Perfection of Wisdom'

teachings, has been copied quite shamelessly from the Buddhists", but he did add that "by far the greater part would seem to have been absorbed through learning and then retold, and this is not just plagiarism".

Real progress in this controversial issue was, however, only made by Blondeau in her study "Le Lha 'dre bka' thaṅ" (Blondeau 1971). In this article, the importance of which can hardly be overrated, she established a close textual correspondence between the Buddhist account, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, of the epic journey of Padmasambhava to Tibet and a similar narrative in the Bonpo text *gZer mig*, the two-volume ("medium-length") version of the biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab, of the journey of the latter from 'Ol-mo lung-ring to rKong-po in pursuit of the demon Khyab-pa lag-ring who had stolen his horses. Blondeau arrived at the surprising conclusion (surprising, that is, to Western scholars, but not, of course, to Bonpos) that it was not the Bonpo text which was a copy of the Buddhist original, but the other way round. Subsequently Samten G. Karmay has arrived at similar conclusions with regard to certain *rdzogs chen* texts (Karmay 1988: 216-223). This kind of comparative study should be continued, for it is the only way by which one may hope to define the origin and nature of Bonpo literature.

A closely related field of enquiry is that of the affiliation of ideas, though not necessarily of actual textual passages. Among the most significant contributions of this kind are several studies by Katsumi Mimaki based on the fourteenth century Bonpo doxographical text, the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. For example, Mimaki has compared the thirty-two marks of Buddha Śākyamuni with the list of the thirty-two marks of sTon-pa gShen-rab found in that text (paper presented at the 1998 IATS seminar), and the structures of various classifications of schools and doctrines according to Buddhist and Bonpo sources (Mimaki 1994: 117-136).

In my 1994 survey of research, I pointed out that "In addition to the study of literary sources, a complex iconographical tradition also awaits study" (Kvaerne 1994: 139). Hopefully, this situation has to some extent been remedied through the publication in 1995 of my book on the iconography of Bon (Kvaerne 1995). If nothing else, the book shows that the Bon religion has been capable of producing sculpture and painting which is of the highest standard and should thus, once and for all, lay to rest the notion, still entertained by some, that there is something 'primitive' about Bon.

In the same article, I expressed the hope that the immense ritual legacy of Bon would be studied while there are still senior Bonpo lamas alive who can pass on their vast store of knowledge. In fact, in the 1980s a fair number of articles and studies of Bonpo rituals were published (listed in Kvaerne 1994: 138 n.5), but in recent years this trend seems to have stagnated, with the notable exception of the remarkable book by Namkhai Norbu (1995).

Being written by a noted Tibetan *rdzogs chen* master, this book in a certain sense falls outside the scope of my paper. However, as it has been translated into

English and published for a Western audience and has a preface written by an Italian scholar, Adriano Clemente, it should be briefly referred to. Namkhai Norbu's basic idea is that what he calls "the ancient Bön tradition" (Namkhai Norbu 1995: xviii) was "the original wisdom of the Tibetans" (1995: xviii). This wisdom was characterized by "a practical and concrete knowledge of the various aspects of the energy of the individual in relation to the dimension in which he lives" (1995: xviii). However, these ideas, which for Namkhai Norbu represent the "genuine roots" of Tibetan culture, "undoubtedly derive from the ancient Bön tradition and civilisation of Shang Shung" (1995: xix). In other words, there is no difference between the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet and the Bön religion associated with Zhang-zhung: "...the culture of the kingdom *(i.e. Yarlung)* was that of Shang Shung, as was its religion" (1995: xvi). The later Bon tradition, i.e. the tradition which still exists in Tibet as an organised religion, and which Namkhai Norbu calls "official Bön", was, however, influenced by Buddhism to the extent that "the importance of the original traditions was neglected in favour of the philosophical teachings derived from Buddhism...and the authentic principles of the ancient Bön culture were misconstrued and almost excised by the protagonists of official Bön" (1995: xviii). Although he regards Bon, as did Hoffmann, as "very probably based on elements common to the heritage of panasiatic Shamanism" (1995: xv), he considers, as opposed to Hoffmann, shamanism to be anything but primitive. As Clemente says in his Preface, "Understanding in our own time the value and significance of these rites means opening a door onto the immense panorama of the primordial experiences and knowledge of man" (1995: xiii).

In summing up, we return to the question of periodization of Bon. Geoffrey Samuel has proposed a model for the historical development of early Tibetan religion on the basis of an analysis of successive stages in the history of early Tibetan society (Samuel 1993: 436 ff.). The first period (before the seventh century) is designated "the original shamanic religion of the Tibetans" (Samuel 1993: 438), subdivided into two periods, that of a stateless society and that of proto-states. Samuel of course uses the word "shaman" in a different sense from Hoffmann. This is followed by a "court religion" connected with the rise of the Yarlung dynasty, characterised by the activities of *bon* and *gshen* priests, influenced not only by the "shamanic religion" but also by an earlier "court religion" of Zhang-zhung. Samuel emphasises that "The *bön* priests who formed part of the court religion at Lhasa were only one of a number of kinds of priests at this time." Contemporary Bon is regarded as "a Buddhist or quasi-Buddhist order," although "it seems likely that the modern Bön religion has preserved a significant amount of early material" (1993: 438).

This historical model is probably the most sophisticated one to be suggested to date, and taken as an analytical tool it can be extremely useful. In the absence of historical sources, some of its stages must, however, remain hypothetical. Personally I would suggest a simpler and in a sense more conservative model

employing only four categories: (1) an autochthonous, "pre-Buddhist" Tibetan religion (which may or may not have been styled *bon* at the time), corresponding to Samuel's "original shamanic religion of the Tibetans", and (2) an organised cult, perhaps focusing on the person of the king, influenced by religions in neighbouring cultures such as India (including, perhaps, Buddhism), or even Iran, established in Zhang-zhung as well as in Tibet, and which again may or may not have been called *bon*. This would correspond to the "court religion" both of Zhang-zhung and of Tibet. However, I would emphasize that even the distinction between the two categories mentioned so far is made for analytical purposes only, and that the sources do not allow us to define the extent to which we may in fact be dealing with different entities, the main problem here being that an "original shamanic religion of the Tibetans" has to be reconstructed entirely *a posteriori*. Further, we may, with Stein and Tucci, distinguish (3) a contemporary "folk religion" or a "religion without name" which has often been styled Bon in Western literature but is never thus referred to in Tibetan. While we cannot reconstruct an ancient "pre-Buddhist" religion on the basis of this contemporary "nameless" folk religion, we should not on the other hand dismiss all links between present-day popular religion and pre-Buddhist beliefs and practices. On the contrary, we find significant areas of continuity, particularly represented by the cult of ancestral, hence sacred mountains or deities identifed with such mountains, or dwelling on such mountains, which is well attested from the period of the Yarlung dynasty, as well as in present-day popular religion, as has been documented in several important studies by Samten Gyaltsen Karmay (1996: 59-75). Finally, (4) the post-eleventh century, organised and eventually monastic Bon religion, styling itself *g-yung drung bon*, "Immutable Bon", which has been the main focus of research in the years following Snellgrove's first contact with its adherents around 1960, still needs to be defined in relationship not only to Buddhism, but to the other three analytical categories outlined above. In spite of its obvious links with Buddhism, I would prefer to regard it as a separate religion, for reasons given above.

Before closing, I cannot refrain from expressing mild despair at the tenacity of certain notions regarding Bon, which may still be found in the writings of otherwise excellent and well-established scholars, particularly in works intended for the general public. Thus a recent German guide book to Tibet writes of pre-Buddhist Bon as "a religion which presumably was originally strongly marked by animistic and nature-religious characteristics" (Everding 1993: 75). The author continues: "The priests, the *Bönpos*, worshipped the stars of heaven, they attempted to influence fate by means of sacrifices of animals and in certain circumstances even of humans; they practised all kinds of magic in order to exorcise evil spirits and to pacify malevolent demons". "With the arrival of Buddhism, the Bon religion ...developed a systematic doctrine, adopted Manichaean and Persian religious elements, and in the course of time its teachings gradually moved closer and closer to those of Buddhist philosophy" (1993: 76).

One of the most widely used guide books, viz. Stephen Batchelor (1987) refers to "the native Bön religion, an animistic cult governed by exorcists, shamans and priests" (Batchelor 1987: 15) and to "the primitive and less universal beliefs of Bön" (1987: 19), and Gyurme Dorje adopts the tripartite periodization of Bon of Chos-kyi nyi-ma as if it were an established fact (Gyurme Dorje 1996: 69-70).

In 1948, the Italian photographer Fosco Maraini accompanied Giuseppe Tucci on his last expedition to Tibet. In the Tromo valley, upon encountering Bonpo monks from the local Bonpo monastery, he styled them "the Etruscans of Asia", thus eloquently expressing the aura of mystery which at the time surrounded Bon (Maraini 1952: 113). Today, the Bonpos are no longer the Etruscans of Asia. But as the contours of its history slowly emerge, Bon becomes in turn the basis of new myth-making. Projections of Western fantasies regarding Tibet multiply also with regard to Bon. In particular, it is now fashionable in certain circles to link Bon with shamanism; not with the northern Asian shamanistic complex, as Hoffmann imagined, but with Native American shamanism, a potent symbolical term in the New Age movement. As encounters between Bon and the West multiply, so also do misrepresentations. Bon, surrounded by an aura of mystification in which terms such as "Zhang-zhung" and "Tönpa Shenrap" abound, has become a commodity in the global supermarket of religions. Bon has become an object of New Age economic and ideological exploitation, in which the Tibetans, ultimately, are the losers. To reinsert Bon into its real historical and cultural context is therefore not only a meaningful academic pursuit, but is also a way for us, as scholars, to practise solidarity with the Tibetan people.

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Comparing Treasuries: Mental states and other *mDzod phug* lists and passages with parallels in Abhidharma works by Vasubandhu and Asaṅga, or in Prajñâpâramitâ Sûtras: A progress report

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Introduction

For students of Tibetan culture in general, the *mDzod phug* is one of the most intriguing of all Bon scriptures, since it is the only lengthy bilingual work in Zhang-zhung and Tibetan (some of the shorter but still significant sources for Zhang-zhung are signalled in Orofino 1990). Mainly for this reason, very many have had occasion to look into it, but only a few brief comments and translated passages, with one or two exceptions all based on the first of the seventeen chapters, have been published, and the chapter headings have been listed. Among the reasons the *mDzod phug* has not been studied more are, I suggest, above all its complexity and its occasional opacity. As a scientific system, it covers a great deal of territory, as we will see. While the commentaries are very often illuminating, they introduce still further elements of complexity, since the commentators in some cases recommend widely divergent interpretations.

I would suggest that another reason the *mDzod phug* has not been the subject of more published studies is expressed by Adriano Clemente in a footnote to his translation of Namkhai Norbu's *Drung, Deu and Bön* (Namkhai Norbu 1995: 222, n. 18):

> A work which systematically expounds the fundamental principles of Bon cosmogony and metaphysics is *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, in which, however, alongside ancient mythological narrations one finds philosophical interpretations that are strictly Buddhist.

Although I hope to be more precise about the 'strictly Buddhist' content (noting a similar comment in Tsering Thar 1996: 340), the perception that there is a strong Buddhist component in the *mDzod phug* has proven a particularly serious stumbling block. It is positively unwelcomed by those who want to see in Bon a preservation of ancient and natively Himalayan religious thinking. In this paper I will confront the problem head on by identifying one *mDzod phug* list that closely parallels a list in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and three *mDzod phug* passages that are in varying degrees paralleled in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. In addition, I

will look more briefly into what I will, consciously adapting a term used in two classic articles by Glasenapp (1937 and 1938), call 'Bon Theory' something shared with only small variations between the *mDzod phug* and the *Khams brgyad* literature together with the entire *'Bum sde* (one of the four major divisions of the Bon Kanjur) to which the *Khams brgyad* belongs. The close, if partial, correspondence of Bon Theory to Dharma Theory, particularly to the form of Dharma Theory found in the *Prajñâpâramitâ* scriptures may be demonstrated beyond much doubt. The real doubts are in the historical scenarios that might be brought forward to explain the parallel passages or lists and the correspondences in Bon and Dharma theories. By pointing these out, I hope to open a freer discussion of the different points of view that could explain how a major Bon scripture like the *mDzod phug* might, in very large part, be understood as a scripture in the class of Abhidharma, albeit with certain Mahâyâna characteristics.

Previous non-Tibetan-language studies of the *mDzod phug* amount to a few pages only. Giuseppe Tucci (1970/1980: 215-6) wrote a few paragraphs about part of the divine genealogy and cosmogony of the first chapter. Hoffmann (1973: 107, 220, *et passim*) also devoted to it a few lines. The most substantial study by far is that published 25 years ago by Ṣamten Karmay (Karmay 1975: 191-6). Karmay's study, almost entirely devoted to chapter one and its commentary, emphasizes the dualistic nature of the cosmogony, and the fact that many of the deities who play a part in it are also important deities in other Bon texts; "Most of the gods in Bon and Tibetan lamaism whose origin is not Indian can be traced back to this genealogy." The chapter headings have been reproduced a few times (Cech 1986: 14-15; Martin 1991: 355-6). In sum, all of the 20th century scholarly literature published in western languages that has anything at all to say about the subject-matter of the *mDzod phug*, has either been restricted to its first chapter or limited to a listing of its chapters. No one has attempted a portrayal of the text as a whole, as a self-contained scientific system.

By far the greatest reason for academic interest in the *mDzod phug* is for the Zhang-zhung language it contains. For most of the Zhang-zhung, Tibetan translations are provided. Most studies of Zhang-zhung have been, whether consciously or not, based on evidence from the *mDzod phug*, since the *mDzod phug* was the most important source for the Tibetan glossary makers, in particular the glossary of Zhu Nyi-ma grags-pa, on which Eric Haarh based his 1968 dictionary. The many Tibetanists known to me who have looked at the *mDzod phug* out of an interest in the Zhang-zhung, have given up fairly quickly, and no publication of any substance has resulted from this interest.

I, also, was initially attracted to the *mDzod phug* because of the challenge of the unknown, the promise of cracking a code that could possibly open to reveal secrets crucial to understanding Tibetan religious and cultural history. Although age has made me more humble, more timid, less idealistic, and perhaps even less imaginative, I still believe that the *mDzod phug* is significant for a number of

reasons. It is not only a kind of Rosetta Stone for deciphering Zhang-zhung. It is also intrinsically interesting for its content, and for this purpose it would be possible to ignore the Zhang-zhung component entirely and look exclusively at the Tibetan.

According to the colophon found in all the *mDzod phug* editions, the Zhang-zhung teacher sTong-rgyung mthu-chen and the Tibetan Sha-ri dbu-chen, while staying on the border between Tibet and Zhang-zhung at the head of Bye-ma-la g-yung-drung chu-mig brgyad-cu rtsa-gnyis, edited the composition of the words in Tibetan and Zhang-zhung from the scriptural text of gShen-rab Mi-bo. In my reading of this passage it is somewhat ambivalent about the role these two fairly ancient figures played in the production of the work. Bye-ma-la g-yung-drung, with its 82 springs, is a place where some of the ancient Bon sages fled during the persecution of Bon by Dri-gum btsan-po (the *bDal 'bum*, a 10-volume scripture which Snellgrove [1989: 121] has called "nothing more than an imitation of the 'Perfection of Wisdom' Sûtra in 100,000 verses" [although he barely had a glance at it], along with some other scriptures in the *'Bum sde* class of the Bon Kanjur share this same historical scenario; see Shar-rdza 1985: 158, and see also 216, where Bye-ma-la g-yung-drung is placed in Upper gTsang province; Vitali 1997 has discussed its location and placed it on a map near the present-day border with northwestern Nepal; for the considerable significance of this place in the story of gShen-rab Mi-bo's introduction of Bon into Tibet, see Namdak 1971: II 784, gSer-mig 1991: 496-7 and Ramble 1997: 148, 203), an event that took place, according to one Bon chronology, in the year 683 BCE (Kvaerne 1971: 227, no. 46). Presumably they would have worked out the Tibetan translation on the basis of the Zhang-zhung and then edited them together to produce the text in something like its present form. The text was revealed from its place of concealment by gShen-chen Klu-dga' in 1017 CE (see Martin 1996 and 1996a), although the main text as well as a number of commentaries were revealed by other teachers during the century that followed (by gNyan-ston Shes-rab-rdo-rje in 1067 and by rMa-ston Srid-'dzin in 1108; see Dagkar 1998: 18; Kvaerne 1974: 97 [K2]). It seems probable that the text as we have it today, after taking the changes introduced into the text in its manuscript transmissions into account, is basically identical to the one found by gShen-chen in 1017, although we cannot rule out the possibility that there might have been later additions, or that the version we have might not be the exact one revealed by him. Whether the text as we have it resembles anything that existed in the time of Dri-gum btsan-po is, of course, still another question (Tsering Thar 1996: 327-8, 340).

Note: A bit of confusion is created by the listing, in the Kun-grol grags-pa [1993: 126, and compare also the slightly different listing at 331] canon catalogue, of a 21-chapter [the chapter titles, too, are listed] work said to be excavated by gShen-chen Klu-dga' called *gYung drung las rnam par dag pa srid pa'i mdzod phug gi mdo*. A work with the same 21 chapter titles, but with the

variant overall title *gYung drung las rnam par dag pa'i mdo rgyud*, and attributed to the excavations of Gyer-mi Nyi-'od, is listed in gYung-drung tshul-khrims dbang-drag [1995: 30-31] and Kvaerne (1974: 97, no. K1). The two known published versions of this text are again attributed to Gyer-mi, one of them being a very clear reproduction based on the woodblocks made under the Khro-chen king [see Gyer-mi 1984; the same text is located in the 2nd edition of the Bon Kanjur, at volume 176, pages 490-741]. The title on the second folio [Gyer-mi 1984: 3] does in fact contain the words *Srid pa'i mdzod kyi mdo*, but this is not at all the same work as the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug* studied here, even though the two texts are located, in close proximity, in the *mDo sde* division of the Kanjur. This text differs in that it unfolds in the characteristic fashion of the sûtra, and in that it contains elements clearly relating it to the *sPyi spungs* tantric literature, whereas no such elements were located in the *mDzod phug*. There are indeed some similarities in the accounts of cosmogony and cosmology, and these may be of interest for future study.

As a basis for a general and more thorough study of the *mDzod phug*, I spent a great deal of time entering it into a computer file, including all variant lines found in published editions. The Zhang-zhung and the Tibetan were placed in adjacent columns. The first main advantage of having a text on a computer is that this allows for fast indexing. It becomes an easy matter to locate every occurrence of a word in its several contexts. The second advantage of computerization is that it allows one to closely compare, on the purely textual level of course, two distinct texts and thereby locate textual materials the two texts may hold in common. Although I did not make use of them, there are special software programs that perform these cross-textual comparisons automatically. I used the relatively more primitive and time consuming method of checking for key words one at a time, but since the data versions of these works are available, other researchers may reproduce the experiment for themselves. This resulted in the location of three parallel passages of significant length and content, but before saying something about them, it may be important to give an idea of the range of coverage of the text.

In the most general terms, we may observe that chapters 1-6 are formed of three sets of paired chapters (or at the very least, Realm and Total Knowledge are a pair conceptually parallel to the pair vessel and vital worlds, the latter in each case being 'contained' in the former). Chapters 7 through 12 are mostly ordered according to the groups of what we will call sangsaric Bons. Chapter 13, by far the largest, contains the whole of the Bon Theory, covering both the sangsaric and nirvanic Bons. The remaining chapters are about paths and destinies in general, but include the nirvanic Bons. Chapter 14 is on karma (actions and their consequences), and includes discussions of lower rebirth destinies, which continue in chapter 15. Chapter 16 is on the paths to higher destinies, and chapter 17 is on the results of those paths. Introduced by chapter 14, chapters 15 through 17 form a group bound together by similar structures in their arguments. Each chapter, or part of a chapter,

first deals with causes of lower destinies, secondly with causes of higher destinies, thirdly with complete liberation from sangsara. (By the way, it should emphasized that in this paper the words sangsara, nirvana, karma, mandala and even skandha, are used as naturalized English words, with neither diacritical marks nor italics, being sensitive to the problem of translating Bon terms into Sanskrit. Doing so would seem to prejudice arguments not yet adequately formulated.)

Hence, as a kind of overall view, we may say that chapter 13 is the structural pivot of chapters 7 through 17. It subsumes in itself the whole range of Bon Theory, combining the sangsaric Bons of the preceding chapters with the path-and-goal nirvanic Bons of the last chapters. Here is a listing of the 17 chapters with brief discussions of their content:

1. SRID PA, becoming — After a very brief introduction, chapter one begins by briefly outlining the topics of the 17 chapters. The rest of the chapter is mainly comprised of two cosmogonies. The first is a cosmogony showing how things came into being on their own, without any 'making.' The second one, the most famous one, shows how things resulted from 'making.' It involves white and black eggs, ending with a lengthy genealogy of divinities and spirits both positive and negative that takes up the largest part of the chapter. The chapter ends with a brief statement on causation including, at the very end, a statement on the principle of correspondence between upper and lower levels.
2. BSKAL PA, aeons — Entirely about the aeons, their formation and dissolution. Has general structural parallels to *Abhidharmakośa* (henceforth *AK*) as well as a few textual parallels with *AK*, all of them brief except the one at the very end of the chapter.
3. DBYINGS, Realm — Basically a listing, there are no parallels with *AK*. *dByings* is opposite to *mdzod* throughout the chapter. There are basic metaphysical ideas encased on it, involving temporality and extension in space, as well as reference to the 18 emptinesses, etc. Some have perceived rDzogs chen thought in this chapter, but I believe the expressions of limitlessness and unboundedness are not in themselves signs of rDzogs chen (compare the ends of chapters 5 and 17).
4. YE SHES, Total Knowledge — There is a *ye shes* chapter in the *AK* also, but the two chapters have nothing in common (except two words in close proximity which possibly constitute a phrase parallel). This chapter is quite short and basically a listing.
5. SNOD, the vessel world — Cosmology. Contains one quite long and significant parallel passage. In this and the following chapter are most of the brief (one or two line) parallels with *AK* (others in chapter 2). Only the final section (the last sixteen lines of the Tibetan) is free of parallels, and contains wording suggestive of Mahâyâna, or perhaps even rDzogs chen, although the

latter is rather doubtful (similar wording near the end of chapter 17).

6. BCUD, the vital world — Contains about twelve brief parallels of a line or two. Most lengthy and significant is the parallel passage on spatial and temporal measurements, found at the end of the chapter.
7. DBANG PO, the sense faculties — No significant parallels were located so far.
8. DUG LNGA PHRA RGYAS, the five poisons [and] infiltrators — Has five distinct sections. The final section initiates the description of the 'wheel of life' with the three poisons symbolized by a bird, a pig and a snake head attached to the body of a cow (see Kvaerne 1995: 142-7). Here the afflictions reproduce on the basis of the three poisons until they reach the number of 84,000 (compare Kvaerne 1974: 24-25). There are some parallels with *AK* in content and vocabulary, but not in phraseology.
9. RTEN 'BREL, interdependence — This continues the description of the 'wheel of life' introduced by the final section of chapter 8, with symbols for the twelve links of interdependence (Kvaerne 1995: 144-5). Each of the twelve is further subdivided into twelve. No text parallels with *AK* were located.
10. PHUNG PO, the [5] aggregates — Structured according to the usual five aggregates. The main parallel with *AK* (and with *Abhidharmasamuccaya* [*AS*]) is in the list of 51 mental states (here referred to as *'du byed*, 'compounding factors'). There are a few minor phrase parallels. Near the end is a line using the terms *sems nyid* and *kun gzhi'i rnam shes*, which do not occur in *AK*, and would seem to suggest non-Abhidharma or Mahâyâna developments (compare the closing section of chapter 5).
11. SKYE MCHED, sensory media — No parallels.
12. KHAMS, realms — Contains three subsections for the three types of realms: 1. the realms of the elements. 2. the realms of the senses. 3. the realms of sentient beings. No parallels were located.
13. MTSHAN NYID, marks — This contains the complete set of sangsaric and nirvanic Bons (the title of the chapter should be interpreted to mean the 'marks' that characterize sangsara and nirvana). The list of 51 mental states recurs here, followed by the nirvanic Bons (perfections, emptinesses, etc.).

14. LAS SPYOD, activity, morality and karma — There are five types of activities listed. These are [1] related to gShen-rab, [2] related to sentient beings, [3] virtuous, [4] nonvirtuous, and [5] neither virtuous nor nonvirtuous. This would seem to correspond in subject matter to chapter 4 of *AK*, but no significant parallels were found in this or any of the remaining chapters.
15. 'GRO LAM, the paths of beings — The paths to higher and lower destinies. It has four main sections: [1] the five paths of natural locomotion, [2] the five paths of sangsaric continuity, [3] the five paths of liberation in heaven, and [4] the five paths of no sangsara.

16. SA GNAS, grounds and levels — The nine levels/states of circling in the three realms. The ten levels/states of the *gYung drung* Vehicle, with the additional eleventh level in which the three bodies are completed.
17. 'BRAS BU, results — Characterizations of the results of the various paths, including complete Enlightenment.

The various chapters exhibit varying degrees of bilinguality. There are, in order of the decreasing amounts of Zhang-zhung they contain

1. Chapters that are very near to being perfectly bilingual: Chaps. 1-4, 12. Sections 1 and 2 of chapter **8** might also be included here.
2. Chapters that are very near to being perfectly bilingual, except that they occasionally mix Zhang-zhung and Tibetan words together in a single line: Chaps. 5-6 and 16.
3. Chapters (or major sections of same) that start out bilingual but very soon turn to Tibetan and supply Zhang-zhung only for the headings of numeric lists: Chaps. **8**-11.
4. Chapters that supply Zhang-zhung only for the headings of numeric lists: Chaps. 7, 13-15, 17.

The opening of the text in chapter 1, immediately following the title, reads as follows:

ston pa rdzu 'phrul cher ldan pas /
thams cad thugs rjes bzung ba'i phyir /
snang srid mdzod phug sgo phyes nas /
  [S: *snang srid mdzod phugs sgo phye nas /*]
thams cad kun la gsal bar bstan [T,K: *ston*] /
de las rdzu 'phrul thabs kyis brgyud /
  [S,3: *de la rdzu 'phrul thabs kyis brgyud /*]
  [T: *de la rdzu 'phrul thabs kyi rgyud /*]
stobs ldan blo gsal dad che la /
kun grags rgya che bstan par bya /
  [S,K: *kun grags rgya cher bstan par bya'o /*]
mi rgyal rin chen gter 'dzin ltar /
gtad pa de ni btsa bar bya /
  [S: *gtad pa de ni btsa' bar bya'o /*]
  [K: *gtad pa de ni btsas bar bya'o /*]
thams cad 'byung ba' i mdzod phug 'di /
blo dman phal gyis mi rtogs te /
  [S: *blo dman phal gyis mi rtog ste /*]
  [K: *blo dman phal gyi ma rtogs te /*]

mu la ting zhung dang ra rtsa /
[S,T,K: *dmu la ting zhung dang ra rtsa /*]
de bzhin gting dpag dpyad par dka' /
[S: *de bzhin gting dpags gcad pa rka /*]
[T: *de bzhin gting dpag bcad pa dka' /*]
[K: *de bzhin gting dpag gcad par dka'o /*]

"The Teacher [Lord Shenrab], because He had great miraculous powers, in order to bring all under His compassion, opened the gates to the innermost treasury of phenomena and their evolution, and having done so showed it clearly to one and all. From this it was transmitted by miraculous means. It must be shown far and wide, made known to all, to the very faithful with clear thoughts, with strength."

"Like human kings protecting their treasuries filled with precious substances, those to whom [this text] has been entrusted must treasure it. This innermost treasury that produces everything will not be understood by ordinary persons of inferior thoughts. [The following words in Zhang-zhung only:] "Blue sky, *khyung*; lake, fish" [i.e., just as even the *khyung* bird cannot know the full extent of the sky, and the fish the entire depths of the ocean]. In like manner, the depths and extents [of this scripture] are difficult to probe."

One thing to notice about this brief introduction, sandwiched between the title and the outline of chapters, is that there is no classical *nidâna*, no scene setting passage. Not only is there no sign of a questioner, there is no sense of dialogue, and indeed in the work as a whole there are no evident commentarial or polemical references to any textual entity outside itself, and neither is there any sense that the text implicates or promotes any particular ritual. This strengthens the impression that, while it may nevertheless remain as a canonical scripture from a traditional perspective, it might at the same time be understood as an anthology — one sense of the word 'treasury' — of previously existing scripture. All the Bon Kanjur catalogues agree on its placement in the *mDo sde* section of the canon (and not in the *mDzod sde*, as one might expect).

The work as a whole shows a remarkably systematic order, as well as considerable internal consistency in its ideas. One of the unifying ideas is that of a system of five-fold elemental correspondences. This is surely a basic idea, as it shows up in several different contexts (to be exact, chapters 1, 3, 6-8, 10-13). It may not be entirely unique to the *mDzod phug*, since it is found in at least rudimentary or implicit form in sûtras and Abhidharma treatises (for instances, Pruden 1988-90: 63, 76, where all the elements are 'contained' in the form skandha with no individual correspondences with the senses indicated apart from the inclusion of seeing within the form skandha, and the discussion in Boisvert 1995: 34-48, in which a set of secondary elements that includes the senses is said to be derived from the primary elements, even though the manner of this derivation is not made very explicit. The *mDzod phug* theory of causation at the end of chapter 1

is rather similar to, but simpler than, the Sarvâstivâda system of six causes and four conditions [Dessein 1998: 1026-7; Hirakawa 1990: 179-84; Pruden 1988-90: 255; Rikey 1992: 40-43], but sGa's [196] commentary on this passage employs the Sarvâstivâda system, despite the fact that it hardly seems justified in his root text. This aspect ought to be studied further. Something very similar to the Sarvâstivâda doctrine of five effects [Hirakawa 1990: 181] does appear at the beginning of *mDzod phug*, chap. 17.). Still, I believe that in its particular developed form, as perhaps the most basic scientific principle of the *mDzod phug*, some non-Abhidharma aspects are displayed, most obviously when the elements are not only placed in correspondence with the sense faculties or skandhas, but also with the Total Knowledges. In fact, the correspondence of the five elements with the five Total Knowledges is only indirectly implied at the beginning of chapter 6. The five Total Knowledges are mentioned, and even if their names are not clearly given, their descriptions do in part correspond to the usual names. Just before this, at the very beginning of chapter 6, is an explanation for the nutritive essences of the five elements: The nutritive essence of air is sound, of fire is the sun, of water is the moon, of earth is precious substances, and finally the nutritive essence of space is light.

mDzod phug, Zhang-zhung.	*mDzod phug*, Tibetan.
ti byung nga drug cud shel ni / [*K: ti 'byung nga drug cud shel ni /*]	*'byung ba lnga yi bcud bstan pa /*
li glang ne nyi ting slas zhi / *sla drung dmu khir da drod ci /* [S: *li klang ni nyi ting slas zhi / sla drung mu khir da drod ci /*] [K: *li glang ni nyi ting slas zhi / las drung dmu kher da dod ci /*]	[31] *rlung sgra me nyi chu zla dang /* *nam mkha'i 'od ni de bzhin ston /*

It is worth remarking that this is one of those places where it is possible to correct the Tibetan translation on the basis of the Zhang-zhung. The syllables *sla drung*, which ought to be translated *sa*, 'earth', and *rin chen*, 'precious substance', have nothing to correspond to them in the Tibetan. This same set of elements is found as a mandala arrangement in the root texts of the Secret Mother Tantra (Martin 1994: 57), where besides being called the 'nutritive saps of the elements', they are also called the 'first ornaments' in the cosmogenesis. The Mother Tantra goes on to make specific correspondences to the senses and organs of the human body, while the *mDzod phug* makes specific correspondences to the senses only; the correspondences with the organs are perhaps implied, but never stated (although they are perhaps concealed in the Zhang-zhung only, in a passage in chapter 5).

The correspondence of the elements with the five poisons occurs only in the first part of chapter 8. The complex of correspondences given here is particularly significant to us for later discussions, because it contains a group of moral failings which are divided into five groups corresponding to the five poisons which give rise to them, and it introduces the concept of 'infiltrators' (*phra rgyas*).

mDzod phug, Zhang-zhung.	*mDzod phug*, Tibetan.
dho ye ti shan bye brel min / *mu khri dus khri du mig ni /* *ti pra lgyam zhi mu dug ni /* [S: *dhwo ye ti shin bre byel min /* *mung khri us gri du mig ni /* *ti phra lgyam zhi mu dug ni /*] [K: *hro ye ting shen bre byel min /* *mung khri dus khri du mig ni /* *ti pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*]	*zhe sdang rnam shes 'brel ba la /* *mngan sems gnod sems log par lta /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur /* [S: *zhe sdang rnam shes 'brel pa las /* *mngan sems gdug sems log par lta /* *phra rgyas dug du smin par 'gyur /*] [K: *zhe sdang rnam shes 'brel pa la /* *mngan sems gdug sems log par blta /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur /*]
ni du rko phung bye brel min / *prag se kun mun wi som ni /* [*prag se kun mun tso som ni /*] *ti pra lgyam zhi mu dug ni /* [S: *ni dud rko phung bre byel min /* *brag se ku min wi som ni /* *ti pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*] [K: *ni dud rko pu bre byel min /* *prag se ku zhun wa som ni /* *ti pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*]	*gti mug gzugs dang 'brel ba las /* *srog gcod rku dang log par g-yem /* *'phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur /*
dha shin zu zus bye brel min / *klung tsang ag tser ti pra dzan /* [*klung tse ag tser ti pra dzan /*] *ti pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /* [S: *dha shin zu us bre byel min /* *klung tsa ag tsir ti pra dzan /* *ti pra lgyam zhing mu dug ni /*] [K: *hra shin zu zus bre byel min /* *klung tse ag tsir ti pra dzan /* *ti pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*]	*nga rgyal 'du byed 'brel ba las /* *tshig rtsub ngag 'chal phra ma rdzun /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur /* [S,80: *nga rgyal 'du byed 'brel ba las /* *tshig rtsub ngag 'khyal phra ma ljun /* *phra rgyas dug du smin par 'gyur /*] [K: *nga rgyal 'du byed 'brel pa las /* *tshig rtsub ngag 'khyal phra ma rdzun /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur /*]

cug ni ku shin bre byel min / *zang ci ti kung phu tsi dzam /* *ti pra lgyam mu dug ni /* [S: *cug no ku shin bre byel min /* *zang ci ti kum pu ci jam /* *ti phra lgyam zhing mu dug ni /*] [K: *cug ni kun shin bre byel min /* *zad ci ti ku pu tsi dzam /* *ti pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*]	*’dod chags ’du shes ’brel ba la /* *ser sna ’jug ’gegs ’dzin chags rtogs /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par ’gyur /* [S: *’dod chags ’du shes ’brel pa las /* *sen sna ’zungs ’gegs ’dzin chags dmas /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par ’gyur /*] [K,829: *’dod chags ’du shes ’brel pa la /* *ser sna ’jur ’gegs ’dzin chags rtogs /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par ’gyur /*]
dmu tog ti tson bre byel min / *de dran rnge ci hi zog gum /* [*de phran rje ci dog zom gum /*] *de pra lgyam zhi mu dug ni /* [S: *dmu tog ti con bre byel min /* *ti kran rnge ci ti zog gyum /* *ti phra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*] [K: *dmu tog ti tson bre byel min /* *di gran rnge ci he zog gum /* *di pra lgyam zhi dmu dug ni /*]	*phrag dog tshor ba ’brel ba las /* *che chung ru nga khyad du gsod /* *phra rgyas dug tu smin par ’gyur /*

Overlooking the Zhang-zhung, the Tibetan may be translated:

> Through the poison of aversion linked with consciousness (*rnam shes*) [skandha], [the moral failings] fault finding (*mngan sems*; *[b]rngan sems*?), thinking of injuring (*gnod sems*), and counterproductive views (*log par lta*) ripen into infiltrating poisons.
>
> Through the poison of ignorance linked with form (*gzugs*) [skandha], [the moral failings] taking life (*srog gcod*), stealing (*rku*) and wrong sexual conduct (*log par g-yem*) ripen into infiltrating poisons.
>
> Through the poison of pride linked with compounding factors (*’du byed*) [skandha], [the moral failings] harsh words (*tshig rtsub*), needless gossip (*ngag ’chal*), slandering (*phra ma*) and lying (*rdzun*) ripen into infiltrating poisons.
>
> Through the poison of attraction linked with compounding perceptions (*’du*

> *shes*) [skandha], [the moral failings] miserliness (*ser sna*), obstructing access (? *'jug 'gegs*, var. *'zungs 'gegs*), possessiveness (*'dzin chags*), and dishonoring[?] (*rtogs* [var., *dmas*], but sGa: 429.3 reads *'phangs,* while I suggest *'phang[s] dmas*, 'the high made low') ripen into infiltrating poisons.
>
> Through the poison of envy linked with feeling (*tshor ba*) [skandha], [the moral failings] competitiveness (*che chung*), irritability (*ru nga*), and contemptuousness (*khyad du gsod*) ripen into infiltrating poisons.

I would like to point out that the expression 'infiltrating poisons' translates *phra rgyas dug*. *Phra rgyas* was used to translate Sanskrit *anuśaya*, and it is scarcely to be found anywhere outside Abhidharma contexts (in fact it is seldom encountered in the sûtras; on this point see Cox 1992: 96 n. 30, and references given there, as well as Hirakawa 1990: 163). The word *dug*, 'poison' itself, does not occur in the *Abhidharmakośa*, although each of the five negative motivators of emotions that are in other contexts called 'poisons' do indeed appear there under their individual names. Literally, *phra rgyas* means 'minute [and] developed' (compare Klong-rdol 1991: I 589: *phra rgyas kyi sgra bshad ni nyon mongs mthong dka' bas phra ba dang dmigs pa mtshungs ldan gang rung gi sgo nas rgyas par 'gyur bas de ltar brjod*; for an etymology of the Sanskrit, see Jaini 1959: 239), and I interpret this further to refer to a kind of contaminating 'seed' which might insinuate itself and, given a compatible environment, grow into something large and highly disruptive. In *AK*, chapter 5, there are three ways of enumerating the infiltrators, in lists of 6, 10, and 98 (the lists of 6 and 10 are identical to the 6 root afflictions, for which, see below; for further discussion, see Dessein 1998: 1012-3).

I have three reasons for bringing this particular *mDzod phug* passage forward. First, in order to show one of the instances of elemental correspondences. Second, because it is an example of what I believe to be one of the minor parallels between the *AK* and the *mDzod phug*. Third, because it leads into the theory of mental states, showing that the latter is closely linked to cosmogony, and therefore conceptually linked to the first chapter. There is a conceptual unity to the *mDzod phug* as a whole and, being aware that there are those who would like to carve out pieces of it as more or less 'authentic' from their own points of view, I think this unity needs to be demonstrated in some degree.

To illustrate the second point, here is the Tibetan passage from the *AK*, chapter 4, the karma chapter, together with the published English translation (Pruden 1988-1990: 647-8, with additions in square brackets):

> *gsod dang gnod sems tshig rtsub po // zhe sdang gis ni mthar phyin byed // log g-yem brnab sems ma byin l[e]n // chags pa yis ni rdzogs par byed // log par lta ba gti mug gis // lhag ma gsum gyis rdzogs par 'dod //*
>
> Killing, wickedness, and injurious words are achieved [brought to finality,

actualized] through hate. Adultery, greed, and stealing are achieved [brought to completion] through desire. The others, by the three [i.e., as explained in the autocommentary, the three lying, malicious words, and inconsiderate words may be motivated through any of the three, desire, hatred, or ignorance].

This is more of a conceptual than a textual parallel, and even then partial at best. The *AK* passage shows how the motivating powers of the, in this case, *three* primary passions bring the non-virtuous actions to completion. The differences are also worth noting. The verbal non-virtues which in the *mDzod phug* are motivated by pride are here motivated by all three primary passions. Where the *AK* connects adultery, greed, and stealing to desire or attraction, the *mDzod phug* agrees in connecting greed to desire, while adultery and stealing are ascribed to ignorance.

As I believe I understand the *mDzod phug* at this point in my study, the five poisons are rooted in the account of the cosmogony. In the first of the two cosmogonies of chapter 1, the means of locomotion of the various beings: upright, prone and floating in the sky are not only correlated to the positions of the tongue in the mouth when pronouncing the vowels e, a, and u, but also to the elements fire, water and air, as well as to mountains, oceans and weather phenomena. The second cosmogony has a more 'orthodox' theory of evolution from the five elements in the order air, fire, water, earth and space, the most common order in when they recur in later chapters, including chapter 8 where the elements are directly related to the five poisons. Even though the five emotional poisons as such do not surface in chapter one, the system of correspondences links them closely to cosmogony.

1. Mental States

The five poisons are the primary sources of non-virtuous actions which in turn produce mental infiltrators which then will, given the right provocation and circumstances, reproduce the emotional complexes and consequent actions. In short, it is a theory of emotions and actions and their reproduction. By the way, this *Abhidharma* preoccupation, not to mention the related Tibetan *sems byung* literature, puts the lie to the statement, "It is now to be acknowledged that the Eastern literature displays a glaring omission of its own: an explicit corpus on emotion is missing" (Marks 1991: 8). The mental states theory in the *mDzod phug*, as in much of the Abhidharma literature and not just in the *AK*, includes, in addition, a category of complicit factors (Anacker's [1986: 52, etc.] translation 'motivational dispositions' may be more apt than 'mental states', and Collette Cox [1995] has devoted an entire book to the subject of the complicit factors; see also Buswell 1997). Still, in large part, it may be seen as a theory of emotions with a strong emphasis on their 'moral' aspects, 'morality' in this case meaning awareness of what is, and what is not, conducive to progress on the Path to

Enlightenment. In the psychological cosmogony of the *mDzod phug*, these emotions may be seen as products of the further recombination and reproduction of the primary passions or 'poisons', bringing them more closely into consonance with the more complex spheres of moral action (doing the right thing and avoiding counterproductive actions) in everyday life in human society.

The first thing to be observed about the Mental States theory within the *AK* itself is that it is not our closest parallel to the list in the *mDzod phug*. Following is the main part of the Tibetan text interspersed with the corresponding Pruden (1988-1990: 188-196) translation of the *AK*, chapter 2 (compare Dessein 1996: 639-41, translated from Chinese; the Sanskrit terms are mainly supplied from Pradhan 1975: 54-9, with some slight emendations):

sems dang sems byung nges lhan cig // thams cad 'dus byas mtshan nyid dang // thob pa'am sems byung rnam lnga ste // sa mang la sogs tha dad phyir // tshor dang sems pa 'du shes dang // 'dun dang reg dang blo gros dran // yid la byed dang mos pa dang // ting nge 'dzin sems thams cad la //

The mind and its mental states are necessarily generated together. All things are necessarily generated with their characteristics. Sometimes with possession. The mental states are of five types, *mahâbhûmikas*, etc. Sensation [*vedanâ*], volition [*cetanâ*], motion [! compounding perceptions, *samjñâ*], desire for action [*chanda*], contact [*sparśa*], discernment [*mati*], memory [*smṛti*], the act of attention [*manaskâra*], approval [*adhimokṣa*], and absorption or concentration [*samâdhi*] coexist in every mind.

dad dang bag yod shin tu sbyangs // btang snyoms ngo tsha shes khrel yod // rtsa ba gnyis rnam mi 'tshe dang // brtson 'grus rtag tu dge la 'byung //

Faith [*śraddha*], diligence [*apramâda*], aptitude [*praśrabdhi*], indifference [*upekṣâ*], respect [*hrî*], fear [*apatrapâ*], two roots [i.e., *alobha*, 'absence of desire', and *adveṣa*, 'absence of hatred'], non-violence [*ahimsâ*], and energy [*vîrya*] are found only in a good mind, and are found in all good minds.

rmongs dang bag med le lo dang // ma dad pa dang rmugs dang rgod // nyon mongs can la rtag tu 'byung //

Error [*moha*], non-diligence [*pramâda*], idleness [*kausîdya*], disbelief [*âś raddhya*), torpor [*styâna*], and dissipation [*auddhatya*] are always and exclusively in soiled minds.

mi dge la ni khrel med dang // ngo tsha med pa'o

> Disrespect [*anapatrâpya*] and the absence of fear [i.e., absence of shame, *ahrîkya*] are always and exclusively found in bad minds.
>
> *khro ba dang // khon du 'dzin dang g-yo dang ni // phrag dog 'tshig 'chab [i.e., tshig rtsub] ser sna dang // sgyu dang rgyags dang rnam 'tshe ni // nyon mongs chung ngu'i sa pa rnams // 'dod pa'i dge ba'i sems la ni // rtog dang dpyod dang bcas pa'i phyir // sems las byung ba nyi shu gnyis //*
>
> Anger [*krodha*], enmity [*upanâha*], dissimulation [*śâṭhya*], jealousy [*îrṣyâ*], stubbornness [*pradâśa*], hypocrisy [*mrakṣa*], greed [*matsara*], the spirit of deception [*mâyâ*], pride-intoxication [*mada*], the spirit of violence [*vihimsâ*], etc., are the *parîttakleśabhûmikas*. The mind in Kâmadhâtu, when it is good, always consists of twenty-two mental states, as it is always associated with *vitarka* and *vicâra*.

In the next verse, Vasubandhu mentions other mental states that do not fall into any of the other five categories, because they are not necessarily positive or negative: regret (*akaukṛtya*), apathy (*middha*), *vitarka*, *vicâra*, etc. Mention is also made of Vasumitra [dByig-bshes] who continues the list with wrath [*pratigha*], attraction [*śakti*, =*râga*], pride [*mâna*], and doubt [*vicikitsâ*] for a total of eight indeterminate mental states. The Tibetan text reads as follows:

> *slob dpon dbyig bshes kyis / rtog dang dpyod dang // 'gyod pa dang gnyid dang khong khro chags rnams dang // nga rgyal the tshom zhes bya ba // brgyad ni nges pa min par bshad // ces gsungs pa'i phyir.*

As Anacker (1986: 57, 147) has pointed out, Vasubandhu in his various works gives different listings of the mental states. The listing of 51 in Vasubandhu's 'Discussion of the Five Aggregates', the *Pañcaskandha- kaprakaraṇa* (Anacker 1986: 66 ff.; see also Galloway 1980 as well as a French translation by J. Dantinne entitled *Le traité des cinq agrégats: Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa de Vasubandhu* not yet seen) approaches more closely the *mDzod phug* list than does that of the *AK*. (The similarly titled *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* of Candrakîrti is also interesting for comparing and contrasting with Vasubandhu's lists, but we will not go into this; see the edition of the Tibetan text in Lindtner 1979.) Here is Anacker's translation, to which I have added outline numbers in square brackets, as well as the Tibetan terms (no Sanskrit text is available) as found in the Derge Tanjur edition of the text (vol. SHI, folios 11v-17r; the outline numbers are inserted in order to facilitate comparison with other versions of the list which follow):

> And what are the *motivational dispositions*? They are events associated with cittas, other than feelings and cognitions, and those that are disassociated

from cittas. Among these, what are the events associated with cittas? They are whatever events are associated with cittas. And what are they? They are [A.1] contact (*reg pa*), [A.2] mental attention (*yid la byed pa*), [A.3] feelings (*tshor ba*), [A.4] cognitions (*'du shes*), [A.5] volitions (*sems pa*), [B.1] zest (*'dun pa*), [B.2] confidence (*mos pa*), [B.3] memory or mindfulness (*dran pa*), [B.4] meditational concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*), [B.5] insight (*shes rab*), [C.1] faith (*dad pa*), [C.2] inner shame (*ngo tsha shes pa*), [C.3] dread of blame (*khrel yod*), [C.4] the root-of-the-beneficial of lack of greed (*ma chags pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba*), [C.5] the root-of-the-beneficial of lack of hostility (*zhe sdang med pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba*), [C.6] the root-of-the-beneficial of lack of confusion (*gti mug med pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba*), [C.7] vigor (*brtson 'grus*), [C.8] tranquility (*shin tu sbyangs pa*), [C.9] carefulness (*bag yod pa*), [C.10] equanimity (*btang snyoms*), [C.11] attitude of non-harming (*rnam par mi 'tshe ba*), [D.1] attachment (*'dod chags*), [D.2] aversion (*khong khro ba*), [D.3] pride (*nga rgyal*), [D.4] ignorance (*ma rig pa*), [D.5] views (*lta ba*), [D.6] doubt (*the tshom*), [E.1] anger (*khro ba*), [E.2] malice (*khon du 'dzin pa*), [E.3] hypocrisy (*'chab pa*), [E.4] maliciousness (*'tshig pa*), [E.5] envy (*phrag dog*), [E.6] selfishness (*ser sna*), [E.7] deceitfulness (*sgyu*), [E.8] guile (*g-yo*), [E.9] mischievous exuberance (*rgyags pa*), [E.10] desire to harm (*rnam par 'tshe ba*), [E.11] lack of shame (*ngo tsha med pa*), [E.12] lack of dread of blame (*khrel med pa*), [E.13] mental fogginess (*rmugs pa*), [E.14] excitedness (*rgod pa*), [E.15] lack of faith (*ma dad pa*), [E.16] sloth (*le lo*), [E.17] carelessness (*bag med pa*), [E.18] loss of mindfulness (*brjed ngas pa*), [E.19] distractedness (*rnam par g-yengs pa*), [E.20] lack of recognition (*shes bzhin ma yin pa*), [F.1] regret (*'gyod pa*), [F.2] torpor (*gnyid*), [F.3] initial mental application (*rtog pa*), and [F.4] subsequent discursive thought (*dpyod pa*).

A. Those that occur in every mind-stream (*kun tu 'gro ba*).
B. Those that are certain only with particular objects (*yul so sor nges pa*).
C. Those that are beneficial (*dge ba*).
D. Afflictions (*nyon mongs pa*).
E. Secondary afflictions (*nye ba'i nyon mongs pa*).
F. Those capable of being either afflictive or beneficial (*gzhan du yang 'gyur ba*).

To these the text later adds (Anacker 1986: 70) those that take place independent of mental processes, but nevertheless need to be factored in. These I call, for brevity's sake, 'complicit factors' ('compounding factors dissociated from mentation', *sems dang mi ldan pa'i 'du byed*) [G]:

[G.1] *Prâpti* (acquisition, *thob pa*), [G.2] the attainment without cognitions (*'du shes med pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa*), [G.3] the attainment of the cessation

of cognitions and feelings (*'gog pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa*), [G.4] any non-meditative state without cognitions (*'du shes med pa*), [G.5] life-force (*srog gi dbang po*), [G.6] taking part in an organism (*ris mthun pa*), [G.7] birth (*skye ba*), [G.8] decrepitude (*missing*), [G.9] continuity (*gnas pa)*, [G.10] lack of duration (*mi rtag pa nyid*), [G.11] the collection of words (*ming gi tshogs*), [G.12] the collection of phrases (*tshig gi tshogs*), [G.13] the collection of syllables (*yi ge'i tshogs*), [G.14] the state of being separate from Dharma (sic! *so so'i skye bo nyid*, 'being an ordinary unenlightened person'), and other factors like these.

There is a listing of Mental States widely known in a number of mainly but by no means only dGe-lugs-pa compositions. The proximate source of this standard list is Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* [*AS*] (Guenther and Kawamura 1975: xi), and this latter list has been supplied in Tibetan and Sanskrit in an appendix to this paper (see Appendix A). In terms of the contents of each of the main categories, the standard list is very nearly identical with that in the 'Discussion of the Five Aggregates' by Vasubandhu. Where it most markedly differs is in the order of the elements within the particular categories. I originally based the following list on one found in Donald Lopez's book *A Study of Svâtantrika* (Lopez 1987: 92-93) which conveniently supplies the Tibetan and Sanskrit. The mental states and their order agree almost exactly with those found in the work by Yongs-'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1713-1793) translated by Guenther and Kawamura (1975), as well as in works by Kelsang Gyatso (1993), Klong-rdol (1991: I 444-6, 561-2), Dpal-sprul (1971: 121), Ngag-dbang dpal-ldan (1983), Buddhist Studies (1993: 144-155, 335-9), Nâgârjuna (1993: 16-18), Conze (1975: 59-62) and last but not least, a *circa* 800 CE work translated in Rikey (1992: 13-31) which, disregarding the anomalous list in the *Mahâvyutpatti*, may be our oldest Tibetan-authored source, composed as it was by the same Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs who worked with Jinamitra on the translation of the *AK*. For the sake of convenience, this will be referred to in the following pages as the standard Tibetan list. It would not serve our present purposes to discuss the minor differences among these works, but they were consulted and compared in attempting to arrive at reasonably reliable translations of the emotion vocabulary. The Tibetan and Sanskrit terms are sometimes given more than one English translation, in part in order to better approximate the semantic coverage of the terms, and in part to underline the possibilities for alternative translations. (Note that the Bon list is not divided into categories, since the *mDzod phug* does not know them, although in one commentary at least [sGa: 510 ff.] they are very happily employed.)

51 Mental States and Complicit Factors

mDzod phug, chap. 10, pp. 66-73, with nearly the same list in chap. 13, p. 86 ff.	The standard Tibetan list in English [Sanskrit/Tibetan], based primarily on Lopez (1987: 92-3) with minor emendations:
The 51 compounding factors(*'du byed*):	A. The five that apply to all mind-streams, and to each of the other mental states listed below, whether positively or negatively oriented [*sarvatraga/kun 'gro*]:
1. *tshor ba.*	1. feeling [*vedanâ/tshor ba*].
2. *'du shes.*	2. ideation/compounding perceptions [*samjñâ/'du shes*].
3. *bsam pa.*	3. volition [*cetanâ/sems pa*].
4. *reg pa.*	4. contact/rapport [*sparśa/reg pa*].
5. *yid la.*	5. mental construction/mental focus [*manaskâra/yid la byed pa*].
	B. The five with specific objects [*viniyata/yul nges*]. These are found in every positive mind-stream:
6. *mdun pa.*	1. aspiration/motivation/zest/resolution [*chanda/'dun pa*].
7. *mos pa.*	2. belief/confidence [*adhimokṣa/mos pa*].
8. *dran pa.*	3. mindfulness/memory [*smṛti/dran pa*].
9. *'dzin pa.*	4. concentration [*samâdhi/ting nge 'dzin*].
10. *shes pa.*	5. insight [*prajñâ/shes rab*].
	C. The eleven beneficial mentalities [*kuśala/dge ba*]. These might very well be found in positive mind-streams:
11. *gso ba.*	1. faith [*śraddhâ/dad pa*].
12. *ma chags.*	2. modesty/self-respect [*hrî/ngo tsha shes pa*].
13. *mi len.*	3. decorum/other-respect [*apatrâpya/khrel yod*].
14. *bden pa.*	4. non-attachment [*alobha/ma chags pa*].
15. *kun dga'.*	5. non-hatred [*adveṣa/zhe sdang med pa*].
16. *ngag zhi.*	6. non-ignorance [*amoha/gti mug med pa*].
17. *tshig 'jam.*	7. diligence [*vîrya/brtson 'grus*].
18. *lha sems.*	8. pliancy/readiness/suppleness [*prasrabdhi/shin tu sbyangs pa*].
19. *byams pa.*	9. conscientiousness [*apramâda/bag yod pa*].
20. *bden pa.*	10. equanimity [*upekṣâ/btang snyoms*].
21. *mi 'da'i dam tshig.*	11. non-harmfulness/non-violence [*avihiṃsâ/rnam par mi 'tshe ba*].

	D. The six root afflictions[*mûlakleśa/rtsa nyon*]. These are found in all negative mind-streams:
22. *zhe sdang.*	1. desire/attachment [*râga/'dod chags*].
23. *gti mug.*	2. anger [*pratigha/khong khro*].
24. *nga rgyal.*	3. pride/arrogance/egotism [*mâna/nga rgyal].* Some lists add six further categories of pride.
25. *'dod chags.*	4. ignorance [*avidyâ/ma rig pa*].
26. *'phrag dog.*	5. doubt/indecision/hesitation [*vicitsâ, vicikitsâ/the tshom*].
27. *ma rig.*	6. afflicted view [*dṛṣṭi/lta ba nyon mongs can*].
28. *lta ba.*	Note that this may be further subdivided into
29. *the tshom.*	5 types, making a total of 10 in this category.
	E. The twenty or twenty-one secondary afflictions [*upakleśa/nye nyon*]. These are not always found in every negative mind-stream, although they very well might be.
30. *khro ba.*	1. belligerence [*khrodha/khro ba*].
31. *mkhon 'dzin.*	2. resentment/bearing grudges [*upanâha/'khon 'dzin*].
32. *'chab pa.*	3. covering up (one's faults)/hypocrisy [*mrakṣa/'chab pa*].
33. *kun brtags.*	4. spite [*pradâśa/'tshig pa*].
34. *yang pa* or *ser sna.*	5. jealousy/envy [*îrṣyâ/phrag dog*].
	6. avarice/miserliness [*mâtsarya/ser sna*].
35. *sgyu ma.*	7. deceitfulness/pretense [*mâyâ/sgyu*].
36. *g-yo ba.*	8. dissimulation[*śaṭhya/g-yo*].
37. *rgyag pa.*	9. haughtiness (in one's learning, youth, health, wealth, artistry, beauty, power) [*mada/rgyags pa*].
38. *'tshe ba.*	10. harmfulness/physical abusiveness [*vihiṃsâ/rnam par 'tshe ba*].
39. *ngo tsha(khrel)med pa.*	11. shamelessness [*âhrîkya/ngo tsha med pa*].
	12. non-embarrassment/lack of decorum/disregard [*anapatrâpya/khrel med pa*].
40. *non rmis.*	13. dullness/gloom [*styâna/rmugs pa*].
41. *rgod pa.*	14. excitement/wildness [*auddhatya/rgod pa*].
42. *ma dad.*	15. non-faith/suspicion [*âśraddhya/ma dad pa*].
43. *le lo.*	16. laziness [*kausîdya/le lo*].
44. *bag med.*	17. non-conscientiousness/lack of care [*pramâda/bag med pa*].
45. *brjed ngas.*	18. forgetfulness/lack of purpose

	[*muṣitasmṛtitâ/brjed ngas pa*].
46. *g-yeng ba.*	19. inattentiveness [*asaṃprajanya/shes bzhin ma yin pa*].
47. *'khrul pa.*	20. distraction [*vikṣepa/rnam par g-yeng ba*].
	F. The four indeterminate mental states [*aniyata/ gzhan 'gyur*]. These may go one way or the other, are neutral in terms of their being associated with negative or positive mind-streams.
48. *'gyod pa.*	1. sleepiness/apathy/torpor [*middha/gnyid*].
49. *gnyid.*	2. contrition/regret [*kaukṛtya/'gyod pa*]. Note: One might regret performing a good action, or not performing a bad one.
50. *rtog pa.*	3. pondering/investigation [*vitarka/rtog pa*].
51. *dpyod pa.*	4. analysis [*vicâra/dpyod pa*].
Sems dang mi ldan 'du byed (in chap. 10, the following terms are 'buried' in the text, while in chap. 13, they are clearly listed, but in abbreviated forms with slight differences in the order):	G. Complicit factors (*cittaviprayukta saṃskâra /sems dang ldan pa ma yin pa'i 'du byed*). Besides the Mental States, there are 23 (according to the *AS*; which like most omits *pudgala*; only 14 or 15 according to Vaibhâṣikas, the *AK*, and most of the recently authored Tibetan sources listed previously) complicit factors that are neither included in the category of form or materiality nor (necessarily) accompanied by mentation. They might nevertheless be implicated in the production, continuity and cessation of mental states. These are:
	0. person [*pudgala/gang zag*]. This is frequently omitted.
[1?] *thob pa.*	1. acquisition (of afflictions) [*prâpti/thob pa*].
[2?] *'du shes med snyoms.*	2. absorption free of compounding perceptions [*asaṃjñisamâpatti/'du shes med pa'i snyoms 'jug*].
[3?] *'gog pa'i snyom 'jug.*	3. cessation absorption [*nirodhasamâpatti/'gog pa'i snyoms 'jug*].
	4. the subject who is free of compounding perceptions [*âsaṃjñika/'du shes med pa pa*].
[4?] *srog dang* [5?] *dbang po.*	5. life faculty [*jîvitendriya/srog gi dbang po*].
[6?] *skye ba.*	6. similarity of type/species [*nikâyasabhâgata/rigs 'thun pa*].
[7?] *rigs mthun.*	7. birth [*jâti/skye ba*].

[8?] *rgas*.	8. aging [*jarâ/rga ba*].
[9?] *mi rtag*.	9. duration [*sthiti/gnas pa*].
[10?] *mi gnas*.	10. impermanence [*anityatâ/mi rtag pa*].
[11?] *ming gi tshogs*.	11. society of namings [*nâmakâya/ming gi tshogs*].
[12?] *tshig gi tshog*.	12. society of words [*padakâya/tshig gi tshogs*].
[13?] *yi ge'i tshogs*.	13. society of letters [*vyañjanakâya/yi ge'i tshogs*].
[14?] *so so'i byis pa skye bo*.	14. state of an ordinary unenlightened being [*pṛthagjanatva/so so skye bo nyid*].
	---
	15. continuity [*pravṛtti/'jug pa*].
	16. distinction [*pratiniyama/so sor nges pa*].
	17. relatedness [*yoga/'byor 'grel*].
	18. rapidity/velocity [*java/'gyogs pa*].
	19. order [*anukrama/go rim*].
	20. time [*kâla/dus*].
	21. area [*deśa/yul*].
	22. number [*samkhyâ/grangs*].
	23. collection (of causes, conditionings and effects) [*sâmagrî/tshog pa*].

After noting the many similarities between the Bon and Chos lists, which are obvious, it then becomes more interesting to look at the differences. The clearest differences are to be found in categories C through E. On the textual level, the Bon and Chos listings in category C would seem to have very little in common. But on slight reflection, the *mDzod phug* list of beneficial mentalities corresponds exactly to the ten virtues, the first three being bodily virtues, the next four being verbal virtues, and the last three mental virtues. *gSo ba* means 'nurturing' or 'caring', the opposite of killing; *ma chags* means 'not attached', the opposite of wrong sexual relations; *mi len*, 'not taking', is the opposite of stealing, and so forth (see sGa: 514-7; one might compare, for an example, the listing of ten virtues in Rahula 1971: 83-4, which is basically identical in substance, although not in order and expression, with the *mDzod phug* list).

Under category D there is a very significant difference. The *mDzod phug* list numbers 22 through 26 correspond exactly, even in their order, with the five poisons as we have seen them at the beginning of *mDzod phug* chapter 8. 'Jealousy' (*'phrag dog*) is here a root affliction, and not a secondary affliction as it is in the standard Tibetan list and in the *AK*. Under category E there are several differences, including the mental states 33, *kun brtags*; 34, *yang pa* and 47, *'khrul pa* which are not to be found in the standard Tibetan list. Also there is the very mysterious Tibetan word *non rmis* (the Zhang-zhung is *'gu hreng*). It does not

seem to exist in any lexicon, but from indications in the text, it would refer to a sort of motivational faintheartedness, and so seems to correspond fairly well with the gloominess and depression which parallels it in the standard Tibetan list. Haarh's (1968: 30) dictionary has the spelling *non smin*, which he interprets to mean "suppression and development [of the results of actions]" (incidentally, a good example of a deformation, or a hyper-correction, of the original *mDzod phug* vocabulary by the Tibetan glossary maker).

For the moment, I will conclude only that the most popular list of 51 mental states, ultimately copied from the *AS*, is quite close to the *mDzod phug* list. A full study of mental states lists would be quite complex, and would have to go very deeply into the history of Abhidharma works, including those preserved only in Chinese translation. Fortunately, a great deal of research has been done recently in this area by Abhidharma specialists (see especially Dessein 1996 and 1998; Willemen, *et al.* 1998, and publications mentioned therein). We may now understand with increasing clarity that the lists of Vasubandhu and Asaṅga, products of the 4th or 5th centuries CE, have behind them a great deal of historical development. The lists changed over time, and were often adjusted to better suit different doctrinal schools. In what is believed to be one of the oldest Abhidharma works, dating from about the time of Aśoka, the *Dharmaskandha*, many of the elements of the Mental States and complicit factors were included, in a different order, in a list of 42 *dharmâyatana*s (although the elements that would later become known as the complicit factors are quite similar in order; see Dessein 628-9). A more rational arrangement of the subcategories of Mental States, introducing the new subcategories of Mahâbhûmikas, emerged in a later period with the *Dhâtukâya*, a text associated with the region of Gandhâra (Dessein 1996: 631; Willemen *et al.* 1998: 71-2, 155). Study of these earliest Mental States lists is not directly relevant to our present purposes, but eventually it may prove possible to be fairly precise about how the *mDzod phug* list would fit in the historical patterns that are still emerging. For instance, the inclusion of the four changeable mentalities [F] alone would indicate that the Bon list must post-date the *AK* and *AS* (see Dessein 1996: 640, 642, 646). Even if it does prove to be post-Asaṅga, and at this point I believe it must be, its unique features that have so-far been noted could easily be explained as part of a historical process that has been going on since Abhidharma treatises first appeared. If the *mDzod phug* author moved 'jealousy' from the category of minor affliction to that of major affliction, it is still the case that just such adjustments have been made a number of times in the history of the list (and quite apart from that fact but perhaps not entirely beside the point, one could easily imagine that if Christians were to take over the list of Mental States, they would certainly want to list the root afflictions as gluttony, greed, sloth, pride, lust, envy and wrath in order to accord with their doctrine of the seven deadly sins; in fact the similarities between the Christian and Buddhist lists are only too obvious).

2. Three Parallel Passages

Even though the closest match with the mental states list in the *mDzod phug* is probably to be located in the *AS*, or at least in lists descending from it, and not in a work of Vasubandhu, the following three parallel passages are different for two reasons. The first reason is that they are extended verse passages, not lists. The second is that they exhibit a very close textual relationship with the Tibetan translation of chapter 3 of the *AK*. Now the three passages will be supplied, with a small amount of discussion, following the order in which they appear in the *mDzod phug*, chapters 2, 5 and 6. The subjects of these passages are, in like order, *kalpa*s, cosmology and measurement.

The first parallel passage of any length occurs near the end of the *mDzod phug*'s chapter 2. It is almost word-for-word identical to a passage in the *AK*, chapter 3.

mDzod phug, p. 16 (chap. 2):	*AK*, chap. 3:
bskal pa rnam pa mang bshad pa /	*bskal pa rnam pa mang bshad pa //*
'jig pa'i bskal pa dmyal ba yi /	*'jig pa'i bskal pa dmyal ba yi //*
srid pa med nas snod zad pa /	*srid pa med nas snod zad pa //*
chags pa dang po rlung nas ni /	*'chags pa dang po'i rlung nas ni //*
dmyal ba srid pa'i bar du'o /	*dmyal ba'i srid pa'i bar du'o //*
bar gyi bskal pa dpag med nas /	*bar gyi bskal pa dpag med nas //*
tshe lo bcu pa'i bar du'o /	*tshe lo bcu pa'i bar du'o //*
de nas yar skye mar bri ba /	*de nas yar skye mar 'bri ba'i //*
bskal pa gzhan ni bco brgyad dang /	*bskal pa gzhan ni bco brgyad dang //*
yar skye ba ni gcig yin te /	*yar skye ba ni gcig yin te //*
de dag tshe ni brgyad khri'i bar /	*de dag tshe ni brgyad khri'i bar //*
de ltar 'jig rten chag pa na /	*de ltar 'jig rten chags pa 'di //*
bskal pa nyi shu gnas pa yin /	*bar gyi bskal pa nyi shur gnas //*
chags pa dang ni 'jigs pa dang /	*'chags pa dang ni 'jig pa dang //*
zhig nas 'dug pa dag mnyam mo /	*zhig nas 'dug pa dag mnyam mo //*
de dag brgyad cu bskal chen yin /	*de dag brgyad cu la bskal chen //*

Comparative table of cosmological passages in *mDzod phug* (beginning of chap. 5) and *Abidharmakośa* (chap. 3)

	mDzod phug, pp. 23-6: Zhang-zhung.	*mDzod phug*, pp. 23-6: Tibetan.	*Abhidharmakośa*, Tibetan.	*Abhidharmakośa*, English (Pruden tr., pp. 451-6).
1.	da ni mung gi ci tan gyin / nam lu ku kun dong ri ni /	da ni snod kyi 'jig rten gyi / gnas pa kun gyi 'og 'di na /	de la snod kyi 'jig rten gyi // gnas par 'dod pa'i 'og dag gi //	45. Here is how it is thought that the receptacle world is arranged: at the bottom there is a
2.	phyo sangs li ta rngi ti ni / slas dza nga drug 'gi gar ro /	mkha' la rlung gi rngams su ni / sa ya drug 'bum grangs med do / 1,600,000. [sa ya drug 'bum grangs khor yug /]	rlung gi dkyil 'khor rngams su ni // sa ya drug 'bum grangs med do //	circle of wind, immeasurable, with a height of sixteen hundred thousand leagues.
3.	ting nge 'ba' ri chu tig ni / stang zhi pra ta ne cu cing /	chu rngams 'bum phrag bcu gcig dang / stong gi phrag ni nyi shu'o /	chu rngams 'bum phrag bcu gcig dang // stong phrag dag ni nyi shu'o //	46 a-b. The circle of water, eleven hundred twenty thousand high.
4.	phyi ci rngim 'ba' bra gyad ni / dza dur tru zhi mar pang gyin /	phyi ni rngams su 'bum phrag brgyad / 800,000 lhag ma rin chen gser du 'gyur /	phyis ni rngams su 'bum phrag brgyad // lhag ma dag ni gser du 'gyur //	46 c-d. Then, the circle of waters is no more than eight hundred thousand leagues in height; the rest becomes gold.
5.	ting zhi mar ni bra yang ci / ta tan 'ba' pra cu nes ne /	chu dang gser gyi dkyil 'khor gyi / thad dkar 'bum phrag bcu gnyis so /	chu dang gser gyi dkyil 'khor gyi // thad kar 'bum phrag bcu gnyis dang //	47a-48a. The circle of water and gold have a diameter of twelve hundred
6.	stang zhi sum pa bir pra ci / de phyi nga ra yi yod ni /	stong phrag gsum dang brgya phrag ni / phyed dang lnga brgya yod par 'dod /	stong phrag gsum dang brgya phrag ni // phyed dang lnga rnams kho na'o //	three thousand four hundred and fifty leagues;
7.	yang rgyu ti tse ne sum ni / da dod ku ra nye lo gyin /	'khor yug du ni gsum gsum 'gyur / de bzhin kun ni mnyam par ston /	khor yug tu ni sum 'gyur ro //	triple for its perimeter.
8.	de ci ri rwang ag sho ni / ti ti phran gyi mar skye dog / ca sdum rwang zhi dhang ra gyin /	[24] de la lhun po gnya' shing 'dzin / thong bshol 'dzin dang gser gyi mdog / blta na sdug ri rta rna 'dzin /	de la lhun po gnya' shing 'dzin // gshol mda' 'dzin dang seng ldeng can // de bzhin blta na sdug ri dang // rta rna dang ni	48b-49c. There are Meru, Yugandhara, Īśâdhara, Khadiraka, Mount Sudarśana, Aśvakarṇa, Vinataka, and
9.	ka ti ma mug dun snis ci /	kun 'dud mu khyud 'dzin dang bdun /	rnam 'dud dang //	Mount Nimindhara; beyond are the

9.	ka ti ma mug dun snis ci /	kun 'dud mu khyud 'dzin dang bdun /
	de rkyel phyi ci yi mu ye /	des ni phyi rol 'khor yug go /
10.	snis tse mar la ku yug zangs / ri rwang bing nga de cu nam /	bdun ni gser ri 'khor yug lcags / ri rgyal ngos bzhi rang du gnas /
11.	ting klung mu min gyad khru ci / yar sne da dod hi pang ni /	chu yi nang du brgyad khri nub / yar kyang de bzhin 'phags pa yin /
12.	ge *dhim ti* tse gya tshe khru / rang snis hi pa dis bye bri / +	dpag tshad dag ni brgyad khri la / ri bdun 'phang du phyed phyed bri /
13.	rngi ci dhi pang nye lo gyin / *ti ni ces sni* dang ra khyung /	rngams su 'phang dang mnyam pa ste / de'i bar bdun rol mtsho yin /
14.	du tog ta pra cu snis gyad / tu ci nu nig dang ra sbyin /	dang po stong phrag brgyad cu ste / de ni nang gi mtsho yin no /
15.	de ci de re ne sum skur / dang ra de bzhin de phye bru /	de'i ngos la gsum du 'gyur / rol mtsho gzhan ni phye phye bri /
16.	de phyi dang ra re bcu gyin / ting sho bing nga ju khyo ni /	phyi ma phyi yi rol mtsho yin / chu bzhi de nas 'bab pa'o /
17.	'bab pra ne sum tang phra ji / ne cu ne sum yi yod ci /	'bum phrag gnyis dang stong phrag ni / nyi shu gn[i]s su yod pa'o /
18.	i dza spre ling ngo ra sum / stang pra ne sum sla tsog dum /	'dzam bu gling ni ngos gsum ste / stong phrag gnyis yod sog pa'i dbyibs /

rnam dud dang //	Mount Nimindhara, beyond are the

mu khyud 'dzin ri'o de nas ni // gling rnams yin no de dag gi // phyi rol na ni khor yug ste //	continents; on the edge is Cakravâḍa.
bdun ni gser yin de lcags so //	49d-50a. Seven mountains are made of
lhun po rin chen bzhi'i rang bzhin //	gold; the last is made of iron; and Meru is made of four jewels.
chu yi nang du brgyad khri dag / nub bo de bzhin steng du yang //	50b-51b. Meru is immersed in the water to a depth of twenty-four thousand leagues and
dpag tshad dag ni brgyad khri'o // brgyad po 'phang du phyed phyed dbri //	rises above the water some eighty thousand leagues. The immersion of the eight other mountains diminishes each by a half.
de dag rngams su'ang 'phang dang mnyam // de dag bar bdun rol mtsho yin //	The mountains have equal width and height. 51c-52c. The seven Sîtâs,
dang po stong phrag brgyad cu'o // de ni nang gi rgya mtsho yin //	of which the first is of eighty thousand leagues, form the interval between the mountains. This is the inner ocean,
de yi ngos la [9a] sum 'gyur ro // rol mtsho gzhan ni phyed phyed do //	triple in circumference. The other Sîtâs diminish by a half.
lhag ma phyi yi mtsho chen yin //	The rest is the great outer sea,
'bum phrag gsum dang stong phrag ni // nyi shu gnyis so de la ni //	of three hundred twenty-two thousand leagues.
'dzam bu'i gling ste ngos gsum la // stong phrag gnyis so shing rta'i dbyibs //	There is Jambudvîpa, three sides of two thousand, in the form of a carriage,

19.	ti ne ge dhim de phyi bing / ne sum ping ping di khor ci /	gcig la dpag tshad phyed dang bzhi / gnyis ni bzhi bzhis 'khor bar 'dod /
20.	she lod rko pa za zi kham / [she lod rko sangs za ra kham /] nga ro ne sum ku ra ci /	shar gyi lus 'phags zla gam ste / ngos gsum kun tu 'dra gcig la /
21.	[25] ge dhim rag sum nga drug cu / [ge dhim rag sum nga drug ci /] da ku ye mu mar shi ci /	dpag tshad sum brgya lnga bcu ni / kun nas yod par ston pa yin /
22.	has ti ci cod zhing ri gyin / ge hrim sto pra dis phyed gyad /	ban glang spyod de zlum po la / dpag tshad stong phrag phyed dang brgyad /
23.	de gi stang pra dis phye ni / gi gang ste ci yo ci gyin /	de dbus stong phrag phyed dang gsum / gang nas gcal kyang yod par ston /
24.	u dug glang ra ling khri bing / ge dhim byad stam yi mu gyin /	sgra mi snyan te gru bzhi la / dpag tshad brgyad stong yod par ston /
25.	ti par spre gling gyad ci ni / [ti par spre ling gyad ci ni /] ge dhim tib ta spre ling sni gyad ci / she lod rko sang ya ma yi /	da ni bar gyi gling brgyad de / shar gyi lus 'phags g-yas g-yon nas / rko ring dang ni rko thung gnyis / ngos gsum gong gi sum cha la / dpag tshad drug brgya dgu bcu gcig /
26.	a mu glang ra ya ma yi /	sgra mi snyan gyi g-yas g-yon na /
27.	gyags ti dang ni gyog ti zung /	ngos bzhi gong gi gsum cha la / dpag tshad gnyis stong drug brgya drug /
28.	has ti ci cod ya ma yi /	ban glang spyod kyi g-yas [g-]yon na /

gcig la dpag tshad phyed dang bzhi //	and one side of three and a half;
shar gyi lus 'phags zla kham 'dra //	eastern Videha, like a half-moon,
ngos gsum 'di dang 'dra gcig la //	three sides like Jambu,
dpag tshad sum brgya lnga bcu'o //	and one side of three hundred and fifty;
ba lang spyod gling zlum po ste // stong phrag phyed dang brgyad yin no // de'i dbus stong phrag phyed dang gsum //	Godânîya, of seven thousand five hundred, round, with a diameter of two thousand five hundred;
sgra mi snyan brgyad gru bzhir mnyam/ /	and Kuru, of eight thousand, square, parallel.
de yi bar gyi gling brgyad ni // lus dang lus 'phags sgra mi snyan // sgra mi snyan gyi zla dang ni // rnga yab dang ni rnga yab gzhan // g-yo ldan dang ni lam mchog 'gro //	56. There are eight intermediate continents: Dehas, Videhas, Kurus, Kauravas, Câmaras, and Avaracâmaras, Śâṭhas and Uttaramantrins.

		drug /
28.	has ti ci cod ya ma yi /	ban glang spyod kyi g-yas [g-]yon na /

29.		mar zhi dang ni ting zhi gnyis / 'khor yug gong gi gsum cha la / dpag tshad gnyis stong lnga brgya yod /
30.	i tsam spre leng ya ma yi /	'dzam bu gling gi g-yas g-yon na / kha slo dang ni sprel rgyu gnyis / ngos gsum gong gi sum cha te / dpag tshad dag ni nyis stong yod /
31.	ti byang kha rang dun gu ci /	rnil dang rbang gi pha rol na / shim phod nom pa'i tshu rol na / dang ra mal dro mur zangs gnas / de nas 'og tu mar gcal ba'i / dpag tshad stong phrag nyi shu na / mnar med pa yi du ti yod / de steng du ti bdun po dang / lhag pa'i du ti bcu drug yod /
32.	du tog gi nu nga ra bing /	de dag gi ni ngos bzhi na /
33.	ne nur ti cu gyag tso ci / [ne nur ti tsug gyag tso ci /] gri ra cu ting dha min gyin /	me ma mur dang ro myag 'dam / ral kyu thal tshan chu bo yod /
34.	de kun ken teg yi yar ci / …	de dag gi ni gang na yang / …

'di nas byang du ri nag po // dgu 'das gangs ri'o de nas ni // spos ngad ldang ba'i tshu rol na // chu zheng lnga bcu yod pa'i mtsho // 'di 'og stong phrag nyi shu na // mnar med pa'o de tsam mo //	57. Here, to the north of the nine ant-Mountains, lie the Himavat; beyond it, but to this side of the Mountain of Perfume, is a lake deep and wide by fifty leagues. 58. At the bottom, at twenty thousand leagues, is Avîcî, of this same dimension...

The Pruden (1988-1990: 475 ff.) translation for this passage reads as follows:

> There are different types of *kalpa*: A *kalpa* of disappearance lasts from the non-production of the damned to destruction of the receptacle world. The *kalpa* of creation lasts from the primordial wind until the production of hellish beings. A small *kalpa*, in the course of which a lifespan, from infinite, becomes a lifespan ten years in length. The eighteen *kalpa*s which are of augmentation and of diminution. One, of augmentation. They go to a lifespan of eighty thousand. In this way then the world stays created for twenty *kalpa*s. During the same length of time, the world is in the process of creation, in the process of disappearance, and in a state of disappearance. These eighty make a great *kalpa*.

The second parallel passage is the most extensive one. Its subject is cosmology, more specifically the basic layout of the mountains, oceans and continents, ending at the listing of hells. The Zhang-zhung and Tibetan versions from the *mDzod phug* are here placed in columns in order to show the parallels with the *AK*, including Pruden's English translation.

By comparing the two Tibetan-language columns, it is easy to see that for the most part the passages are virtually identical. Many of the differences are rather trivial ones in word order or in the usage of grammatical particles (these sorts of differences might possibly be seen as reflecting different levels of revision in a single translation). Some of the proper names differ in interesting ways. There are a few lines missing in one but found in the other. Overall, the parallelism is obvious. There are just a few interesting features that I would like to point out.

The first is at no. 18 in the chart. Where the Tibetan of the *mDzod phug* reads *sog pa*, ('scapular bone') the Tibetan of the *AK* reads *shing rta* ('cart, chariot'). The corresponding word in the Sanskrit *AK* is *śakaṭa* which like the translation *shing rta*, means a 'cart' or 'chariot.' Although it is not the place to go into a full discussion, this issue of the scapular vs. chariot shape of Jambudvîpa has been explored by Michael Aris (1995: 64-5) and Michael Walter (forthcoming 1 and forthcoming 2). I believe that the scapular shape of Jambudvîpa emerged out of an old and peculiarly Tibetan geographical conception, ultimately based on the shape of the Yarlung Valley (cf. the reconstructed diagrams in Haarh 1969: 275-278) and/or on the practice of scapulimancy. A very old, at the latest 13th-century, manuscript of Zhi-byed teachings (the content is mostly 12th-century) does, in one single passage, describe India as chariot shaped, while the four horns of Tibet are scapular shaped (Kun-dga' 1979: III 1). I believe that the presence of this natively

Tibetan geographical conception indicates a particularly Himalayan adaptation of the *AK* passage.

Secondly, despite the great significance that has sometimes been laid on the presence of Indic vocabulary items in Zhang-zhung (some are listed in Dagkar 1997: 690), there are precious few Sanskritisms in the Zhang-zhung text of the *mDzod phug* as a whole. In it I have identified no more than six. In our cosmology passage, two of these occur. The one very obvious one, located at nos. 22 and 28 in the chart, is *has ti*, the Sanskrit *hastin*, meaning 'elephant.' A less obvious Sanskritism, found at nos. 25-30, is the word *ya ma*, which would be the Sanskrit *yama*, meaning a 'pair', but corresponding to the Tibetan translation *g-yas g-yon*, 'right-left.' It is a puzzling fact that this Sanskritism appears in a part of the text with nothing to correspond to it in the *AK* (and when I checked the corresponding Sanskrit text of the *AK* and its commentary I could not locate the word *yama*).

Between the cosmology passage at the beginning of chapter 5 and the following measurement passage at the end of chapter 6, I have identified at least a dozen brief passages with parallels in *AK*, but will pass over them here.

The following passage on length measurements in both spatial and temporal dimensions is from *mDzod phug*, at the very end of chapter 6 (note that there is a detailed discussion of this passage, and of measurements of space, verbalizations and time, in the work by Tre-ston as contained in Mimaki and Karmay 1997: 105, fol. 177b; and compare sGa: 407 ff., where the animal names 'rabbit', 'sheep', and 'ox' are explained because they are particles the size of dust that can settle on the ends of the hairs of those animals, that the sun ray particles are the smallest ones visible to the human eye):

mDzod phug, Zhang-zhung.	*mDzod phug*, Tibetan.
ro kung ma ming lo tar ni /	*gzugs dang ming dang dus mtha' ni /*
slas dur gug ge tig mi min /	*rdul dang yi ge skad cig ma /*
ti pra sla tur dar ce ji /	*phra rab rdul dang rdul phran dang /*
zangs ti 'bo la lug ti hab /	*lcags chu ri bong lug dang glang /*
nyi 'khor sla tur pra min ci /	*nyi zer rdul dang sro ma dang /* + [35]
pra mo zag tsi sni tse bran /	*shig la nas bskyed bdun 'gyur sor /*
pra tse ne cu bi nga tsa /	*sor tshigs nyi shu rtsa bzhi khru /*
tsa ring bi nga weg ti ci /	*khru bzhi la ni gzhu 'dom gang /*
da dog nga ra 'u glang gyin /	*de dag lnga brgya rgyang grags yin /*
de ni ti gyad ge dhim gyin /	*de dag brgyad la dpag tshad gcig /*

tog ci ra nis cu tse li /	*skad tsam brgya dang nyi shu la /*
tog tig ma min da yun ci /	*skad cig ma ni yin par 'dod /*
de na drug cu ti tang ni /	*de dag drug cu thang gcig ste /*
ti tang ti yu dzag sla sum /	*thang yud zhag zla sum cu 'gyur /*
zla ri nyi chu la lod tig /	*zla ba bcu gnyis lo gcig ste /*
rgyu gang ti par ti pre gyin /	*gang po 'phar ni phyed phyed rtsi /*

The parallel *Abhidharmakośa* passage is found toward the end of chapter 3, immediately before its discussion on the *kalpa*s (for an English translation, see Pruden 1988-1990: 474-5).

skad cig phra rab rdul dang ni //
rdul phran dang ni de bzhin du //
lcags chu ri bong lug dang glang //
nyi zer rdul dang sro ma dang //
de las byung dang de bzhin du //
sor tshigs zhes bya gong bdun bsgyur //
sor mo nyi shu bzhi la khru //
khru bzhi la ni gzhu gang ngo //
de dag lnga brgya rnams la ni //
rgyang grags de la dgon par 'dod //
de brgyad dpag tshad ces bya'o //
skad cig ma brgya nyi shu la //
de yi skad cig de dag kyang //
drug cu la ni thang cig go //
yud tsam nyin zhag zla gsum ni //
gong nas gong du sum cu 'gyur //
zhag mi thub dang bcas pa yi //
zla ba bcu gnyis la lo gcig //

Despite some minor differences in these parallel texts, the measurement systems work very much the same. For the first twelve units, from the 'extremely minute' up to the 'finger-width' each unit is the size of the preceding unit multiplied by seven. Then, for the larger units, 24 'finger-widths' make a 'cubit', four cubits make a 'span', 500 spans make a *rgyang grags*, and eight *rgyang grags* make a *dpag tshad.* The time measurements range from a fraction of a second, or about 0.0133333 seconds to be more precise (see discussion in Rospatt 1995: 99), up to the lengths of months and years.

3. Bon Theory and Dharma Theory

The final parallel we will look at is, like the Mental States, a list and not a passage. Its importance should not be slighted, since this list constitutes a complete Bon Theory. This Bon Theory forms the outline or skeletal structure of the last eleven of the seventeen chapters of the *mDzod phug*. The closest parallels to the *mDzod phug* Bon Theory are doubtlessly Bon Theories found in other Bon scriptures, those included in the major division of the Bon Kanjur known as the *'Bum sde*, in particular *'Bum sde* scriptures such as the variously lengthed versions of the *Khams brgyad* and *bDal 'bum*. The Mental States list itself constitutes a subset of the general Bon Theory, since it falls under the the category of 'compounding factors', the fourth of the five skandhas that form a part of the sangsaric Bons list. In general, Bon Theory, just like Dharma Theory, may be divided into sangsaric Bons and nirvanic Bons, while the nirvanic Bons may be further subdivided into Path Bons and Result Bons.

There is indeed a Dharma Theory underlying the structure of much of the *AK*, but the *AK*'s Dharma Theory is not our closest match with the Bon Theories of the *mDzod phug* and *Khams brgyad* (a comparison of the latter two has already been done by Tre-ston, as found in his work in Mimaki and Karmay 1997: 101-5). Dharma Theory itself has a very complex history, which has been the subject of a detailed study by Rupert Gethin (1992). As Gethin shows, Dharma Theory, with its roots in the Nikâyas, underwent further development in the Abhidharma treatises, and still further development in the *Prajñâpâramitâ* scriptures (on the latter, see Gethin 1992: 275, 357-8, especially). There is a sense in which the *Prajñâpâramitâ* is not only a reaction against Abhidharma, but a continuation of it, and Dharma Theory is one of the clearer evidences for this continuity. "... the Mahâyâna Buddhism of the early Perfection of Wisdom literature primarily defined itself through its critique of the Abhidharma, upon the categories of which it is by that very token substantially dependent for its articulation" (Mayer 1998: 307). In order to demonstrate the close proximity of the *mDzod phug* Bon Theory with the Dharma Theory as found in the longer *Prajñâpâramitâ* sûtras, we will parallel the former with a list extracted from a passage of the 25,000 version of the *Prajñâpâramitâ* (*PP* I 529-30, which is one of a very large number of passages in the same volume that could have been used). To make simpler what is already a very complex subject, the sangsaric Bons are left aside (the sangsaric Bons and Dharmas correspond almost exactly in content, and the few small differences in ordering are not very interesting; see mKhan-chen 1982: 140-141, where it is stated that there are generally 47 members divided into six sets, but that the 100,000 *Khams brgyad* omits *rnam par shes pa'i khams*, and so has only 46 in its sangsaric Bon list) and our

comparison will be limited to the nirvanic Bons. The numbering of the items has been added by myself.

mDzod phug, chap. 13.	25,000 Prajñâpâramitâ.
[Path Bons]	
The 10 perfections [*bla na med par phyin pa*, 'gone to the unsurpassable'] [91].	[The 6 perfections; *pha rol tu phyin pa*, 'gone to the opposite side']
1. *sbyin pa.*	1. *sbyin pa.*
2. *tshul khrims.*	2. *tshul khrims.*
3. *bzod pa.*	3. *bzod pa.*
4. *brtson 'grus.*	4. *brtson 'grus.*
5. *bsam gtan.*	5. *bsam gtan.*
6. *stobs.*	6. *shes rab.*
7. *snying rje.*	
8. *smon lam.*	
9. *thabs.*	
10. *shes rab.*	
The 18 emptinesses [95].	[The 18 emptinesses]
1. *phyi ni stong pa.*	1. *nang stong pa nyid.*
2. *nang stong.*	2. *phyi stong pa nyid.*
3. *phyi nang stong pa.*	3. *phyi nang stong pa nyid.*
4. *'dus byas stong pa.*	4. *stong pa nyid stong pa nyid.*
5. *'dus ma byas stong.*	5. *chen po stong pa nyid.*
6. *mtha' 'das stong pa.*	6. *don dam pa stong pa nyid.*
7. *mi dmigs stong pa.*	7. *'dus byas stong pa nyid.*
8. *chen po stong pa.*	8. *'dus ma byas stong pa nyid.*
9. *don dam stong pa.*	9. *mtha' las 'das pa stong pa nyid.*
10. *rang bzhin stong pa.*	10. *thog ma dang tha ma med pa stong pa nyid.*
11. *rang bzhin med stong.*	11. *dor ba med pa stong pa nyid.*
12. *rang gi mtshan nyid.*	12. *rang bzhin stong pa nyid.*
13. *thog mtha' med stong.*	13. *chos thams cad stong pa nyid.*
14. *dor med stong pa.*	14. *rang gi mtshan nyid stong pa nyid.*
15. *dngos med stong pa.*	15. *mi dmigs pa stong pa nyid.*
16. *dngos med ngo bo.*	16. *dngos po med pa stong pa nyid.*
17. *bon ni thams cad stong pa.*	17. *ngo bo nyid stong pa nyid.*
18. *stong pa nyid ni stong pa.*	18. *dngos po med pa'i ngo bo nyid stong pa nyid.*
	[Note: Here only the first 3 of the 18

	emptiness are listed, but the 'complete' list is given here as found earlier on in the text (*PP*: I 44r).]
The 4 establishments of mindfulness (*dran pa nye bar bzhags pa bzhi*). 1. *lus*. 2. *sems*. 3. *tshor ba*. 4. *bon*.	The 4 establishments of mindfulness (*dran pa nye bar bzhag pa bzhi*).
The 4 right abandonings (*yang dag spong ba bzhi*). 1. *yod med*. 2. *rtag chad*. 3. *gzung 'dzin*. 4. *bying rgod*.	The 4 right abandonings (*yang dag par spong ba bzhi*).
The 4 bases of miraculous powers (*rdzu 'phrul rkang pa bzhi*). 1. *mos par spyod pa'i ting 'dzin*. 2. *'dun pa skye ba'i ting 'dzin*. 3. *gsal bar rtogs pa'i ting 'dzin*. 4. *mnyam pa ngang gi ting 'dzin*.	The 4 bases of miraculous powers (*rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa bzhi*).
The 6 faculties (*dbang po drug*). 1. *gcod pa'i dbang po*. 2. *srog gi dbang po*. 3. *rtogs pa'i dbang po*. 4. *shes pa'i dbang po*. 5. *rig pa'i dbang po*. 6. *gsal ba'i dbang po*.	The 5 faculties (*dbang po lnga*).
	The 5 powers (*stobs lnga*).
	The 7 awakening factors (*byang chub kyi yan lag bdun*).
	The noble 8 factored path (*'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad*).
	The 4 noble truths (*'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi*).
	The 4 *dhyânas* (*bsam gtan bzhi*).
The 6 contemplative states (*ting 'dzin rnam pa*	

drug).

1. yongs su rdzogs pa'i ting 'dzin.
2. *rgyu yi ting nge 'dzin.*
3. *kun tu snang gi ting 'dzin.*
4. *de bzhin nyid kyi ting 'dzin.*
5. *cir yang ma yin ting 'dzin.*
6. *yongs rdzogs gsal ba'i ting 'dzin.*

The 4 paths of Shenrab (*gshen rab lam*).

1. *gshen lam dkar po.*
2. *gshen lam ring po.*
3. *gshen lam drang po.*
4. *gshen lam dbu ma.*

The 13 fearless strengths or great strengths (*mi 'jigs stobs, stobs chen*).

1. *ye shes chen po'i stobs chen.*
2. *byams pa chen po'i stobs chen.*
3. *zhi ba chen po'i stobs chen.*
4. *chog shes chen po'i stobs mchog.*
5. *yang pa chen po'i stobs.*
6. *shes rab chen po'i stobs chen.*
7. *bsam gtan chen po'i stobs chen.*
8. *rdzu 'phrul chen po'i stobs chen.*
9. *lta* ba chen po'i stobs chen.
10. *brtson 'grus chen po'i stobs chen.*
11. *bzod pa chen po'i stobs chen.*
12. *thugs rje chen po'i stobs chen.*
13. *sbyin pa chen po'i stobs chen.*

The 8 paths of freedom (*thar pa'i lam*).

1. *mi dang lha yi lam.*

2. *'khor chags med pa'i lam.*
3. *bslu ba med pa'i lam.*
4. *bgrod pa med pa'i lam.*
5. *g-yang sa med pa'i lam.*
6. *dal 'byor gnas lam.*
7. *sgrib pa med gsal.*
8. *bar chad med gsal.*

[Result Bons]

The result of the non-returner (*phyir mi ldog pa'i 'bras bu*).

16 qualities listed.

1. *chu rgyun gcod pa.*
2. *ltung bar mi 'gyur.*
3. *ci la'ang mi spyod.*
4. *'od ltar gsal ba.*
5. *bde ldan rtogs pa.*
6. *gsal rtogs ma yengs.*
7. *shes rab gsal ba.*
8. *bden pa'i don ldan.*
9. *don la zhen pa.*
10. *cir yang gsal ba.*
11. *thig le gcig gsal.*
12. *mi rtog sgo yang.*
13. *yid bzhin bde reg.*
14. *sbyor 'bral med pa.*
15. *rtag tu bde ldan.*
16. *ngang la mi g-yo.*

The result of the once-returner (*lan cig phyir 'ong 'bras bu*) [110].

11 qualities listed.

1. *thugs rje mnyam snyoms.*
2. *gnas nas bde ba.*
3. *thams cad grub pa.*
4. *thabs la mkhas pa.*
5. *tshad med snying rje.*
6. *thams cad mkhyen pa.*
7. *thugs rje shugs ldan.*
8. *dgongs pa lhun grub.*
9. *thugs rjes bder stobs.*
10. *rdzu 'phrul thabs ldan.*
11. *mnyam pa ngang.*

The result of the stream enterer (*rgyun du zhugs pa'i 'bras bu*).	
8 qualities listed.	
1. *yid bzhin kun rtogs.*	
2. *bon du kun shes.*	
3. *thams cad kun gsal.*	
4. *mnyam pa nyid.*	
5. *'og men gsal rtogs.*	
6. *mi 'gyur brtan pa.*	
7. *gnas na brtan pa.*	
8. *lhun gyis rdzogs pa.*	
The 4 immeasurables (*tshad med bzhi*).	The 4 immeasurables (*tshad med bzhi*).
1. *byams pa chen po.*	
2. *snying rje chen po.*	
3. *dga' ba chen po.*	
4. *btang snyoms chen po.*	
	The 4 formless absorptions (*gzugs med pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa bzhi*).
	[Note: This may correspond to a Bon category listed later on.]
	The 8 liberations (*rnam par thar pa brgyad*).
	[Note: This may correspond to a Bon category listed above.]
	The 9 absorptions of ultimate abode (*mthar gyis gnas pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa dgu*).
	[Note: This may correspond to a Bon category listed later on.]
	Emptiness, signlessness, wishlessness and the 5 superknowledges (*stong pa nyid dang mtshan ma med pa dang smon pa med pa dang mngon par shes pa lnga*).
	All contemplative states (*ting nge 'dzin thams cad*).
	All *dhâraî* doors (*gzungs kyi sgo thams cad*).
	The Tathâgata's 10 powers (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i stobs bcu*)
	The 4 fearlessnesses (*mi 'jigs pa bzhi*).

Cir yang phye ba med pa la ma 'dres dgu.

1. *skye med gdod na dag pa.*
2. *snang srid dpe la 'das pa.*
3. *tshad med lhun la rdzogs pa.*
4. *tshad med g-yung drung dbyings nyid.*
5. *brtsal med lhun gyis grub pa.*
6. *ye nas 'gyur med brtan pa.*
7. *'chi med skyes snang btsan pa.*
8. *chags med rnam par dag pa.*
9. *dngos med yongs su khyab pa.*

Rang gis rig pa nyid (7 qualities).

1. *yod med mtha' las 'das pa.*
2. *yi ge a ltar gsal shes pa.*
3. *mtshan mar mi spyod shes pa.*
4. *mi sbyor mi 'byed shes pa.*
5. *rang gi rang bzhin stong shes pa.*
6. *ye nas 'dus ma byas shes pa.*
7. *yongs rgya ma chad shes pa.*

gYung drung yan lag dgu [113].

1. *snang stong rgod kyang med pa.*
2. *skye 'gags rgod kyang med pa.*
3. *spong len rgod kyang med pa.*
4. *spong len rgod kyang med pa.*
5. *yod med rgod kyang med pa.*
6. *rtag chad rgod kyang med pa.*
7. *'byung 'jug rgod kyang med pa.*

8. *tshigs tshogs rgod kyang med pa.*
9. *cha 'dzin rgod kyang med pa.*

[Note: here the *bDal 'bum* adds *Ye shes chen po lnga*, but this is not in 100,000, and not in *mDzod phug*.]

The 4 [types of] truths [spoken] by Shenrab (*gshen rab kyis ni bden pa bzhi*).

1. *don ni dam par gsung pa yi* [gshen rab bden pa].
2. *gtan la phebs par gsung pa yi+.*
3. *bka' ni tshad mar gsung pa yi+.*
4. *yang dag nges par gsungs pa yi+.*

The 4 specific correct knowledges *so so yang dag rig pa bzhi*).

1. *spyi dang rang gi mtshan nyid.*
2. *lam gyi rnam pa thams cad.*
3. *gnas kyi khyad par so so.*
4. *dge sdig 'bras bu ma 'dres pa.*

[Note: Starting from here, there is nothing clearly comparable to the *PP* list.]

Mi bsnyel ba yi gzungs bdun.

1. *yengs pa med pa'i spyan ldan pas.*
2. *ma sgrib rig pa rang shar*

The 4 specific correct knowledges (*so so yang dag par rig pa bzhi*).

Great love and great compassion (*byams pa chen po dang snying rje chen po*).

The 18 unique characteristics of a Buddha (*sangs rgyas kyi chos ma 'dres pa bco brgyad*).

[Note: This may seem to correspond to a list of 9 unique qualities in the Bon list, above.]

bas.
3. *ma bcos ye shes rang snang bas.*
4. *mi g-yo dgongs pa spyir khyab pas.*
5. *mi 'khrul shes rab ldan 'gyur pas.*
6. *rnam par mi rtog lta ba yi.*
7. *mi 'gyur 'bras bu gsal rtogs pas.*

mThar gyi snyom par 'jug pa dgu.
1. *rnam par mi rtog lta ba la.*
2. *mi 'gyur mi ldog bsam gtan la.*
3. *mi 'khrugs mi 'chol bden pa la.*
4. *thabs kyi ma chags spyod pa la.*
5. *lhun gyis grub pa'i 'phrin las la.*
6. *bgrod du med pa'i lam rnams las.*
7. *dmigs pa med pa'i sa gnas la.*
8. *byung tshor med pa'i bzod pa la.*
9. *gza' gtad med pa'i dgongs pa la.*

mTshan ma med par snyom 'jug pa bzhi.
1. *dngos po'i mtshan nyid med pa la.*
2. *rang bzhin mtshan ma med pa la.*
3. *rnam rtog mtshan ma med pa la.*
4. *bag chags mtshan ma med pa yi.*

gYung drung dbyings nas dgu.
1. *mu med.*
2. *'byams yas.*
3. *rgya ma chad pa.*
[4. *kha gting med pa.*]*

missing.
5. *dpag tu med pa.*
6. *dogs med.*
7. *gdal pa chen po.*
8. *zad med.*
9. *'gyur med.*

rGyun du gnas pa'i thugs rje bzhi.
1. *rgyun mi 'chad pa.*
2. *zad pa med pa.*
3. *kun la snyom pa.*
4. *dpag tu med pa.*

[The Eleven Marks of the Result.]

rTogs pa chen po'i lta ba bzhi [117].
1. *rnam rtog las 'das mkhyen pa.*
2. *gsal la 'dzin chags med mkhyen pa.*
3. *snang srid ma spong kun mkhyen pa.*
4. *dbyings dang ye shes ma 'gags mkhyen.*

bSrung du med pa'i dam tshig gsum.
1. *blang dor med par mkhyen pa.*
2. *bdag dang gzhan du mi 'dzin pa.*
3. *mi g-yo ngang la gnas mkhyen pa.*

lHun gyis grub pa'i 'phrin las bzhi.
1. *ma rtsal lhun gyis grub pa.*
2. *rang bzhin rnam dag lhun grub pa.*
3. *dbang dang ldan pa lhun grub pa.*
4. *zab mo lta bu lhun grub pa.*

rNam par dag pa'i spyod pa bzhi.
1. *thabs kyi ma chags spyod pa yi.*

2. *dal 'byor yid mi g-yo ba yi.*
3. *mtshan ma cir yang mi spyod pa'i.*
4. *rang bzhin cer yang ma bcos pa'i.*

Legs par 'byung ba'i yon tan bzhi.

1. *thams cad yongs su ma stong par.*
2. *thams cad yongs su ma spang bas.*
3. *thams cad yongs gsal ma 'gags par.*
4. *thams cad yongs su ma sgrib par.*

sNyom par gnas pa'i ngang nyid bzhi.

1. *skye ba med pa'i dbyings nyid la.*
2. *bde ba chen po'i pho brang nas.*
3. *kun tu gsal ba'i 'od dbus nas.*
4. *thugs rje chen po'i rgyun thag la.*

'Gyur ba med pa'i sku bzhi.

1. *gsal la yongs su khyab pa yi.*
2. *g-yung drung lhun la gnas pa yi.*
3. *de bzhin srog med g-yung drung gis.*
4. *bde chen bon la thim pa yi.*

Rang bzhin med pa'i gsung bzhi.

1. *spros pa thams cad dang bral.*
2. *mthar gyi ma 'gags gnas pa.*
3. *snang srid yongs su grags pa.*
4. *de nyid 'du bral med pa.*

mNyam nyid 'khrul ba med pa yi thugs rje bzhi.

1. *mi mnyam snyom mkhyen*

rjes mi rtog.
2. *mi 'khrul so so'i rjes mi rtog.*
3. *mi skye mi 'gags rjes mi rtog.*
4. *rig pa rdeng gyur rjes mi rtog.*

rNam pa thams cad mkhyen pa yi ye shes.
1. *kun gsal don rtogs.*

Bla med 'bras bu (equivalent to *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i 'bras bu*).
1. *de nyid ma bcos.*

[end of chap. 13]

It cannot be demonstrated, however obvious the parallels between the two lists, that this particular Dharma Theory list is the very one on which the Bon Theory list is based. What the parallels do demonstrate is that Bon Theory ought to be investigated and understood as part of the general developmental history of Dharma Theory. The fact that both theories head their nirvanic lists with 'perfections' and 'emptinesses' is already at the very least a sign that the Bon list is necessarily non-Abhidharma, since these do not, as far as I am aware, form a part of the Dharma Theories in Abhidharma texts (the Bon and Dharma listings of ten perfections differ in that the Bon list 'transfers' *shes rab* to the end of the list, where it 'replaces' the *ye shes* of Dharma lists, and 'adds' *snying rje*; noting that, while the Theravâda does have its own canonical list of ten perfections, it is not the one at issue here; see Hallisey 1987, Dayal 1932/1975: 165-171 and Ratnayaka 1985: 69-90; note, too, that 25 types of emptinesses are listed in one Nikâya text, on which see Frauwallner 1995: 87; and the beginning of the list — external emptiness, internal emptiness and external-internal emptiness — occurs in a Pâli sutta, on which see Nagao 1991: 52, the Tibetan and Pâli texts in Skilling 1994: 210-15 corresponding to the English translation in Ñâṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 972-3, and Bodhi 1992: 243-317; for explanation of the Prajñâpâramitâ lists of 18 or 20 emptinesses, see Conze 1984: 144-8 or Dayal 1932/1975: 246). The *mDzod phug* and *Khams brgyad* word for 'perfection', *bla na med par phyin pa*, might be in some slight degree more grammatically correct as a translation of the Sanskrit *pâramitâ* than the *pha rol tu phyin pa* of the Tibetan-language Prajñâpâramitâ sûtras. The 25,000 *PP* does include the categories once-returners, non-returners and stream enterers at the end of some of its Dharma Theory lists (and Klong-rdol [1991: I 442, 464] locates them at the end of the

Dharma Theory of the 100,000 *PP*, and for this latter list in Sanskrit, one might refer to Reuter 1940: 15). For an example of an early Abhidharma text which includes them in its general Dharma Theory, we might mention the *Dharmaskandha* (Frauwallner 1995: 16; Pruden 1988-90: 23; and Willemen *et al.* 1998: 183-4). While both Bon Theory and Dharma Theory end with complete Buddhahood, the Bon Theory places the lesser attainments of once-returners and so forth at the beginning of its list of result Bons. (For a complete listing of Bon Theory as found in the 100,000 *Khams brgyad*, see gShen-chen 1975: I 83-86, and for a discussion of the differences between the nirvanic lists in the different chapters of that work, see mKhan-chen 1982: 141.)

4. Concluding Remarks

This paper is subtitled 'A Progress Report' because the work of textual comparison is by no means completed, and it would therefore be presumptious to state that anything is 'concluded' It seems to be well established that the *AK* is one very important source for parallel materials. However, the auto-commentary on the *AK*, the *Bhâṣya*, also contains parallels with the *mDzod phug*. I have located a few of these, most notably the parallel list of seventeen heavens of the Form Realm (see the papers by Mimaki and Blondeau in this volume), but there are certainly more to be found after a more systematic comparison. And it is of course possible that the *mDzod phug* contains parallels from still other texts not mentioned here.

To summarize, it does appear quite certain that three fairly lengthy passages of the *mDzod phug* were in some way taken from the Tibetan translation of the *AK*. The most convincing proof of this is the passage on *kalpa*s. The Mental States list is probably drawn somewhat indirectly from the *AS*. The Bon Theory list exhibits certain Mahâyâna characteristics that make it likely that it was derived in one way or another from the Dharma Theory of the Prajñâpâramitâ sûtras (although at the same time one may note the absence of some specifically Mahâyâna terms in the *mDzod phug*; even if there is indeed talk of 'generating compassion' there is neither mention of 'generating the thought of Enlightenment' nor of 'bodhisattvas' nor of 'passing beyond suffering' nor of a transcendence of the duality of sangsara and nirvana; neither, on the other hand, is there any mention of the Nine Vehicles of Bon individually or as a group, even though lists of them are quite commonly encountered in Bon scriptures of all classes). Taken together, these lists and passages cover the basics of the scientific fields of psychology, cosmology, and measurement, together with eschatology and soteriology of a markedly Buddhist kind. I would suggest that these are not so much to be

understood as ornaments added to another scientific system. They may just as well be considered as together constituting the ruling scientific system of the *mDzod phug* (without, however, denying that there are specifically Himalayan concepts in the text — one example was already pointed out — but this is a subject for another study).

There will be obvious objections to this conclusion from a Bonpo perspective, according to which Bon is a universal and extremely ancient religion that spread in many countries, including India. sGa-ston Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, at the very beginning of his 14th-century commentary on the *mDzod phug* (sGa: 147) gives the following historical account (which is in fact extracted from a historical work belonging to the *Ye khri* cycle, a cycle said to have come to Tibet via India; for this source see Dagkar 1997: 691 and the paper by Rossi in this volume):

> *rgya kar ba rnams kyang dang por zhang zhung ga khyung spungs pa la dngos grub babs pa las / rgya kar ba gsas 'od g-yung drung gi ring la rgya gar du 'gyur bar bshad do.*

"As far as the Indians are concerned, firstly, it fell as an object of para-normal powers to Zhang-zhung Ga-khyung spungs-pa, after which it was translated in India during the time of the Indian gSas-'od g-yung-drung."

I know of only two other mentionings of Ga-khyung spungs-pa, the first in the history by sPa-ston bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, which I date to the late 15th century. The context is a history of the emergence of rDzogs chen and mantric teachings. It tells a story about how a married couple named mKha'-ra-khyung and gSal-'bar-ldan were unable to have children. So they went to ask Zhang-zhung sPrang-rje gSal-thang to help them with this problem. As a result (sPa-ston 1972: 634):

> *zhang zhung ga khyu spungs pa sras su 'khrungs / sde snod zung gsum ma slab par mkhyen / rdzogs chen ye khri'i po ti mkha' la babs te / zhang zhung gi yul du rab du dar / de la rgya kar gyi gshen po gsal 'od g-yung drung gis zhus nas / rgya kar du bsgyur nas dar bas rgya kar mar grags so.*

"Zhang-zhung Ga-khyu spungs-pa was born as their son. He knew the three pairs of baskets [of scriptures] without studying them. The volume of the *rDzogs chen Ye khri* fell [on him from] the sky. It spread widely in the region of Zhang-zhung. The Indian gShen-po gSal-'od g-yung-drung requested it from him, and after [he] translated it into Indian [language] it spread, and became known as the *rGya kar ma* (the Indian [system/text])."

In Shar-rdza's (1985: 155) recent quotation (he cites sGa-ston's

commentary by title only) this account serves as an example of Bon teachings spreading first to sTag-gzig (on sTag-gzig, see Dagkar 1997: 687), then to Zhang-zhung, and from there to India (and note also that accounts of the 'six translators' include lHa-bdag sngags-grol who translated Bon scriptures directly from the language of 'Ol-mo lung-ring into Indian language[s]; for example Shar-rdza 1985: 150). There is no mention of the rDzogs chen text *Ye khri* (on which, see the study by Rossi in this volume) or of the *mDzod phug* here. As far as I know there is no specific collaborating account of the *mDzod phug* spreading to India, or being translated into an Indian language. Even if there were, it would not be sufficient to explain the *kalpa* parallel. The reason is simple. Imagine a single passage being translated from two different source languages by two different translators resulting in an identical translation in the target language. The possibility is very slim, and given the technical language of the passage, quite impossible. We are then forced to decide whether it is the Sanskrit or the Zhang-zhung that is behind this shared passage. It surely cannot be both.

Another possible objection would be based on the presence of the Zhang-zhung text for all of these parallel passages. Doesn't the Zhang-zhung language prove that the Tibetan translation had to be derived from it? Rolf A. Stein (1971) long ago came to a conclusion, based in large part on vocabulary to be found in the cosmology passage, that many of the Zhang-zhung proper names and technical terms must have been formed on the basis of the Tibetan. Stein's study is in some part vitiated because he did not sufficiently realize how much his evidence was contaminated. I would argue that Stein's conclusion as far as the verifiable *mDzod phug* vocabulary is concerned, if valid, probably applies only to the Zhang-zhung of the parallel passages. He did not take sufficiently into account the transformations undergone by the vocabulary during the last thousand years of its scribal transmission, changes introduced by the glossary makers, and so forth. (I have developed my own very different hypothesis about the method of Zhang-zhung 'encodement', on which, see Appendix B.) The Zhang-zhung vocabulary of the *mDzod phug* is not consistent throughout its chapters. For example, one finds in chapter 1 the Zhang-zhung word *du phud* several times corresponding to the Tibetan *'khor lo*, 'wheel', but in chapters 5 and 16 we find the clearly Indic Zhang-zhung words *tsa khri* and *tsag kor* (Sanskrit *cakra*, the usual Tibetan transcription being *tsa kra*) instead, and other examples could be pointed out. My hope is that traditional Bon historians will accept the challenge and bring forward arguments for the precedence of Bon texts, and account for the evidence given here in a different way. I hope, too, that linguists will begin to take more seriously the extent of the textual/scribal transformations that stand in the way of finding 'original' Zhang-zhung words on which to base their comparative studies.

But, at the same time as we make this conclusion about the parallels, it ought to be brought into some wider perspective. The words of the parallel lists and passages together make up a very small part of the text as a whole. They are well integrated into a 'physic' based on five elements and their correspondences. The adjustments made to the passages and lists to bring them into line with this larger scientific structure are not different in kind from adjustments that occurred throughout the history of Abhidharma treatises in general (for examples, the omission by Vaibhâṣikas of *dṛṣṭi*, 'views', from their list of the six root afflictions, or the differences in ascriptions of sub-categories to the Mental States *prajñâ*, 'insight', and *smṛti*, 'remembering', by different schools as noted in Jaini 1977: 405-6, Jaini 1992, and Nyanaponika 1992; for one argument about historical changes in Dharma Theory lists, see Bronkhorst 1985, as well as Gethin 1992: 281). To better make this point, we would have to look into what I would call the 'dynamic of the list' in Buddhist culture, a very complex subject indeed. It is well known that the Abhidharma treatises may in very large part be explainable as complex elaborations based on lists extracted from, or developed on the basis of, the Nikâya scriptures (although Bronkhorst [1985] has argued that some later suttas in fact derived their lists from Abhidharma works). These lists, called *mâtṛkâ* in Sanskrit, *ma mo* in Tibetan, may form outlines for works in part or in their entirety, or they may be 'mixed into' repeated propositions. The Tibetan-language technical verb for this 'mixing in' is one for which I have found no workable English expression. The repeated sentences or verses into which the list has been slotted are called *'gres rkang* (misspellings like *'grel rkang*, *'dres rkang* and the like are common), and the verbal action performed when, one-by-one and in order, one places the members of the list within the repeated sentences, is *'gre ba*. (This is exactly what Allon 1997 calls by the not very precise expression 'repetition of structure' One meaning of the Tibetan verb is 'to roll oneself back and forth' like, for instance, animals on the ground.) Tibetan writers of both Bon and Chos schools have until now continued to be aware that such a process is at work in their scriptures, that an understanding of it may prove important for various purposes that include memorization, recitation and textual criticism (for examples, the Bon text by [rMe'u-ston] lHa-ri gnyen-po [1975], which shows how even the earliest manuscripts of the 100,000 *Khams brgyad* differed in their particular listings; Gur-zhog-pa [1975], Gur-zhog-pa being in my opinion just another name for rMe'u-ston lHa-ri gnyen-po [1024-1091] on account of his founding of Gur-zhog Monastery in Shangs Valley of gTsang province; mKhan-chen 1982: 140-143 and dPal-tshul 1988: 138; and for Chos texts, see Klong-rdol 1991: I 437-464; mKhyen-brtse 1977, and dKa'-chen 1979, with earlier discussions contained in the Prajñâpâramitâ-based works by Rong-ston Shes-bya kun-rig [1367-1449] not presently available to me). The

original function of the *mâtṛkâ* in early Buddhist times (for all we know, already in the words spoken by Gautama) was probably simply to facilitate the oral transmission of the text (on the oral nature of early Buddhist scriptures, see especially Allon 1997, Collins 1992, Cousins 1983 and Lopez 1995). Even in later centuries, the memorization of the *mâtṛkâ* would serve to make possible not only oral recitations of scriptures from memory, but also well ordered discourses covering the range of Buddhist teachings (those who find this to be unfamiliar territory are advised to read Gethin 1992). The *mâtṛkâ* principle underlies most of the Abhidharma literature, and is also active in the *mDzod phug*, along with much of the *Khams brgyad* and Prajñâpâramitâ literature. My suggestion is that the *mDzod phug* is best understood, historically speaking, not only as a continuation of the general Buddhist Abhidharma tradition, but also a continuation of a traditional Buddhist technique for perpetuating and reproducing the teachings of the Buddha for different audiences. If Abhidharma treatises could be produced in Kashmir, Gandhâra, Tukhâra and Bactria, there is really no reason they could not be produced in nearby Zhang-zhung and Tibet as well.

Up until now, scholarship has uncovered very few examples of Bon-Chos intertextuality (for a survey with references, see Martin 1991: 83-109), and these scarcely amount to a drop in the two oceans of their scriptural collections. The traditional Chos polemical stance, that Bon scriptures are entirely explainable as Chos scriptures with a word or two changed here and there as necessary, is inadequate for explaining the so-far observed textual facts (Walter [1994] has shown that two texts, one Bon and one Chos, that might be presumed similar based on their similar titles, in fact have hardly any wording in common). This particular type of scriptural adaptation is, at this stage of research, best attested in rNying-ma-pa adaptations of Bon scripture (as well as perhaps in Buddhist adaptations of Shaivite tantric scriptures, as argued by Alexis Sanderson, on which, see Mayer 1998). The shared lists (and the methods of slotting them into repeated passages) would seem to suggest that in future comparative work parallel structures may prove as significant as parallel passages.

All religious revelations, as startlingly original as they may sometimes seem, are largely explainable as reframings of prior revelations. The large and 'universal' religions such as Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism are perfect proofs of this rule. When we explain their success we are unfortunately most likely to argue, whether explicitly or not, that this resulted from a rigid adherence to some totally original doctrine vigorously promoted and defended from all external attacks. This is unfortunate because we obscure the degree to which their successes were due to their adaptability, or to that elusive quality of 'tolerance' (which may be hidden under more-or-less overlapping terms like 'patience', 'longsuffering', 'empathy', 'mercy', 'charity', 'generosity',

'openness', and 'flexibility'). I would suggest that, as a tolerant and adaptable tradition, Bon probably did not 'appropriate' Chos passages and lists as "a means for keeping up with the Buddhists" (Batchelor 1998: 12), but rather because they had already, in some as yet unascertainable fashion, come to accept the ideas contained in those passages. After further reflection, it would be just as blameworthy to 'blame' Bon for this as it would be to blame the contemporary Tibetan exile government for adapting — and treating as traditional Tibetan virtues — late 20th-century ideologies of environmental protectionism (Huber 1991, 1997; Cantwell forthcoming). In the end, seeing this very adaptability demonstrates to us that Bon was a tradition of continuing revelation, and not just a fossil record of its past. It was alive. It flourished within the cultural and intellectual environments of the times in which it continued and (therefore) continues to live.

At times it seems that academic Bon Studies teeters on the peak of a three-sided pyramid. We would tumble down one side if we were to say that Bon is definitely a Buddhist lineage, down another if we were to say that it is an ancient pre-Buddhist Himalayan aboriginal lineage, and down still another by calling it a sTag-gzig lineage imported from the west. At this stage of research, it would seem wisest to continue teetering so that we might continue to communicate.

Finally, the worst result of textual comparison would be if it were taken as an excuse for escalating that particular complex of afflictive mental states called sectarianism. The best would be if parallels could be seen as commonalities, on the basis of which an open minded dialogue could take place in all good will. Common views on the psychology of mental states would be one very good subject for getting the conversation started. Some identical or at least very similar jewels take pride of place in those two different treasuries.

Afterword

Data versions (Mac format, Word) of the *mDzod phug*, the only lengthy bilingual Zhang-zhung-Tibetan scripture, have been made available. I would like to thank Per Kvaerne (Oslo) for supplying photocopies of the main published versions of the *mDzod phug*. Without them, this edition would not have been possible. I would also like to thank profusely Henk Blezer (Leiden) for procuring copies of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* in Sanskrit, Tibetan and French, and Jonathan Silk (New Haven) for supplying Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhakaprakaraṇa* in Tibetan. In general, this study owes much to the experience of working with the Bonpo Studies group chaired by Per Kvaerne at the Senter for Høyere Studier (Oslo) in 1995-6, and has benefitted

enormously from the use of the databases of Bon canon catalogues which were among the results of that collaboration.

Abbreviations

AK — Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa.* I have primarily used the Tibetan text, translated by Jinamitra and Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs, in data form as supplied by the Asian Classics Input Project (ACIP). For the English translation, see Pruden (1988), and for an edition of the Sanskrit, see Pradhan (1975).

AS — Asaṅga, *Abhidharmasamuccaya.* I have primarily used the Tibetan translation by Jinamitra, Śîlendrabodhi and Ye-shes sde as found in Daisetz T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute (Tokyo-Kyoto 1957), vol. 112 [bstan 'gyur, mdo 'grel, sems tsam V], no. 5550, at pp. 236.4.2 through 272.5.2. For the French translation, see Rahula (1971), and for an edition of the Sanskrit, see Pradhan (1950).

K. — *Srid pa mdzod phugs kyi gzhung.* In Bon Kanjur (2nd edition, Chengdu) 176: 742-960.

mDzod phug — *mDzod phug: Basic Verses and Commentary by Dran-pa nam-mkha',* Tenzin Namdak, ed. (Delhi 1966). See also S. and K.

PP — This refers to the 25,000 Prajñâpâramitâ, in its Tibetan translation, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa*, as provided in data form by the ACIP. 100,000 *PP* refers to the largest version of the Prajñâpâramitâ.

S. — *sNang srid gtan la phab pa'i mdzod phugs*, as contained In *gYung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur rin po che*, Khedup Gyatso, Bonpo Monastic Centre (Dolanji 1984) 2: 1-207.

sGa — sGa-ston Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, *Kun las btus pa srid pa'i mdzod phug gi gzhung 'grel*, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre (Dolanji 1974).

T. — *sNang srid bon gyi mdzod phug thams cad 'byung ba'i sgo mo.* In *sNang srid mdzod phug gi rtsa ba dang spyi don gyi gsung pod*, Tashi Dorji, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre (New Thobgyal 1973): 1-93.

Appendix A

The Mental States and Complicit Factors according to Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya.*

The source of the following list is primarily Rahula (1971: 7-17), with the Tibetan added on the basis of the Peking, while the Sanskrit terms were checked against the Pradhan (1950: 5-11) edition. Numbers have been inserted, and the letters denoting the subcategories have also been added in square brackets, even though no subcategories are supplied in this part of the text. This was done in order to facilitate comparison. Note that cetanâ (sems pa), vedanâ (tshor ba) and saṃjñâ ('du shes) do indeed make their appearance just before the list begins, but Asaṅga, while he does consider them to be Mental States, does not list them within his category of compounding factors since they are already included in other skandhas. However, the Tibetan translation, unlike the Sanskrit, begins the list with cetanâ (sems pa), so it has been listed here as number zero (indeed, the Tibetan would seem to be more correct, because the discussion which follows the list does begin with cetanâ). From this listing it should be readily apparent that what I have called the standard Tibetan list is very close to, and quite clearly based on, this work of Asaṅga, with the main differences being in sub-category A and in the complicit factors [G]. It is probable that the standard list resulted from adding in some details derived from still other Abhidharma sources.

First, the Mental States:

[A] 0. — / sems pa. 1. manaskâra / yid la byed pa. 2. sparśa / reg pa. [B] 3. chanda / 'dun pa. 4. adhimokṣa / mos pa. 5. smṛti / dran pa. 6. samâdhi / ting nge 'dzin. 7. prajñâ / shes rab. [C] 8. śraddhâ / dad pa. 9. hrî / ngo tsha shes pa. 10. apatrâpya / khrel yod pa. 11. alobha / ma chags pa. 12. adveṣa / zhe sdang med pa. 13. amoha / gti mug med pa. 14. vîrya / brtson 'grus. 15. praśrabdhi / shin tu sbyangs pa. 16. apramâda / bag yod pa. 17. upekṣâ / btang snyoms. 18. avihiṃsâ [avihinsâ] / rnam par mi 'tshe ba. [D] 19. râga / 'dod chags. 20. pratigha / khong khro ba. 21. mâna / nga rgyal. 22. avidyâ / ma rig pa. 23. vicikitsâ / the tshom. [The five afflicted views are here listed separately:] 24. satkâyadṛṣṭi / 'jig tshogs la lta ba. 25. antagrâhadṛṣṭi / mthar 'dzin par lta ba. 26. dṛṣṭiparâmarśa / lta ba mchog tu 'dzin pa. 27. ś îlavrataparâmarśa / tshul khrims dang brtul zhugs mchog tu 'dzin pa. 28. mithyâdṛṣṭi / log par lta ba. [E] 29. krodha / khro ba. 30. upanâha / khon du 'dzin pa. 31. mrakṣa / 'chab pa. 32. pradâśa / 'tshig pa. 33. îrṣyâ / phrag dog. 34. mâtsarya / ser sna. 35. mâyâ / rgyu [i.e., sgyu]. 36. śâṭhya / g-yo. 37. mada / rgyags pa. 38. vihiṃsâ [vihinsâ] / rnam par 'tshe ba. 39. âhrîkya / ngo tsha med pa. 40. anapatrâpya / khrel med pa. 41. styâna / rmugs pa. 42. auddhatya / rgod pa. 43. âśradhya [âśradudhya] / ma dad pa. 44. kausîdya / le lo. 45. pramâda / bag med pa. 46. muṣitasmṛtitâ / brjed ngas pa. 47. asamprajanya / shes bzhin ma yin pa. 48. vikṣepa / rnam par g-yeng ba. [F] 49. middha / gnyid. 50. kaukṛtya / 'gyod pa. 51. vitarka / rtog pa. 52. vicâra / dpyod pa.

And the Complicit Factors:

[G] 1. prâpti / thob pa. 2. asaṃjñisamâpatti / 'du shes med pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa. 3. nirodhasamâpatti / 'gog pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa. 4. âsaṃjñika / 'du shes med pa. 5.

jîvitendriya / srog gi dbang po. 6. nikâyasabhâga [nikâyasambhâgata] / ris mthun pa. 7. jâti / skye ba. 8. jarâ / rga ba. 9. sthiti / gnas pa. 10. anityatâ / mi rtag pa. 11. nâmakâya / ming gi tshogs. 12. padakâya / tshig gi tshogs. 13. vyañjanakâya / yi ge'i tshogs. 14. pṛthagjanatva / so so'i skye bo nyid. 15. pravṛtti / 'jug pa. 16. pratiniyama / so sor nges pa. 17. yoga / 'byor 'brel ba. 18. java / mgyog pa. 19. anukrama / go rim. 20. kâla / dus. 21. deśa / yul. 22. saṃkhyâ / grangs. 23. sâmagrî / tshogs pa.

Appendix B

Zhang-zhung Encodement and Calque Translations:

This contains I. — Rules for Zhang-zhung encoding.
II. — Zhang-zhung terms that seem to be calque translations of the corresponding Tibetan terms.

All evidence is taken from the *mDzod phug* itself unless otherwise noted. Variant readings of the word in a single context divided by slashes (/). In every case, the Tibetan word comes first, then the sign >, then the Zhang-zhung word[s]. *Nota bene*: Even those who find themselves unable to accept the encodement hypothesis will nevertheless find that understanding the system of prefixed syllables (Rules 1 & 2) is a key to deciphering the language. The hypothesis may prove wrong, and these may in fact turn out to be functional prefixes (and at some point the argument may become rather subtle, since it is to be assumed that the encoder was motivated to make his or her text look as much as possible like original Zhang-zhung). If the encodement hypothesis proves correct, the following rules still apply to only a rather small proportion of the total fund of Zhang-zhung vocabulary. However, much of the vocabulary included here belongs to the technical terminology of Buddhist doctrine, cosmology and so forth, and this may prove of consequence for our understanding of the Buddhist components of Bon.

I. Rules for Zhang-zhung encoding:

Rules 1 and 2 involve taking the first syllable of the Tibetan, and adding a new syllable before it. If the first syllable is too common or less meaningful, the second syllable is chosen instead, but thereafter identical rules apply.

Rule 1a — "ti" etc. type:

Take a Tibetan word. If it has two syllables, drop the second syllable, which will henceforth be left entirely out of consideration, *regardless of its importance for the meaning*.

Add as the first syllable *ZZ* "ti" which may also appear in the forms ta, tha [the], da, and di [de] (also possibly yi, and even hi, although the latter may result from ms. copyists; it may be 'hidden' under forms like tri & dri, among others). In other words, use the first syllable of the Tibetan word as the second syllable of the *ZZ* word.

Note: The syllable "ti" is probably behind the other forms. It is a genuine *ZZ* word for "one," the indefinite article "a" or "an," or the definite article as well as

demonstrative pronoun (like Tibetan *de*, "the, that").

Make the following changes to the second syllable of the new *ZZ* word: The root letter may be changed in ways that accord with the changes in root letters that do occur in Tibetan verbal morphology. All prescript consonants (here postscript, final postscript, subscript, prescript and superscript are words describing the array of consonants surrounding the syllable-foundation consonant, the *ming gzhi*) in the syllable should be dropped. All postscript (including in particular final postscript) consonants will probably also be dropped (final 'n' 'ng' & 'r' and still others might remain) or changed to final 'na' Vowels may shift as they do in verbal morphology (but this aspect is considerably obscured by the existence of variant readings). Although it cannot be taken as a rule (and if it was a rule, it also is obscured by ms. variants), consonants tend to shift to the first member of their class (tha > ta; da > ta; kha > ka, etcetera).

Some special cases: **Sub-rule 1:** In some cases rather than starting with the Tibetan word as it is, start with a Tibetan word with the same meaning, then make changes as above. These cases are marked below by enclosing them in square brackets and marking them with ~.

Sub-rule 2: If the first syllable of a two-syllable Tibetan word is less meaningful (or too common), one may use the second syllable instead. Example: rnam shes > ti shen/te shen/ti shan. Compare shes rab, below.

Sub-rule 3: Sometimes the syllable may be reduced to a form that more simply represents its actual pronunciation. Examples: rgyu > cu. 'byung > ju. spyod > cod.

In case of **root letter nasals:** Root letter nasals may not change (just as in the verbal morphology), but other changes, especially vowel shifts, are encouraged. In one example only, an initial 'ng' seems to be dropped.

Examples with initial syllable ti (clear examples of "ti" and its variants are underlined):

kun > ti gu/di gu/di gun, ti kun/di kun. Note also, ku ra.
[bka'?] > ti ka. First word of the text title, with nothing corresponding to it in the Tibetan-language title.
khru > ti khru.
'khor ba > ti khor/di khor. Note also, 'khor ba > gu ra, in chap. 1.
'khrigs pa > ti khrug. ??
grags > ti kra, da kra.
grang ba > ti gra.
grangs > ti ga, ti zhi.
gling phran > ti phra/ti pra.
brgyad > ti gyad. Being the number 'eight' this example is quite strange.
'gyur ldog > ti gyur da lod.
sgra > ti kra/ti gra.
nyi tshe ba > ti nya bi.

rtog med > ti tog.
stang zhi [~stong gzhi, stong zhing?] > ti tong da zhi/ti ting ru zhi/ti ting du zhi.
steng [~rtse] > ti tse/ting tse.
tha dad > ti tar/ti tir/ti tan.
thang yud > ti tang ti yu. Note also, thang dang yud > ha tang mu yu.
bde chen [~dga' ba] > ti ga/ti ka/de tig.
dpag > ti pag/ti bag.
spyod yul > ti phyi ti yud/ti phyi ti yu.
phyung po > ti phung/ti pung.
phyi > ti phyi/di phyi/de phyi.
phyi snod > ti phyi/di phyi.
phyed > ti phyi/di phyi/de phyi, ti phye/tu phyi, de pyi/de bye.
phyed phyed > du phya/ti phyo, ti phye.
phra rgyas > ti pra lgyam. Note also, a pra.
phra ma > ti pra.
'phar > ti par/ti bar.
bag chags > ti bag/ti pag/gyi bag.
bar, bar gyi, bar du > ti par, ti bar, ti phra.
byang > ti byang.
dbang > ti pang/ti bar.
'byung ba > ti byung/ti 'byung, ti byib.
ming > ti mang/ci mang.
rtse mo > ti rtse/ti tse. Note that ti tse is a common Bon spelling for the mountain name ti se, 'Kailash'.
tshad > ti tsan, ti tsa.
tshe > ti tse. Also, tse, te tse.
tshe lo > ti lod/nyi yong.
tshes > ti tse/de tse.
gzhan > ti zhan. But see also zhim zhan.
zer > ti ze/ti zi/shi zi.
yid > ti yud/ti yad.
yud > ti yu. See under thang yud, above.
yongs su > ti ye.
yod bral > ti phra/ti pra/di pra.
ra ba > ti ra/da ri.
rigs > ti ra/ta ri/ta rid, ti ru/ting ru.
lo > ti lo.
sog pa > ti tsug/ti tsig/ti ga.

Examples with first syllables other than ti:

kun bskyed > de kung da dod. Originally probably *d[e] ku da dod.
skye mched > da dod. da dod has very many other usages.
skye ba > da dod, dod ca, ta dod, de dod.
bskyed shing 'dzugs > ta ca dzun/ta gya dzun.
khyad > ta kyang/ta kyad/tu kyad.
khyad par > ta kyo, ta rkyo, ta rkya.
'khrul pa > ta cu, da min/de min, du khrul/di khrul/di khru, du khun.

'gyod pa > ta kyon/to kyon.
rgyu > de cu, de rgyu/de rgyung, rgyu.
rgyud > de cu/de cung.
gcod byed > tha con/tha tsan/thang cog, tha chod/tha cod, tha cod/tha tsa/tha tsod, tha tson/tha con. Original form tha con, or, tha cod?
chung > the tshu/tha chu/tha tse.
che > the tse/tha tse. Note also, ca ci/ca ce.
chen po > tha tse. Note also, mu ce.
'chal ba > tha cil/tha chil.
lta ba > ta tan. Note also, thad [d]kar > ta tan.
'jam > da zhim.
'jig rten > ta dzin. But one finds also ci tan, ji tad/ji tang.
thams cad [~tshang ma] > tha tsan, tha tshan. But note also the following:
mtha' las > thi ci/tha ci.
mthar thug > tha tshon.
mthar phyin > tha ci. Note also mu thar.
thog > tu thog/ru thog.
thog mtha' > ta tog.
dang po [~thog ma] > tu tog/ngu tog, ti tog.
don > da dod/da don.
mdog > de tog/de ga, dog.
'dod > da dod/da don. Note also, 'dod dgu > ta gu.
ldog > da lod. See above.
dpag tu > hi pang/ha bing, hi phang.
dpag med > hi pang.
spyod pa > de cod, de cud/de chud, de cu, ta tso, ta co, ta cod, ti cod, ti phyi, cod, cong, gcod. Note also, ci cod.
sprugs [nas] > da phrug/ha phrug/ta prug, di phrug/ti phug/ding sprug.
pho mtshan [~rgyal mtshan, a euphemism] > tha wer, the wer, the ber.
Note: wer is consistent ZZ word for Tib. rgyal. This is not in the *mDzod phug*, but from the *Khams brgyad.* This is exceptional in using a peculiarly Zhang-zhung word.
phyi ma > de phyi/de phyed.
phyes nas > de phya/de phyin.
phyogs > de phyog, de tsog, ti phyog, di pyog, de phyi, di phyogs.
phra mo > ha pra/ha bra.
'phags pa > hi pang/hi pag
'phang > hi pa, dhi pang, his pa.
blang dor > ta lang/ti lang. Note also, blangs dor > da lad.
'byung ba > de zhung. Note also, 'byung > ju.
'bras bu > [~shing tog] > de tog. Many variants, including de tig, de tis, etc. 'bras bu as restricted to sense of resulting goal is khri tse, etc.
ma chad > da chu/ta cu.
tshor ba > tha tsar/tha dzar, tha tsud/tha tsur/tha tsar, ti tson, ti con, ti tswar/ting tsar.
mtshan nyid > tha tsan/tha tshan, ti tsin/ti tsan, mu khyu [chap. 13]. Note also, mtshan ma > tang tsan, ma tsa, tshar ci.

mtshon med > tha tshan/tha tsan.
yid ldan > tha yud.
yid bzhin > tha yud.
rig byed [~yid] > tha yud.
len pa > ta li/ta i.
so sor > ta son/rta son. Originally probably *ta sor.
lhun grub > de lhod, de lod, de lud, de lu.

Rule 1b — "mu" type:

This type works exactly like type 1a, with the difference that one must use "mu" or "dmu" instead of the syllable "ti".

One must bear in mind in the following examples that "mu" and "dmu" may be the proper Zhang-zhung word for 'sky' (Tib. mkha', nam mkha', gnam; see Coblin 1987). It seems in some cases also to serve as a negation. Many of the meanings of these words are on a high level (like 'Buddha' 'heaven' 'liberation' 'realization' 'peak' etc.), but a few others relate to things that might cause injury ('knife' 'poison' & perhaps also 'jealousy').

Examples: sangs rgyas > mu sangs.
thar pa > mu tor/dmu tor.
mtho ris > mu tor/dmu tor.
rtogs pa > dmu tog/dmu dog, mu tog. Compare the following:
phrag dog > mu tog/dmu tog, dmu ting/dmu tor/dam tor, mu tor.
rtse mo > mu tse/mu rtse. Note also, rtse sa > mu rtse/mu tse. Also, rtse > mu tse/yu tse.
'og men ['og min] > dmu mar. ??
shes rab > tri shen mu ra/dri shen mu ra. Originally probably *ti shen mu ra.
mdzod [~?] > mu gung.
g.yung drung > drung mu. But note the difference in word order.
dbyings > mu ye. But this may be a proper compound for mkha' dbyings; mu ye is common in Bon mantras.
mthar phyin > mu thar/ma thar.
brtsal med > mu tsan/mu rtsan.
mi ldog > mu dur/mu tur.
bsrung du > mu sur/mu pur/mu par.
yud > mu yu. Note also, yud > ti yu, above.
'dzin > mu zhin.
'khor yug > mu khir. But note that mu khir occurs with other meanings, including 'light of the sky', 'clear.'
chen po > mu ce. But notice also, chen po > tha tse.
gri > mu gra/dmu gra/dmu gral.
dug > dmu dug/dmu thug.

Rule 1c — "a" type:

This type works exactly like type 1a and 1b, but instead of the syllable "ti" or

"mu", use the syllable "a" (which may have vowel changes). Is it possible that the "a" become the bearer of the 1st-syllable vowel of the Tib., and that this would explain the vowel change? If so, it has been obscured by the manuscript transmission. Be aware that initial syllable "u" may sometimes signify a negation, as in dmu long ['blind'] > u mig ['no eye'].

There are fewer members of this class, and some of the examples are not very certain.

Examples:
phra rgyas > <u>a</u> pra lgyam. Note that <u>ti</u> pra lgyam also occurs.
khong > <u>a</u> tang/ag dang/ag tang, de khang/<u>di</u> kang/<u>hi</u> kang, <u>di</u> kong/<u>ti</u> kong/do kong.
'byung > <u>a</u> ci. Note also, 'byung > ju.
'dzam bu > <u>i</u> dzam, <u>i</u> tsam.
snying rje > <u>i</u> seng/<u>i</u> sing. One occurrence only.
mi g.yo > <u>i</u> ho. Note also, mu he/mu ye, yu ye, mu ye.
gsang ba > <u>e</u> song/<u>e</u> sor.
dgongs pa [~yid] > <u>e</u> yud/<u>e</u> yu.
mi snyan [~mi sdug] > <u>u</u> dug. Note also, u mung.
gso ba > <u>u</u> tsug.
tshad med > <u>u</u> tsug ma min. Note also, <u>ti</u> min, tsan min/tsa min, kha nam/kho nam, yar sne.

Rule 1d — "kha" & possible "gu" type:

There are not many examples, but it is possible that words beginning with the syllable "kha" constitute a fourth type. The "gu" type is an intriguing but highly problematic possibility.

Examples:
? > <u>kha</u> nam. This word is used repeatedly for deities of higher realms; Tibetan unclear, although it could be nam mkha' or gnam.
rtse la > <u>kha</u> rtse.
nag > <u>kha</u> nig/<u>kha</u> ni ga.
'thibs > <u>kha</u> tham/<u>kha</u> thams.
gsung dbyangs > <u>kha</u> sang/<u>kha</u> sangs.
rig pa > <u>kha</u> ri/<u>khi</u> ri. Also, kha mu.
mun > <u>gu</u> rnum/<u>gu</u> mun.
yi ge > <u>gu</u> ge.
gus pa [~'dun pa] > <u>gu</u> dun.
'khor ba > gu ra. ??
'du byed > gu ra. ??
yon tan > gu ra. ??

Rule 2 — duplicating type:

This involves duplication of the root letter (in some cases, root letter plus subscript letter), with possible vowel shifts, in order to create the initial syllable, but is otherwise identical to Rule 1.

Example: shes pa [also, dran pa] > she shen, shi shen.
kun > ku kun.
kun gyi > ku kun.
kun brtag > ku kun.
khyab pa > kha khyab/khye khyeb/khe khyeb. Note also, nu ci.
khyung chen > zhung zhag. ??
gang nas > gi gang.
'gro ba > ging gro/ging 'gro. Probable original, *gi gro.
sgrib pa [~nub] > na nub.
che > ca ce/ca ci/rko tse. But note also, the tse/tha tse.
dri zhim > shi shim. This example from Zhu's glossary.
'du ba > 'du dun/ngu ngun. Originally, *du dun?
nang gi > nu nang.
nang stong > nu ning ha tan.
rnam shes > shi shan/shi shen.
spyod > ci cod.
'brel > bre byel.
mig dbang > ma mig.
ming > ma ming.
tshor ba [~??] > zhim zhal. ?? These four examples are fairly puzzling.
zhen pa > zhum zhi. ??
gzhan > zhim zhan (but also, ti zhan, zhim/zham). ??
gzhal med khang > zhim[s] zhal sto/zhib zhal stong. Most likely, sto, not stong, is correct. ??
yang > yi yar. Originally probably *yi yang.
yi ge > gu ge.
yengs pa > yang yeng/ya yid/ya ying.
yongs, yongs su > yi yor, yi yong, ya yong, ya yod, yo yong/yi yod/yong (but also, ti ye). Original probably yi yong.
yod > ci yo, yi yu, yi mu, yi yod, etc. Zhu glossary has yang yong. Original probably yi yu.
yon tan > yi mu/ye mu (but also, gu ra, ti tin) Original probably *yi yu.
ri rab > i rwang/ra rbang/ri rwang, ri rwang/ri rbang, a 'dran rbad/a 'dran rbang/a 'dan rwang. Note also, ri > ri rang/ri rwang/ri rab. ri rgyal > rwang wer, rbang wer. lhun po > ri rwang/ri rbang. Note that rwang/rbang is a consistent ZZ word for 'mountain' Tib. ri. This may rather be a calque translation.
lo > la lod. La lod has still other usages.
longs spyod > li lo. But also, tur phrum.
lhun gyis > la lod/ma lod/la lad/da lod. Originally perhaps *la long.

Rule 3:

These add a second, rather than a first, syllable. Perhaps words with 2nd syllable sang/shing also belong here?

Example: tshul khrims > tshul mi.

g.yung drung > drung mu.
snod > sbu, sbu gung/sna gung/snu gung, ngu ngun, sgu gung, sni gung, snu kun/sgu kun/snu gun. Note also snod kyi >
mung gi/mud gi. Original, snu gung? Note that ZZ gung is generally for Tib. mdzod, 'treasury'.
'dod chags > cug ni, cug no.

Rule 4:

Loss of root letters. Not many examples were found, so it probably isn't important. These may certainly represent genuine language differences.

Examples: gzhi > 'gi. Note bye brag > 'gi[r] cu??
ngag > ag.
rnam pa > <u>da</u> ra. But this also belongs under rule 1a.
kun snang > ka sang.
Perhaps: bzhi > bi.
spang > sang. This example from Zhu's glossary.
rtsib > hrib. This example from Zhu's glossary.

See also the example of snying rje noted above.

Rule 5:

Transposition of consonants, vowels or consonant-vowel combinations. Only one or two examples have been noted, so they are of doubtful significance.

Examples: bang rim > bri ngam. (chap. 5 only; in chap. 1, bang rim [~khri, 'throne'?] > de khri/di khri, which follows Rule 1a)
sro ma ['nit'] > sra mo ['louse'].

Exceptions:

These all might *seem* to be constructions, but do not very clearly fit in any of the above identified classes. Single syllable *ZZ* terms are included here, as are those in which each individual syllable of the *ZZ* seems to correspond to each individual syllable of the Tibetan (the dividing line between some of these and the 'calque translations' which follow is unclear). Some of these may indeed reflect genuine language differences. There are also questions of meter to be considered (which would explain why Tib. spyod is sometimes *ZZ* ci cod, and sometimes the single syllable cod).

Examples: khengs > keng.
khyab > gyeb/kyib/khi ba. Note also, kun khyab > gu ri.
gling > spre'u ling. Note, spre'u ling means major continent, in contrast to gu ling for minor continent; Stein believed the 'monkey' element significant.
rngams > rngi.
bcud > cud, cu/chud/bcud, cu shel/cung shel/cud shel. Note also, rka ril/dkar li.

'byung > ju.
rdzun > dzan.
zhag > dzag.
kun gzhi > ku shu.
'khor yug > ku yug.
grags > grags ge/gra ge.
grangs med > 'gi gar. Note also the phrase 'gi gar ju, equiv. of Tib. bshos, in chap. 1.
bgrang phreng > gang ra.
dga' ldan [~tu shi ta?] > i shi de min.
rgyang grags > 'u glang.
'jig rten > ci tan. But one finds also ta dzin, ji tad/ji tang.
nyon mongs > dub dub/ngub ngub, sngal zhug/sngal zhum.
sdug bsngal > sngal char, bsngal char. Also, nad > sngal char.
rnam shes > shan/shin/shen. Note also, ti shen.
'phrin las > pri ti.
'byams yas > phyo ye.
seng ge > sang go.

Words for verbalizations and sound: The clear *ZZ* word for 'sound' is klang/glang. It seems possible, though, that *ZZ* ag and sang were derived from Tib. ngag and gsung.

Examples: sgra > ti kra/ti gra, glang, klang, 'u klung, glang re/klang ri.
ngag > sang/sangs.
ngag > glang ci.
tshig rtsub > klung tsang/klang tse/klung tsa/klung tse.
tshig 'jam > ci glang/ci klang/ci lkung.
gsung > klang chen.
gsung dbyangs > kha sang/sangs.
kha [~ngag] > ag.
mgrin [~ngag] > ag. From commentary vocabulary (compare Tib. og ma, with similar meaning, & ol mdud, 'adam's apple').
Note also the following:
  kha sbub > ag tur/a thur/a tur.
  kha khyer ['encircling wall' 'circumference'] > ag she.
smra/sgra > ag sho. Note also the following:
  kha le > ag sho.
  zhal ngad > ag sho.
  sha za ['flesh eater'] > ag sho. Note also, mi [za] mkhan ['cannibal'] > ag sho.
  gtsang ma > ag kyo.
ngag 'chal > ag tser/ag tshir.
ngag zhi > ag tse/ag tso, ag ce.

II. Calque translations:

Pace Stein (1971), I believe that these are in fact few and problematic, and

therefore without very much explanatory power. Ri rwang (Tibetan, ri rab) might possibly belong here, but it is essential to recognize that ZZ ri is Tib. rab, while ZZ rwang is Tib. ri.

Stein, p. 233, gives example of thugs rje > she skya (but he notices also snying rje > e sing). According to the commentary vocabulary, the *ZZ* word for the corporeal heart is she.

Stein, p. 234, gives the example sa ya > slas 'dzwa (in fact, this occurs in a par. with AK).

Note also: ri dwags > rwang sher.
sems can> khri tshar, khri rtse.
yar skye > ken dod, kan dod.

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A preliminary comparison of Bonpo and Buddhist cosmology

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In general it is said that Buddhism has influenced Bonpo doctrine in many ways. Here, I am speaking of the so-called *'gyur bon* (transformed Bon), which seems to have borrowed and adopted Buddhistic ideas beginning from the eleventh century in order to form its own doctrine. There are even scholars who think that this Bon religion is a branch of Buddhism. Certainly, in Bonpo sources we meet many ideas similar to those of Buddhism. But it seems that it has never been clearly proven to what extent the Bonpo are influenced by Buddhism, and to what extent they have their own original ideas. Nor is it clear, even if it is true that the Bonpo adopted Buddhist doctrine, what kind of Buddhism they adopted. Is Bon nothing but a copy of Buddhism? Or did the Bonpo borrow the structure for their ideas partially from Buddhism in order to form their own system? Alternatively, did they create a completely different doctrine, independent from Buddhism, even though the two are similar in appearance? Thus, there are still many problems. It is, therefore, my purpose to elucidate some of these points.

I have recently published, with my colleague and friend Samten Karmay, a fourteenth-century manual of Bonpo doctrine, entitled *Bon sgo gsal byed* (Mimaki and Karmay 1997). In this publication, I remarked on the fact that, in his description of ontological, epistemological, and cosmological problems, the author of the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal, borrowed and adopted the basic structure of Buddhist doctrine, but he integrated in it many seemingly indigenous Tibetan ideas. At the 8th Congress of the International Association of Tibetan Studies in Bloomington (August 1998), I read a paper in which I tried to prove this point regarding a particular subject, namely the thirty-two physical marks of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo, a summary of which has been published in its Japanese version (Mimaki 1999). The present paper is also an attempt to examine in the same context one specific point, namely Bonpo cosmology as described in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, and to compare it with that of Buddhism.

I have to confess that my present paper has several limitations. Bonpo cosmology might not be identical in all Bonpo texts. What I can present here is only the Bonpo cosmology as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* (14th century). I try to supplement this with an explanation based on whatever parallels can be found in other texts, such as the *mDo 'dus* (10th century), the *mDzod phug* (11th century), the *gZer mig* (14th century), or the *sDe snod mdzod* (19th century), but it is basically according to the *Bon sgo gsal byed* that I explain Bonpo cosmology.

Next, I try to compare it with Buddhist cosmology. Buddhist cosmology, too, is not identical in all Buddhist texts: cosmology, or the organization of the world, is slightly different according to each Buddhist school. What I present here as Buddhist cosmology is mainly what is known from the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (Chapter III: *Lokanirdeśa / 'Jig rten bstan pa*).

In order to facilitate our comparison at a glance, I summarize the structure of both cosmologies in Table 1. In this table, Buddhist cosmology as described in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* is presented on the left side. On the right side we find Bonpo cosmology as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. On the far right side, the names of four heavens are underlined with a wavy line. These seem to represent indigenous Bonpo concepts.

According to Buddhist cosmology, at the bottom of the world there is Space (*nam mkha', ākāśa*). Above it, there is a circle or *maṇḍala* of Wind (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor, vāyu-maṇḍala*) in the form of a cylinder, 1,600,000 *yojana* tall, with a circumference of 59 times 10 *yojana*. Above the *maṇḍala* of Wind, there is a *maṇḍala* of Water (*chu'i dkyil 'khor, ab-maṇḍala*), also in the form of a cylinder, 800,000 *yojana* tall, with a diameter of 1,203,450 *yojana*. Above the *maṇḍala* of Water, there is a *maṇḍala* of Gold (*gser gyi dkyil 'khor, kāñcana-maṇḍala*), 320,000 *yojana* tall, with the same diameter as that of the *maṇḍala* of Water. We know that a Buddhist *yojana* approximately corresponds to 7.3 km, which is half of an ordinary North Indian *yojana*.

Above the *maṇḍala* of Gold are situated the worlds of sentient beings: the Hells (*dmyal ba, naraka*), the realm of the Hungry Ghosts (*yi dwags, preta*), the realm of animals (*dud 'gro, tiryak*), the realm of human beings (*mi, manuṣya*), and finally several kinds of heavens or gods (*lha, deva*). There are many heavens, among which are six belonging to the realm of desire (*'dod khams, kāmadhātu*). These are called the six heavens of desire or six gods of desire (*'dod lha, kāmadeva*):

1. *rGyal chen bzhi'i ris pa* (*Caturmahārājakāyika*, the Heaven of the Four great protectors of the four cardinal points).
2. *Sum cu rtsa gsum pa* (*Trāyastriṃśa*, the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods). Until this point the heavens are located on the earth. The *Sum cu rtsa gsum pa* heaven is on the summit of Mount Meru. From the next heaven upward until the fourth heaven of the *gZugs med khams*, all the heavens are in the air.
3. *'Thab bral ba* (*Yāma*, the Heaven of Yāma).
4. *dGa' ldan* (*Tuṣita*, the Heaven of the Blissful Gods).
5. *'Phrul dga'* (*Nirmāṇarati*, the Heaven of those who enjoy what they create themselves).
6. *gZhan 'phrul dbang byed* (*Para-nirmita-vaśa-vartin*, the Heaven where one can enjoy objects created in other heavens).

Table 1 Buddhist and Bonpo Cosmology

Buddhism (Abhidharmakośa)

- 3. gZugs med khams (Ārūpya-dhātu) 無色界
  - 4. 'Du shes med 'du shes med min gyi skye mched (Naivasaṃjñā-nâsaṃjñâyatana 非想非々想処)
  - 3. Ci yang med pa'i skye mched (Ākiñcanyâyatana 無所有所)
  - 2. rNam shes mtha' yas skye mched (Vijñānânantyâyatana 識無辺処)
  - 1. Nam mkha' mtha' yas skye mched (Ākāśânantyâyatana 空無辺処)
- 2. gZugs khams (Rūpadhātu) 色界
  - 4. bSam gtan bzhi pa (caturthadhyāna) 第四静慮 (第四禅)
    - 17. 'Og min (Akaniṣṭha 色究竟天)
    - 16. Shin tu mthong ba (Sudarśana 善見天)
    - 15. Gya nom snang (Sudṛśa 善現天)
    - 14. Mi gdung ba (Atapas 無熱天)
    - 13. Mi che ba (Abṛha 無煩天)
    - (17–13 =) gNas gtsang ma (Śuddhāvāsa) (五)浄居天 ---- gTsang ma rigs lnga
    - 12. 'Bras bu che ba (Bṛhat-phala 広果天)
    - 11. bSod nams skyes (Puṇya-prasava 福生天)
    - 10. sPrin med (Anabhraka 無雲天)
  - 3. bSam gtan gsum pa (tṛtīyadhyāna) 第三静慮 (第三禅)
    - 9. dGe rgyas (Śubha-kṛtsna 遍浄天)
    - 8. Tshad med dge (Apramāṇa-śubha 無量浄天)
    - 7. dGe chung (Parīttaśubha 少浄天)
  - 2. bSam gtan gnyis pa (dvitīyadhyāna) 第二静慮 (第二禅)
    - 6. 'Od gsal (Ābhâsvara 極光浄天)
    - 5. Tshad med 'od (Apramāṇābha 無量光天)
    - 4. 'Od chung (Parīttâbha 少光天)
  - 1. bSam gtan dang po (prathamadhyāna) 第一静慮 (初禅)
    - 3. Tshangs pa chen po (Mahābrahman 大梵天)
    - 2. Tshangs pa'i mdun na 'don (Brahmapurohita 梵輔天)
    - 1. Tshangs pa ris pa (Brahma-kāyika 梵衆天)
- 1. 'Dod khams (Kāmadhātu) 欲界
  - 5. 'Dod lha (Kāmadeva) (六)欲天
    - 6. gZhan 'phrul dbang byed (Para-nirmita-vaśa-vartin 他化自在天)
    - 5. 'Phrul dga' (Nirmāṇarati 化楽天／楽変化天)
    - 4. dGa' ldan (Tuṣita 兜率天)
    - 3. 'Thab bral ba (Yāma 夜摩天)
    - 2. Sum cu rtsa gsum pa (Trāyastriṃśa 三十三天)
    - 1. rGyal chen bzhi'i ris pa (Caturmahārājakāyika 四大天王所部) etc.
  - 4. Mi (Manuṣya 人)
  - 3. Dud 'gro (Tiryak 畜生／傍生)
  - 2. Yi dwags (Preta 餓鬼)
  - 1. dMyal ba (Naraka 地獄)

- gSer gyi dkyil 'khor (Kāñcana-maṇḍala 金輪)
- Chu'i dkyil 'khor (Abmaṇḍala 水輪)
- rLung gi dkyil 'khor (Vāyu-maṇḍala 風輪)
- Nam mkha' (Ākāśa 虚空)

BGSB

- gZugs med khams
  - 4. Yod min med min skye mched
  - 3. Ci yang med pa
  - 2. rNam shes mtha' yas
  - 1. Nam mkha' mtha' yas
- gTsang ma rigs lnga
  - 17. 'Og min gnam gyi lha
  - 16. Gya nom snang ba
  - 15. Shin du mthong ba
  - 14. Mi gdung ba
  - 13. Mi che ba
- gZugs khams
  - 12. 'Bras bu che ba
  - 11. bSod nams bskyed
  - 10. sPrin med 'od
  - 9. Tshad med dge
  - 8. dGe rgyas
  - 7. dGe chung
  - 6. Tshad med 'od
  - 5. 'Od chen
  - 4. 'Od chung
  - 3. Tshangs pa 'bum khri
  - 2. Tshangs chen
  - 1. Tshangs chung
- 'Dod khams
  - 6. gZhan 'phrul dbang byed
  - 5. 'Phrul dga'
  - 4. dGa' ldan
  - 3. mTha' bral
  - 2. Sum cu rtsa gsum
  - 1. rGyal chen rigs bzhi
  - (7. Bar do)

Bon

- (gnas rigs chen po bzhi)
  - = mGon btsun phywa
  - = Bar lha 'od gsal
  - = Srid pa ye sangs
  - = Srid pa gung sangs
- bSam gtan bzhi pa'i lha (12–10)
- bSam gtan gsum pa'i lha (9–7)
- bSam gtan gnyis pa'i lha (6–4)
- bSam gtan dang po'i lha (3–1)
- 'Dod khams
  - 6. 'Dod lha (6–1)
  - (5. lHa min)
  - 4. Mi
  - 3. Byor song
  - 2. Yi dwags
  - 1. dMyal ba

The next realm, the material realm (*gZugs khams*, *Rūpa-dhātu*), contains seventeen heavens, divided and grouped under the four contemplations (*bsam gtan*, *dhyāna*). The first *dhyāna* contains three heavens:

1. *Tshangs pa ris pa* (*Brahma-kāyika*, the Heaven of the Retinue of Brahmā).
2. *Tshangs pa'i mdun na 'don* (*Brahmapurohita*, the Heaven of the Brahmā-priests).
3. *Tshangs pa chen po* (*Mahābrahman*, the Heaven of Great Brahmā).

The second *dhyāna* contains also three heavens:

4. *'Od chung* (*Parīttâbha*, the Heaven of Limited Splendor).
5. *Tshad med 'od* (*Apramāṇâbha*, the Heaven of Immeasurable Splendor).
6. *'Od gsal* (*Ābhāsvara*, the Heaven of Radiant Gods).

The third *dhyāna* also contains three heavens:

7. *dGe chung* (*Parīttaśubha*, the Heaven of Limited Purity).
8. *Tshad med dge* (*Apramāṇa-śubha*, the Heaven of Immeasurable Purity).
9. *dGe rgyas* (*Śubha-kṛtsna*, the Heaven of Complete Purity).

The fourth *dhyāna* contains eight heavens:

10. *sPrin med* (*Anabhraka*, the Cloudless Heaven).
11. *bSod nams skyes* (*Puṇya-prasava*, the Merit-born Heaven).
12 *'Bras bu che ba* (*Bṛhat-phala*, the Heaven of Great Fruition).

The five heavens from here upward, namely, the thirteenth to the seventeenth heavens of the fourth *dhyāna*, are also called "Five Pure Abodes" (*gNas gtsang ma*, *Śuddhāvāsa*).

13. *Mi che ba* (*Abṛha*, Not Great, namely the smallest of the five Pure Abodes),
14. *Mi gdung ba* (*Atapas*, the Heaven of No Affliction).
15. *Gya nom snang* (*Sudṛśa*, the Heaven of Pleasant to look at).
16. *Shin tu mthong ba* (*Sudarśana*, the Heaven of Good-looking).
17. *'Og min* (*Akaniṣṭha*, The highest).

The next realm, the non-material realm (*gZugs med khams*, *Ārūpya-dhātu*), contains four heavens:

1. *Nam mkha' mtha' yas skye mched* (*Ākāśânantyâyatana*, the Realm of Infinite Space).
2. *rNam shes mtha' yas skye mched* (*Vijñānânantyâyatana*, the Realm of Infinite Consciousness).
3. *Ci yang med pa'i skye mched* (*Ākiñcanyâyatana*, the Realm of Nothingness).
4. *'Du shes med 'du shes med min gyi skye mched* (*Naivasaṃjñā-nâsaṃjñâyatana*, the Realm of Neither Notion nor Lack of Notion).

In this Buddhist cosmology, there are only five destinies or *gati*, namely *dmyal ba* (*naraka*), *yi dwags* (*preta*), *dud 'gro* (*tiryak*), *mi* (*manuṣya*) and *lha* (*deva*). The *lha ma yin* (*asura*) are not mentioned. In fact, originally in Buddhism the *lha ma yin* were not considered as constituting a separate destiny. The canonical writings know of only five destinies. However, the introduction into the Buddhist pantheon of a great many Asuras, Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Gandharvas, objects of popular devotion, compelled the theoreticians of Buddhism to reconsider the problem of where these hybrid beings should be placed. The sects which remained faithful to the traditional number of five destinies, such as the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, and Dharmaguptakas, attempted to distribute those strangers in the existing destinies, particularly those of the *preta* (*yi dwags*) and *deva* (*lha*). In contrast, other sects considered it preferable to reserve a separate place for them by creating a sixth destiny or *gati*, called that of the Asuras. This was the solution adopted by the Mahāsāṃghikas, Andhakas, Uttarapāthakas, Saṃmitīyas, and Vatsīputrīyas (Lamotte 1967: 697-698; cf. Eng. tr., Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988: 629-630). It is well known that in Tibetan *thangka*s of the *srid pa'i 'khor lo* (Wheel of Existence), there are two types, one depicting five and the other six destinies.

Next, I examine the Bonpo cosmology as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed.* I must conclude that the basic structure is adopted from Buddhist cosmology, but among the details we find many indigenous elements or ideas.

As to the number of the destinies, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* presents either five or seven. In the following table, I try to summarize the Bonpo classification.

Table 2 Division of Destinies according to the *BGSB* (A. 9b7-10a3, B. 39b5-40b4)

[1] *sems can la rten gyis dbye na - khams gsum*
- *'dod khams la gnas rigs nyi shu*
  - *ngang song gi gnas bcu*
    - *dmyal ba sde bzhi*
    - *yi dwags sde gsum*
    - *byol song sde gsum*
  - *mtho ris bcu*
    - *gling phran rang sar bsdus pa'i gling bzhi'i mi*
    - *'dod lha drug*
- *gzugs khams gnas rigs bcu bdun*
  - *bsam gtan bzhi gsum bcu gnyis*
  - *gtsang ma rigs lnga*
- *gzugs med khams - skye mched mu bzhi*

[2] *rigs kyis dbye na - bdun*
- *mtho ris gsum*
  - *lha*
  - *lha min*
  - *mi*
- *ngan song gsum*
  - *byol song*
  - *yi dwags*
  - *dmyal ba*
- *skye ba bar ma do*

As this table clearly shows, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* first presents a division of sentient beings according to their "support" (*rten gyis dbye na*). The number of the destinies is five, since *lha ma yin* are not mentioned. In contrast, according to the

division by classes (*rigs kyis dbye na*), the number of the destinies is not six, but seven, because the intermediate existence (*bar do*) is added as a seventh category. This is probably a peculiarity of Bon. In Buddhism, the intermediate existence was never considered as a destiny, as is clear from the following passage of the *Abhidharmakośa* (*AK* III k° 4):

> *narakâdi-svanāmôktā gatayaḥ pañca teṣu tāḥ /*
> *akliṣṭâvyākṛtā eva sattvākhyā <u>nântarābhavaḥ</u> //*
> *der ni dmyal sogs 'gro ba lnga // rang gi ming gis bstan de dag //*
> *nyon mongs can min lung bstan min // sems can zhes bya <u>bar srid min</u> //*

"In these [Dhātus], there are five destinies that have been designated by their names, such as Hell. They are undefiled-neutral, they are the world of beings, and <u>they do not include intermediate existence</u>."

Now, we return to Table 1. The geographical description of the bottom of the world is not found in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, but the same kind of description of the world is given in at least one Bonpo *abhidharma* text, *mDzod phug* (cf. *DzP* 23.9-19).

Table 1 will facilitate the comparison. The structure of the world of beings in the two religions is almost identical with only some minor terminological differences. In the list from the *Bon sgo gsal byed* I have underlined the terms which are different from those of, or are not found in, the Buddhist list.

The number of the heavens is the same as in Buddhism, namely, six heavens of *'Dod khams*, seventeen heavens of *gZugs khams*, and four heavens of *gZugs med khams*.

The names of the six gods of desire (*'dod lha*) are almost identical, except for the third one. Instead of the *'Thab bral* ba of the Buddhist list, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* here has *mTha' bral*. To render the name of the Heaven of *Yāma*, the *'Thab bral ba* of the Buddhist list makes more sense. It means "without fight," or "without quarrel." In contrast to the previous and lower heaven, *Sum cu rtsa gsum pa*, where Indra is the chief and the gods fight against the Asuras, in this Heaven of *Yāma*, there is no fighting. As for the Bonpo version of the name of this heaven, *mTha' bral* (without extremity), I do not understand its etymological background very well. Incidentally, in the *mDo 'dus* (12b2), a tenth-century biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo, the name of this heaven is *'Thab bral*, exactly the same as the Buddhist one. In this case, there might be an error in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*.

The names of the three heavens of the first *dhyāna* of the *gZugs khams* are very similar with only slight differences. They are similar in the sense that they all have *Tshangs* or *Tshangs pa* (*Brahmā*) as one part of their name, but the details are slightly different. The first heaven of the Bonpo list, *Tshangs chung* (Small Brahmā), does not have a correspondence in the Budddhist list. The second one, *Tshangs chen* (Great Brahmā), has a correspondence, but with the third item,

Tshangs pa chen po, in the Buddhist list. The third Bonpo heaven, *Tshangs pa 'bum khri*, bears a very Bonpo-like name and has no correspondence in the Buddhist list. It is noteworthy that in other Bonpo sources, namely the *mDo 'dus* and the *sDe snod mdzod*, these names are again slightly different from those of the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. The *mDo 'dus* (12b4-5) has 1) *Tshangs ri* (*sic*), 2) *Tshangs chen*, and 3) *Tshangs pa 'du* (*sic*) *na 'dun* (*sic*), while the *sDe snod mdzod* (193.1) has 1) *Tshangs pa mdun na 'don*, 2) *Tshangs pa kun 'khor*, and 3) *Tshangs pa 'bum khri*.

The first heaven of the second *dhyāna* has an exact correspondence, while the second heaven has none. The third one has a correspondence, but with the second heaven in the Buddhist list. It is also noteworthy that in the *sDe snod mdzod* (193.5) these names are 4) *'Od chung*, 5) *'Od gsal*, and 6) *Tshad med 'od*, which are closer to the Buddhist list.

All three heavens of the third *dhyāna* have corresponding items in the Buddhist list, but the order is slightly different. The first heavens correspond exactly, while the second Bonpo heaven corresponds with the third Buddhist heaven, and the third Bonpo heaven corresponds with the second one in the Buddhist list. However, here again, we have to notice that the list in the *mDo 'dus* (12b5) is exacly the same as the Buddhist one.

The fourth *dhyāna* in the Buddhist list contains eight heavens, the five higher ones of which form the "Five Pure Abodes" (*gNas gtsang ma*, *Śuddhāvāsa*). In the Bonpo list, the "Five Pure Abodes" are not contained in the fourth *dhyāna* but are established separately from the fourth *dhyāna*. Thus, the fourth *dhyāna* in the Bonpo list contains only three heavens, the names of which are almost identical with the Buddhist ones, except for very minor differences: namely, the first heaven adds *'od* at the end of its name; the second heaven includes the transitive *bskyed*, while in the Buddhist list it is the intransitive, *skyes*. Here also we have to notice that the *mDo 'dus* (12b5) and the *sDe snod mdzod* (195.2) have *skyes*, as in the Buddhist list. The name of the third heaven is exactly the same. The names of the "Five Pure Abodes" (No. 13 through No. 17 in our list) are almost identical, except for minor differences: namely No. 15 and No. 16 are reversed, and in No. 17 *gnam gyi lha* (god of heaven) is added in the Bonpo list.

The four heavens of the *gZugs med khams* are also almost the same, except for the final one: the Bonpo list has *Yod min med min skye mched* (Realm of Neither Existence nor Non-existence) instead of the Buddhist *'Du shes med 'du shes med min gyi skye mched* (Realm of Neither Notion nor Lack of Notion).

In this way, we have compared the two lists concerning the structure of the world. We can probably say that the fourteenth-century Bonpo author, Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal, adopted the basic structure of the Buddhist cosmology. But this is not adequate: we have to pay attention and treat things more carefully. In addition to the names of heavens, which we have just seen, the Bonpo tradition includes four heavens unique to Bonpo, known as *gnas rigs chen po bzhi* (the Four

Great Residences), according to Samten Karmay (Karmay 1975: 195). Their names are found on the far right hand of Table 1: 1) *Srid pa gung sangs*, 2) *Srid pa ye sangs*, 3) *Bar lha 'od gsal* and 4) *mGon btsun phywa*. As indicated in Table 1, they correspond respectively to the thirteenth through sixteenth heavens of the *gZugs khams*, in other words, to the first through fourth heavens of the "Five Pure Abodes." These four heavens and their correspondence are clearly mentioned by the famous nineteenth-twentieth century Bonpo author, Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1859-1935), in his *sDe snod mdzod* (abr. *DNDz*, vol. 1, 196.1-198.6; Karmay 1975:195). The main old source for these four heavens and their correspondence is the *mDo 'dus* (fol. 12b7-13a1), a tenth-century biography of sTon-pa gShen- rab mi-bo which is constantly cited in the *sDe snod mdzod*. But the situation is more complicated. The names of these four heavens do not appear at all in the *mDzod phug*, an eleventh-century Bonpo *abhidharma* work. In the *gZer mig*, an eleventh-century biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo, the expression *gnas ris chen po bzhi* (*ZM* 383.10) appears instead of *gnas rigs chen po bzhi*, and the contents of the four heavens are slightly different, namely, 1) *Srid pa ye sangs*, 2) *Bar lha 'od gsal*, 3) *mGon btsun phywa*, and 4) *'Og min*. The name of *Srid pa gung sangs* does not seems to be mentioned in the *gZer mig*. In our text, the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, only the third one, namely *Bar lha 'od zer*, is mentioned in the context of *bar do* (cf. *BGSB* A.11b2, B.45b1). All this indicates that the conceptualization of these four heavens is still fluid in Bonpo sources, and that we have to treat this subject more carefully and systematically.

Above we have seen that the names of the "Five Pure Abodes" (No. 13 through No. 17 in Table 1) are almost identical in the Buddhist and Bonpo lists. One of the minor differences was that No. 15 and No. 16 in the Bonpo list were reversed. It is, however, noteworthy that this order is supported by the *mDzod phug* (*DzP* 83.11-12), but in the *mDo 'dus* (12b7-13a1) and the *sDe snod mdzod* (*DNDz* 197.4, 198.1) it is again reversed and corresponds with the Buddhist order.

On the basis of Table 1, we have reached the preliminary conclusion that Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal adopted the basic structure of Buddhist cosmology, concerning the general distribution of destinies and especially the division of the heavens. However, this does not mean that he simply copied it. When we examine the contents and details of each destiny, we can easily see to what extent Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal included in this basic structure original and indigenous ideas from his own tradition. That is what we shall now look at in detail.

In Table 3 (List of Destinies [in Tibetan]) and in Table 4 (List of Destinies [in English]) at the end of the present paper, I attempt to summarize the contents of each destiny as they are presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*: [1] *dmyal ba* (Hells), [2] *lha min* (Asuras), [3] *mi* (Human Beings), [4] *yi dwags* (Pretas), [5] *skye ba bar ma do* (Intermediate Existences) and [6] six times six, namely thirty-six divisions. I omit the rubric of *lha* (Heavens) because we have already seen it in Table 1. I also omit the destiny of *dud 'gro* (animals) because the *Bon sgo gsal byed* contains

almost nothing distinctive regarding this destiny. For this part of the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, we have a parallel in the *gZer mig* (202.4-209.16 [in Chap. 8]).

First, regarding the distribution of the Hells (cf. Table 3, 4, rubric [1]), in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* there is a general division into four Hells (rubric [1-1] to [1-4]), and a detailed division into eighteen Hells. The division according to the *Bon sgo gsal byed* is found on the left side of the chart. A list of Hells according to the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (168b6 ff., ad *AK* III k°58/ Skt. 163.8 ff.) is given on the right side for the sake of comparison.

In the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, the eight hot Hells are enumerated first. These are exactly the same as those of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Next the eight cold Hells are presented. These are similar to those of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, but there are small differences in details. The first two hells are identical. The third one is called *a chu kyi hud*. Since it is very cold, one is obliged to say *a chu* or *kyi hud*. *A chu* and *kyi hud* are onomatopoeic. This Bonpo Hell is a combination of the fourth and the fifth Hells of the Buddhist list; thus, the Bonpo author slightly modified the Buddhist list.

The fourth Hell of the Bonpo list, *so thams*, is identical to the third one of the Buddhist list, *so thams thams* / *aṭaṭa*. Here only the order is different. In this hell, it is so cold that the teeth make the sound, *thams thams*. So we understand that in Tibet, teeth make the sound *thams thams* when it is cold, while in India, they make the sound *aṭaṭa*.

The fifth through eighth hells of the Bonpo list correspond to the sixth through eighth hells of the Buddhist list. The Bonpo order (Padma, Padma chen, Utpala, Utpala chen po) seems more systematized than the Buddhist one. Except for these minor differences, it is clear that the Bonpo author borrowed from the list of Buddhist Hells, concerning both the eight hot hells and the eight cold hells.

However, the situation changes concerning the remaining two hells (Table 3, 4, rubric [1-3] and [1-4]). These hells are called, respectively, *nyi tshe ba* and *gnyis 'khor ba*. Tre-ston's explanation of the *nyi tshe ba* hell is that "heat and cold arrive at the same time" (*tsha grang dus gcig la sbyong pa*). According to the parallel passage from the *gZer mig*, if the lower part of the body is suffering from cold, the upper part of the body is suffering from heat. The explanation of the *gnyis 'khor ba* hell is that "heat and cold arrive one after the other" (*tsha grang re mos su 'khor ba*). In the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (ad *AK* III kk° 58d & 59a-c) there is a description of sixteen supplementary hells (*utsada*, *lhag pa*), which belong to each of these eight major hot hells. But we cannot find any hell the explanation of which would correspond literally to our third and fourth hells.

On the other hand, in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, we find hells named *nyi tshe ba'i dmyal ba* (*pratyeka-naraka*, minor hells) (*AKBh* [ed. Pradhan, Patna, 1967] 165.4-6 [ad *AK* III k° 59]: *pratyekaṃ narakās* [*sic, pratyeka-narakās?*] *tu svaiḥ svaiḥ karmabhir abhinirvṛttāḥ / bahūnāṃ sattvānāṃ dvayor ekasya vā / teṣām aneka-prakalpo bhedaḥ sthānaṃ câniyataṃ nadī-parvata-marupradeśeṣv*

anyeṣu vā 'dhaś ca bhāvāt /; [tib. P(115)(5591) gu 163b1]: *nyi tshe ba'i dmyal ba rnams ni mang po'am gnyis sam gcig gi so so'i las dag gis mngon par grub pa yin te / de dag gi rnam pa'i bye brag ni rnam pa du ma yod do // gnas ni nges pa med de / chu bo dang / ri dang / mya ngam gyi phyogs dag dang / gzhan dag dang / 'og na yang yod pa'i phyir ro //;* "The minor hells are created through the force of individual acts, the acts of one being, of two beings, of many beings. Their variety is great. Their location is not determined, because it can be in a river, a mountain, a desert, or elsewhere, and even below" [*LVP* iii p. 155]).

Nyi tshe ba normaly means "ephemeral," "minor," or "small." The *nyi tshe ba* hells are hells that are minor and small in contrast to the eight major hells. It is therefore very difficult to arrive at the interpretation of *nyi tshe ba* that we have seen in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*: *tsha grang dus gcig la sbyong pa* (heat and cold arrive at the same time). I am afraid that the explanation in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* is the result of an error or a misunderstanding. The *gZer mig* gives a variant reading, *gnyis* instead of *nyi* (*ZM* 203.18; but *nyis* 203.20). This probably makes more sense for the given explanation.

Above, I made a more or less detailed and systematic comparison concerning the heavens and the hells. For the remainder of this paper, I confine myself to pointing out only the important problems concerning each category, since I established in the form of tables (Table 3 in Tibetan and Table 4 in English) the contents of the other categories as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed.*

First, the Asuras ([2] *lha min* or *lha ma yin*) are divided into three groups: *yar g-yen, bar g-yen* and *sa g-yen*, each *g-yen* containing thirteen, nine and eleven *lha ma yin* respectively: the total number then is thirty-three.

A number of terms indicating diseases or epidemics, evil spirits, and natural phenomena are enumerated in this category. Some of them are difficult to understand precisely. But some have already been identified as local divinities. An asterisk (*) following certain terms indicates that these beings are identified in the "eight categories of spirits" (*lha srin sde brgyad*), mentioned in a table in an article by Samten Karmay (Karmay 1996: 72). At the end of Table 3, rubric [2], there is an interesting explanation: *bsdus na g-yen dgu la sde brgyad su gsungs pa yang yod //* (In summary, there are those who describe the "Nine *g-yen*" as the "Eight categories [of *g-yen*]"). This reminds us of the expression, "*lha srin sde brgyad*" mentioned.

Concerning the Asuras, I limit my remarks to a particular problem, namely that of the *nāga*. As we see in Talbe 3, rubric [2-3-1], *klu* (*nāga*) are classified among *lha ma yin* (*asura*) in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, while in Buddhism they are normally classified among animals, as we can see in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, a ninth-century explanatory dictionary, which elucidates certain difficult terms of the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Ishikawa 1990: 111-112) : *dud 'gro'i rgyud la / ...* No. 351: *garuḍa / khyung, nam mkha' lding*; No. 352: *kinnara / mi'am ci*; No.353: *mahoraga / lto 'phye chen po*; No. 354: *Vāsukir Nāgarājā / klu'i rgyal po Nor-rgyas-kyi-bu.*

The *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (ad *AK* III k° 9a) also supports this opinion: *nāga*, *kinnara*, and *garuḍa* are considered as animals of apparitional birth (*brdzus skyes*, *upapāduka*).

On the other hand, in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, *nāga*s are considered also as *yi dwags* (*preta*) in Table 3, rubric [4]. *Preta*s are divided into three categories, *gnas na 'dug pa* (those who live on the ground), *mkha' la rgyu ba* (those who move in space) and *brgyud drug 'khor ba* (those who transmigrate into the six destinies), and two kinds of *nāga*s are mentioned under the category of *mkha' la rgyu ba*. The first one is at Table 3, rubric [4-2-2]: *'og phyogs klu lto 'phye can* (in the underworld the *nāga* accompanied by snakes). The second *nāga* appears at Table 3, [4-2-5]: *nub phyogs chu bdag klu* (in the western direction, *nāga*, master of water). The *gZer mig* (204.16) has a variant reading: *chu bdag klung* (the river, master of water) instead of *chu bdag klu*, as indicated in Table 3, [4-2-5]. As both readings make sense to some extent, I am not sure which reading is better, but if we choose the reading *chu bdag klu*, it is another instance of a kind of *nāga* being treated as a *preta*.

In any case, we have clearly seen that *nāga*s are classified sometimes as *lha ma yin* and sometimes as *preta*s in the Bonpo context. How can we find a coherent and convincing solution to the problem presented by this inconsistency?

Perhaps we can find a hint on how to solve this problem in Buddhist mythology. In Buddhism, for example in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* and the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, we have seen that *nāga*s were considered to be animals. Recalling the passage of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, in which *Vāsukir Nāgarājā / Klu'i rgyal po Nor-rgyas-kyi-bu* was classified under the category of *dud 'gro* (animals), we must notice that here it is the *nāga-rāja*s (kings of *nāga*s), and not ordinary *nāga*s, that are in question. In fact, in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (abr. *Mvyut*) there are two headings referring to *nāga*s; one is concerned with *nāgarāja*s, and the other with ordinary nāgas. *Mvyut* 3226 is *klu'i rgyal po'i ming la* (*nāgarāja-nāmāni*, names of the kings of *nāga*s) and under this category, eighty-two *nāgarāja*s are enumerated. On the other hand, *Mvyut* 3309 is the heading *klu phal pa'i ming la* (ordinary *nāga*s), under which fifty-six *nāga*s are enumerated. Strangely enough, Yama (gShin-rje) is mentioned among them [as No. 3328]. Yama is well-known as the judge in Hell, but in fact he is the king of the *preta*s, as is clearly stated in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (165.7: *pretānāṃ yamo rājā* / cf. tib. 170a6: *yi dags rnams kyi rgyal po ni gshin rje zhes bya ba yin no* //). This is a hint that *nāga*s can be *preta*s in the Buddhist scheme of things. But there is one problem. In *Mvyut* 3155, we also find the name of Yama under another heading (No. 3114): *laukika-devatā* / *'jig rten pa'i lha'i ming la* (popular gods). I am not sure whether or not these two Yamas mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* are identical.

There is one other piece of evidence that shows that *nāga*s can be considered to be *preta*s. In *Mvyut*, under the heading of *kuṃbhāṇḍa*(*-nāmāni*) / *grul bum* (*gyi*

dbang po'i ming la) (No. 3436), *nāgādhipatiḥ* / *klu bdag* (master of *nāgas*) is mentioned as No. 3438. Therefore, this *nāga* can be considered to be a *preta*, because *kumbhāṇḍa* is a kind of *preta* as is mentioned in *Mvyut* 4755 (*kumbhāṇḍaḥ* / *grul bum*) under the heading of *yi dags* (*su gtogs pa'i ming la*) [*Mvyut* 4753].

In light of all these facts, we can probably conclude that in Buddhism *nāgarājas* were considered to be animals, while ordinary *nāgas* were said to be *pretas*. If this interpretation is correct, and if we apply the same thinking to Bonpo mythology, we might conclude that in the Bon religion, *nāgarājas* were considered to be *lha ma yin*, while ordinary *nāgas* were considered to be *pretas*. This is a little strange, but, otherwise, it is difficult for me to find a solution to this problem.

As for the category of human beings (Table 3, [3]), I just point out as a peculiarity of Bonpo cosmology that *kinnaras* (*mi'am ci*) are included in this category, while for the Buddhists *kinnaras* are animals, as we have seen above in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. Eight categories of human beings and four categories of *kinnaras* are presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. Among them, the definition of the fourth category of *kinnaras* (Table 3, [3-2-4]) attracts our attention: *mgo brnyan mi lus dud 'gro sna tshogs mgo can zas su rtsi shing za ba'o* (The mGo brnyan have the heads of various beasts with human bodies. They eat fruit trees as food). In a *thangka* of the Bonpo version of the *srid pa'i 'khor lo* (Wheel of Existence), three kinds of creatures with the heads of animals are depicted in the division of human beings; they are *mi'am ci* (Kvaerne 1995: 142). The *thangka* thus perfectly follows in this way the Bonpo tradition.

We have skipped the category of animals (*byol song*), because there is nothing particular to explain. It is only said that the single [category of] animals is more numerous than the five destinies put together (*rigs lnga phyogs gcig bzhag pas byol song gcig pu mang ngo*: *BGSB* A 10b7, B 43a3-4).

Concerning the category of *preta* (*yi dwags*), we have above pointed out one particular point about *nāgas*. Here I limit my remarks to only two points: 1) *Gandharvas* are enumerated among *pretas* (see [4-2-3]): *shar phyogs dri za* (in the eastern direction, *gandharva*). There is no inconsistency here, because *gandharvas* are also mentioned later in the six times six division (see [6-5-4]) among animals of *pretas*. 2) *Garuḍas* are considered to be *pretas* in [4-2-8]: *byang nub nam mkha' lding* (in the north-west, *garuḍa*). This is strange, because later in the six times six division, *garuḍas* are considered to be animals in that they are as one type of the gods of animals (see [6-4-1]). We have already seen above in the *sGre sbyor bam po gnyis pa* and in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (ad *AK* III k° 9a) that in the Buddhist context, *garuḍas* are included among animals. Therefore, I do not know how to interpret the passage of [4-2-8].

Regarding the category of the intermediate existence (*skye ba bar ma do*), five kinds of intermediate existences and seven kinds of intermediate existences are enumerated. These are clearly shown in Table 3, rubric [5]. I have never seen

another equally detailed list of the intermediate existences. The abundance of the intermediate existences is insisted upon, and it is said that the intermediate existences alone are more numerous than all six destinies (*de yang rigs drug thams cad bas / bar do gcig pu mang ste /*: *BGSB* A 11b4 , B 45b4). It is also said that the intermediate existences are like an ocean, while the beings of the six destinies are like the rivers (*mDo* [= *ZM* 202.7-8] *las bar do ni / rgya mtsho dang 'dra la / rigs drug sems can ni de nas skye ba'i chu bo dang 'dra*: *BGSB* A 11b4, B 45b4-5).

Finally, it is very interesting that, at the end of the classification of the destinies in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, we find a classification of six times six divisions of destinies; namely, each destiny is divided into six, as in Table 3, rubric [6]. For example, the destiny of god is divided into *lha'i lha*, *lha'i lha ma yin*, *lha'i mi*, *lha'i byol song*, *lha'i yi dwags*, and *lha'i dmyal ba*. A similar division applies to the other destinies; therefore, the number of classes becomes thirty-six.

To my limited knowledge, there is no such internal division of each destiny in Buddhist sources. The only exception I know is the philosophy of "a hundred worlds, a thousand suchnesses" (百界千如), developed in the Tendai (T'ien t'ai 天台) school of Chinese Buddhism. There are ten worlds: six destinies (*gati*) plus four kinds of saints: Śrāvakas (*nyan thos*), Pratyekabuddhas (*rang sangs rgyas*), Bodhisattvas (*byang chub sems dpa'*) and Buddhas (*sangs rgyas*). In each of the ten worlds are contained ten worlds: this makes a hundred worlds in total. In Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the second chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, there is a passage according to which the Buddha sees the real state of things from the point of view of ten suchnesses (十如是). This passage is developed in Tendai philosophy and, combined with the hundred worlds, becomes the basis of the Tendai theory of a thousand suchnesses (千如). Aside from this, I have never seen a similar idea in Buddhist texts.

Going back to the theory of six times six destinies, the *Abhidharmakośa* does not support such an idea. If there are six destinies in each destiny, there will be a confusion of destiny. The following is the reasoning of the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, Vasubandhu, against the internal division of each destiny (*AKBh* 114.12 [ad *AK* III k° 4]: *anivṛtâvyākṛtā eva gatayaḥ / anyathā hi gati-saṃbhedaḥ syāt /*; [tib. P(115)(5591) gu 128b3] *'gro ba rnams ni ma bsgribs la lung du ma bstan pa kho na'o // de lta ma yin na 'gro ba lnga 'chol par 'gyur ro //*; "The destinies are undefiled-neutral. [If they were] otherwise, the five destinies would be confounded" [cf. Tr. *LVP* iii p. 12]).

Concerning this six times six division of destinies, it is very interesting to note that even in Bonpo sources, the contents of each item are not unanimous. For example, the *Bar ti ka* is cited in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* as a source of its interpretation. The *Bar ti ka* has been published in India (*mDo rnam 'grel* [*'brel*] *Bar* [*Par*] *ti ka*, 123 fols.), but strangely enough I have not been able to locate it in either the Bonpo *bKa' 'gyur* or *brTan 'gyur*. In the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal pretends to cite literally the *Bar ti ka*. However, on several

occasions the explanations given to items are different or incompatible. To cite just one example, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* glosses *yi dwags kyi byol song* (animals of *preta*s) as "*gandharvas* which move about in space" (*dri za mkha' la rgyu ba*), while the *Bar ti ka* defines them as "*kinnara*, etc., which live in the eight small continents" (*mi'am ci la sogs pa'i gling phran brgyad na gnas pa*). Not only are the contents different; it is also strange that the *Bar ti ka* mentions *mi'am ci* here in this category of "animals of *preta*s," because, as we have seen above, *mi'aṁ ci* are neither *preta*s (*yi dwags*) nor animals (*byol song*) in Bonpo mythology: they are clearly said to be a type of human being.

It is very unclear where this difference comes from. The discrepancy probably shows that there was not a completely fixed idea of these internal divisions of each destiny, or that the idea itself was developing. In the *Bon sgo gsal byed* (*BGSB* 130a1), another text is cited in another context, a text which seems to support the idea of the six times six internal division of destinies. The title of this text is *sByongs kyi gzer bu* (Nail of Study), but I have unfortunately not been able to locate this text in the Bonpo Canon.

All this indicates that there are still many things to do, many texts to read, many points to be clarified. We have seen that the names and the order of the heavens are not unanimous even among the Bonpo sources, and that the distribution and the contents of each destiny are often similarly uncertain. We have to continue our investigation more carefully and more systematically in other Bonpo sources, but this is beyond the scope of the present article. Nevertheless, I hope that one small step has been made with this preliminary report.

Table 3 List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

[1] dmyal ba [*BGSB* A.11a2-4, B.43b5-44a4; cf. *ZM* 203.13-204.6]
- spyi'i sde bzhi - sgos rigs bco brgyad

[1-1] tsha dmyal brgyad	(Cf. *AKBh* 168b6- (ad *AK* III k°58) / Skt. 163.8-)
[1-1-1] yang sos	(1) yang sos / saṃjīva 等活(地獄)
[1-1-2] thig nag	(2) thig nag / kālasūra 黒縄°
[1-1-3] bsdus 'joms	(3) bsdus 'joms / saṃghāta 衆合°
[1-1-4] ngu 'bod	(4) ngu 'bod / raurava *叫喚°
[1-1-5] ngu 'bod chen po	(5) ngu 'bod chen po / mahāraurava *大叫喚°
[1-1-6] tsha ba	(6) tsha ba / tāpana 炎熱°
[1-1-7] rab du tsha ba	(7) rab tu tsha ba / pratāpana 極熱°
[1-1-8] mnar med	(8) mnar med pa / avīci 無間°
[1-2] grang dmyal brgyad	(Cf. *AKBh* 169b8- (ad *AK* III k°59) / Skt. 164.23-)
[1-2-1] chu bur can	(1) chu bur can / arbuda
[1-2-2] chu bur rdol ba can	(2) chu bur rdol ba / nirarbuda
[1-2-3] a chu kyi hud	(3) so thams thams / aṭaṭa
[1-2-4] so thams	(4) a chu zer ba / hahava
[1-2-5] pad ma ltar gas pa	(5) kyi hud zer ba / huhuva
[1-2-6] pad ma chen po ltar [gas pa]	(6) ud pa la ltar gas pa / utpala
[1-2-7] ud dpal ltar gyes pa	(7) pa dma ltar gas pa / padma
[1-2-8] ud dpal chen po[lta]r gyes pa	(8) pa dma ltar cher gas pa / mahāpadma

[1-3] nyi [gnyis *ZM*] tshe ba - tsha grang dus gcig la sbyong pa
[1-4] gnyis 'khor ba - tsha grang re mos su 'khor ba

[2] lha min [*BGSB* A.10a7-b2, B.41b2-42a3; cf. *ZM* 208.3-13]
- spyi'i sde gsum - sgos kyi rigs sum cu rtsa gsum
[2-1] yar g-yen gnyan po bcu gsum (yar g-yen ni nam mkha' la rgyu zhing 'od zer la gnas so)
[2-1-1] dbal [2-1-2] yogs [2-1-3] khrin
[2-1-4] nyer [2-1-5] 'o [2-1-6] 'tshams [2-1-7] srid [2-1-8] skos
[2-1-9] phy(w)a [2-1-10] dmu* [2-1-11] bdud* [2-1-12] btsan* [2-1-13] gnyan po

[2-2] bar g-yen gtod po dgu (bar g-yen ni ri rab rked la gnas shing / rdzu 'phrul shugs kyis 'gro'o)
[2-2-1] nyi [2-2-2] zla [2-2-3] skar [2-2-4] zer [2-2-5] lo
[2-2-6] rdzi [2-2-7] sprin [2-2-8] gzha' [2-2-9] dal

[2-3] sa g-yen che ba bcu gcig (gling bzhi lcags ri la gnas shing sprul pa yongs su khyab pa'o)
[2-3-1] klu* [2-3-2] gnyan* [2-3-3] rgyal*
[2-3-4] sman* [2-3-5] 'brog
[2-3-6] bzed [2-3-7] 'dre [2-3-8] srin*
[2-3-9] byur [2-3-10] gshin rje*
[2-3-11] chud

bsdus na g-yen dgu la sde brgyad su gsungs pa yang yod //

Table 4 List of Destinies (in English)

[1] Hells — Four general classes — Eighteen particular categories.
[1-1] Eight hot hells
[1-1-1] Hell of resurrection[1].
[1-1-2] Hell of black string[2].
[1-1-3] Hell of collective [torture] [3].
[1-1-4] Hell of wailing[4].
[1-1-5] Hell of great wailing.
[1-1-6] Hell of heat.
[1-1-7] Hell of terrible heat.
[1-1-8] Hell of [tortures] without interval.
[1-2] Eight cold hells.
[1-2-1] Hell of blisters[5].
[1-2-2] Hell of blisters that have been burst open[6].
[1-2-3] Hell of the cry "a chu" or "kyi hud"[7].
[1-2-4] Hell of the sound of teeth "thams [thams]..."[8]
[1-2-5] Hell of [skin] split like a red lotus[9].
[1-2-6] Hell of [skin split] like a great red lotus.
[1-2-7] Hell of [skin] separated like a blue lotus[10].
[1-2-8] Hell of [skin] separated like a great blue lotus.
[1-3] Hell of simultaneous heat and cold: Heat and cold arrive at the same time[11].
[1-4] Hell of alternating heat and cold: Heat and cold arrive one after the other.

[2] Asuras[12] — Three general classes — Thirty-three particular categories.
[2-1] The thirteen gnyen po who are the upper g-yen (they move around in the space and live in the light).
[2-1-1] heat [2-1-2] pervading ones [2-1-3] khrin (a kind of unidentified spirit)
[2-1-4] nyer spirits [2-1-5] 'o (a kind of unidentified spirit)
[2-1-6] 'tshams (a kind of unidentified spirit) [2-1-7] srid [2-1-8] skos
[2-1-9] phy(w)a [2-1-10] dmu [2-1-11] bdud [2-1-12] btsan
[2-1-13] the cruel ones
[2-2] The nine gtod po who are the intermediate g-yen[13] (they live on Mount Meru, and move about with miraculous power).
[2-2-1] Sun [2-2-2] Moon [2-2-3] star [2-2-4] ray [2-2-5] year
[2-2-6] wind [2-2-7] cloud [2-2-8] rainbow [2-2-9] "epidemic"
[2-3] The eleven che ba who are the g-yen of the ground (they live in four continents and on the Peripheral Iron Mountains, and their emanations are everywhere).
[2-3-1] nāga [2-3-2] gnyan spirits [2-3-3] rgyal (= rgyal po ?)
[2-3-4] female spirits dwelling in lakes and mountains
[2-3-5] a type of dangerous spirit
[2-3-6] a type of spirit (unidentified) [2-3-7] ghost [2-3-8] demon
[2-3-9] a type of spirit that brings misfortune [2-3-10] Yama (?)
[2-3-11] a kind of spirit living underground
In summary, there are those who describe the "Nine g-yen" as the "Eight categories [of g-yen]."

Table 3 List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

[3] mi - [3-1] mi dang [3-2] mi 'am ci [*BGSB* A.10b2-6, B.42a3-43a2; cf. *ZM* 206.12-208.2]
[3-1] mi - rigs brgyad
[3-1-1] shar gyi lus 'phags po drod skyes
[3-1-2] byang gi sgra mi snyan brdzus skyes
[3-1-3] nub ba lang spyod sgong skyes
[3-1-4] lho 'dzam bu gling mngal skyes
[3-1-5] smra mi grong bdun gyi mi ni / tshul khrims rnam dag gis bskyed la / bar bskal gcig dge ba bcu spyad nas yar thar ro //
[3-1-6] 'khor lo dbang sgyur mi ni ri bdun srog chags la dbang byed cing rin po che'i 'khor lo sgyur ba'o //
[3-1-7] drum shing bcud 'thung mi ni / mu le drum shing gi khog na gnas / khu ba bdud rtsi 'dzag pa gsos kyi skal par spyod pa / sbyin pa mthar phyin pa las skye'o //
[3-1-8] me tog sbubs gnas kyi mi ni / bzod pa thang chod pas skye'o //

[3-2] mi 'am ci la bzhi ste /
[3-2-1] ljon pa me tog 'bras bu za / rgya mtsho'i kha zhag 'thung ba dang /
[3-2-2] skyes drug byis pa drod las dbyar ltam dgun na 'chi ba dang /
[3-2-3] deng gtsug mtshon thogs srin po rnams / zas su sha khrag za ba dang /
[3-2-4] mgo brnyan mi lus dud 'gro sna tshogs mgo can zas su rtsi shing za ba'o // zhi gling chung khyab par yod / shin du tshe ring bskal pa chen por gnas / phrag dog rgyu dang gzhan smad dbang gis skye'o //

[4] yi dwags [*BGSB* A.10b7-11a2, B.43a4-43b5; cf. *ZM* 204.7-205.4]
- spyi'i sde gsum - sgos rigs bco lnga
[4-1] gnas na 'dug pa gsum
[4-1-1] phyi'i sgrib pa can
[4-1-2] nang gi sgrib pa can
[4-1-3] sgrib pa can gyi sgrib pa can
[4-2] mkha' la rgyu ba bcu
[4-2-1] steng phyogs lha mthu dbang can las gyur pa'i yi dwags
[4-2-2] 'og phyogs klu lto 'phye can
[4-2-3] shar phyogs dri za
[4-2-4] byang phyogs me drang shugs
[4-2-5] nub phyogs chu bdag klu (klung *ZM*)
[4-2-6] lho phyogs srul po gdug pa can
[4-2-7] byang shar grul bum
[4-2-8] byang nub nam mkha' lding (= Garuḍa, *Mvyut* 3222)
[4-2-9] lho nub 'jug byed gtum po
[4-2-10] lho shar skem byed mchu ring
[4-3] brgyud drug 'khor ba la gnyis
[4-3-1] zo chu'i brgyud ma ltar khad kyis brgyud pa
[4-3-2] shing rta'i 'khor lo ltar gcig char du 'pho ba

Table 4 List of Destinies (in English)

[3] Human beings — [3-1] human beings and [3-2] kinnara.
  [3-1] Human beings — Eight categories.
    [3-1-1] People of Videha country of the East, who are born from heat-humidity.
    [3-1-2] People of Kuru country of the North, who are of apparitional birth.
    [3-1-3] People of Godānīya country of the West, who are born from eggs.
    [3-1-4] People of Jambūdvīpa of the South, who are born from the womb.
    [3-1-5] The human beings of sMra mi grong bdun[14] are produced by pure discipline, and, after having practised the ten virtues during an intermediate kalpa[15], obtain salvation.
    [3-1-6] The "human beings who turn the wheel" dominate the beings of the seven mountains and turn the wheel of jewel[16].
    [3-1-7] The "human beings who drink the juice of the Drum tree" live in the interior of the Drum tree of Mu le[17], and they have the good fortune to drink the nectar liquid that drops [from the tree]. They are born there because of their accomplishment in alms-giving.
    [3-1-8] The "human beings who live in the interior of flowers" are born there because of their practice of perseverance[18].
  [3-2] Four [categories] of kinnara[19]
    [3-2-1] The lJon pa[20] eat the fruit of flowers[21] and drink the foam of the ocean.
    [3-2-2] The sKyes drug in the form of children are born in summer by heat and die in winter.
    [3-2-3] The Deng gtsug are demons carrying swords, and they eat meat and blood as food[22].
    [3-2-4] The mGo brnyan have the heads of various beasts with human bodies. They eat fruit trees as food. They are everywhere in the small continents of zhi[23] (?). They live long and even during a great kalpa. They are born there because of jealousy or by reason of speaking ill of other persons
[4] Pretas — Three general classes — Fifteen particular categories
  [4-1] There are three who live on the ground.
    [4-1-1] Those who have external sins.
    [4-1-2] Those who have internal sins.
    [4-1-3] Those who have sins of sins (?).
  [4-2] There are ten who move in space.
    [4-2-1] In the upper world, the preta who are transformed from powerful gods.
    [4-2-2] In the underworld, the nāga accompanied by snakes.
    [4-2-3] In the eastern direction, gandharva[24].
    [4-2-4] In the northern direction, the Me drang shugs.
    [4-2-5] In the western direction, nāga, master of water[25].
    [4-2-6] In the southern direction, poisonous pūtana[26].
    [4-2-7] In the eastern direction, kumbhāṇḍa[27].
    [4-2-8] In the north-west, garuḍa[28].
    [4-2-9] In the south-west, the 'jug byed[29] gtum po.
    [4-2-10] In the south-east, the skem byed[30] with long beaks.
  [4-3] Among those who transmigrate into the six destinies[31], there are two [categories].
    [4-3-1] Those who move slowly like the flow of water from a pitcher.
    [4-3-2] Those who migrate suddenly like the wheel of a chariot.

Table 3 List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

[5] skye ba bar ma do [*BGSB* A.11a4-b4, B.44a4-45b5; cf. *ZM* 202.4-203.13]
- spyi'i sde gcig -
[5-1] sgos kyi rigs lnga
[5-1-1] gnas pa tshe'i bar do - da lta'i snang ba 'khrul pa 'di'o //
[5-1-2] rmi lam sgyu ma'i bar do - yid shes 'khrul pa la snang ngo //
[5-1-3] bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do - 'byung lnga bsdud cing / 'od lnga rim gyis 'char ba'o //'jig pa rkyen gyi bar do yang zer ro //
[5-1-4] gnas pa gzhi'i bar do - skad cig bdun cu'am zhag gsum dros bzhi la sogs su rten med du brgyal ba'o
[5-1-5] stong pa srid pa'i bar do - tshe snga phyi'i bar na rig pa la rten med bar dor 'khyams pa

[5-2] rigs bdun
[5-2-1] yar gyi zang thal - dge ldan rtogs pa'i stobs kyis glog 'khyugs yud tsam la sangs rgyas so
[5-2-2] mar gyi zang thal - sdig pa 'tshams med kyi stobs kyis / dpag chen gyis mda' 'phangs pa bzhin du mnar med du skye'o
[5-2-3] dge ba khad kyis brgyud pa - sngon rang gis spyad pa'i dge ba dang / phyi nas gzhan gyis btang pa'i dge ba 'joms pas / gnas ngan pa nas bzang por skye ba
[5-2-4] sdig pa khad kyis brgyud pa - sngon du rang gis spyad pa'i sdig pa dang / phyi nas gzhan gyis bsnan pa'i sdig pa dang / gnas bzang po nas (45a5) ngan par skye ba
[5-2-5] bsam gtan nus mthu rdzogs pa - bsgoms pa'i stobs kyis zhag bdun na mthong ba'i bon la bden pa mthong nas bar lha 'od gsal du skye'o
[5-2-6] 'khor byed stobs can - bdun bdun bzhi bcu rtsa dgu'i bar du / mdung khyim gyi tshul du 'khor nas / rigs drug gi las gar mthun par skye'o
[5-2-7] ther zug bskal pa'i bar do - bskal pa chen po gcig gi bar du ther zug yid kyis btags nas / lus mi len pa

[6] 6 x 6 = 36; rigs sum cu rtsa drug [*BGSB* A.11b4-12a5, B.45b5-47b3; cf. *Bar ti ka* 19b6-22a5 (pp.38-43)]
[6-1] lha la rigs drug
[6-1-1] lha'i lha - ltung ba med pa
[6-1-2] lha'i lha ma yin - rtag du myos pa
[6-1-3] lha'i mi - yengs pas ltung ba
[6-1-4] lha'i byol song - rgyun du 'khor ba
[6-1-5] lha'i yi dwags - thang lha la sogs 'jig rten lha dgu
[6-1-6] lha'i dmyal ba - ltung bas gzir ba bsam gtan tha ma

Table 4 List of Destinies (in English)

[5] Intermediate existence — One general class —

[5-1] Five particular categories[32]

[5-1-1] Intermediate existence of the present life — the erroneous appearance of the present time.

[5-1-2] Intermediate existence of the illusory dream — it appears in erroneous mental consciousness.

[5-1-3] Intermediate existence of the clear light of reality (*bon nyid*) — [In this] the assemblage of the five elements occurs, the five lights shining successively.This *bar do* is also called "intermediate existence of the conditions of dissolution".

[5-1-4] Intermediate existence of the basic state — [In this *bar do*, the person who dies] faints during seventy moments or three nights and one day without a physical support, i.e. the body.

[5-1-5] Intermediate existence of the empty existence — he wanders about in the [state of] intermediate existence, without having a support for his consciousness, between the previous and future life.

[5-2] Seven particular categories [of intermediate existence]

[5-2-1] "Direct ascent" — Through the force of their realisation and virtuous work, [those who die] attain enlightenment instantly like lightning.

[5-2-2] "Direct descent" — Through the force of their unpardonable sin [those who die] are born straight in the "hell [of tortures] without interval" (avīci) like the archery of an athletic archer.

[5-2-3] Gradual moving through virtuous work — Those who, having obtained the virtue practised previously by themselves and the meritorious work done by others on their behalf after their death, are reborn into a good place from a bad [place].

[5-2-4] Gradual moving through sin — Those who, [having accrued] the sin committed previously by themselves and the sin committed by others on their behalf after their death, are reborn into a bad place from a good [place].

[5-2-5] Perfection in the strength of contemplation — Because of strength in meditation, [those who die] see the truth of Bon seven days after their death and are born in the heaven Bar lha 'od gsal.

[5-2-6] Those who have the power of transmigration — After having transmigrated from one place to another[33] for forty-nine (seven times seven) days, they will be born in one of the six destinies in accordance with their karman.

[5-2-7] The constant intermediate existence that lasts for one kalpa — [The dead ones] who remain during a great kalpa, bound by mental [consciousness] and without being reborn with a physical body.

[6] Six times six, namely thirty-six divisions.

[6-1] Six categories of gods.

[6-1-1] gods of gods — those who do not fall [from heaven].

[6-1-2] asuras of gods — gods who are always drunk (Sadāmada, cf. *Mvyut* 3152).

[6-1-3] human beings of gods —those who fall [from heaven] because of their distraction.

[6-1-4] animals of gods — those who transmigrate continuously.

[6-1-5] pretas of gods — The "nine local gods" such as the god of the plain (thang lha)[34].

[6-1-6] hell-beings of gods — [gods of] the last dhyāna, who are afflicted with falling.

Table 3 List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

[6-2] lha ma yin gyi rigs drug
[6-2-1] lha ma yin gyi lha - Thag bzang ris
[6-2-2] lha ma yin gyi lha ma yin - zhe sdang rab du skyed pa
[6-2-3] lha ma yin gyi mi - go mtshon 'chang ba
[6-2-4] lha ma yin gyi byol song - bying rmugs mkhar brtsigs
[6-2-5] lha ma yin gyi yi dwags - ri rab tshog por 'phen pa
[6-2-6] lha ma yin gyi dmyal ba - 'thab pas rab tu gzir ba
[6-3] mi'i rigs drug
[6-3-1] mi'i lha - rigs kyi rgyal po, bla ma mchod mkhan, 'khor ldan gtso bo gsum
[6-3-2] mi'i lha ma yin - dmag dpon dar thogs, rang mthong dug ldan, zhe sdang khong khro can gsum
[6-3-3] mi'i mi - rgyu phyug dkor ldan, ma drang sho drang, rdzun med tshig drang gsum
[6-3-4] mi'i byol song - 'on long, mo chags, bran khol gsum
[6-3-5] mi'i yi dwags - gling gsum 'phangs med, sprang po grong khyer, dkor med khrel 'dzem gsum
[6-3-6] mi'i dmyal ba - rang gis rang bkol, khrel med rje'i 'bangs, nad gcong zin pa gsum

[6-4] byol song rigs drug
[6-4-1] byol song gi lha - 'brug seng khyung cang shes rta dang 'dod 'jo la sogs pa
[6-4-2] byol song gi lha ma yin - khra spyang la sogs nying sha za ba
[6-4-3] byol song gi mi - rab du mi dang 'brel ba rnams
[6-4-4] byol song gi byol song - mun pa'i nang na mthon pa
[6-4-5] byol song gi yi dwags - khyi dang khyim bya lto tshod mis 'dzin pa
[6-4-6] byol song gi dmyal ba - rgya mtsho la gnas pa
[6-5] yi dwags kyi rigs drug
[6-5-1] yi dwags kyi lha - Kha 'bar ma, Kha 'dra ma
[6-5-2] yi dwags kyi lha ma yin - dge snyen rgyal po la sogs
[6-5-3] yi dwags kyi mi - gling phran brgyad kyi mi
[6-5-4] yi dwags kyi byol song - dri za mkha' la rgyu ba.
[6-5-5] yi dwags kyi yi dwags - phyi'i sgrib pa can,
[6-5-6] yi dwags kyi dmyal ba- nang gi sgrib pa can gting na gnas pa

[6-6] dmyal ba'i rigs drug
[6-6-1] dmyal ba'i lha - tshe rgyud nas sdug bsngal med pa
[6-6-2] dmyal ba'i lha ma yin - thig nag bsha' thub byed pa
[6-6-3] dmyal ba'i mi - bka' nyan pas dmyal zangs kha nas thar ba
[6-6-4] dmyal ba'i byol song - me nang du lag pa bcug nas a tsha zer / chu nang du rkang pa bcug nas a chu zer te / skyon rang la byung ba ma rig pa
[6-6-5] dmyal ba'i yi dwags - bsregs na grang bar 'dod la 'khyags na tsha bar 'dod pa
[6-6-6] dmyal ba'i dmyal ba - bskal pa stong du mi thar ba ni mnar med

Table 4 List of Destinies (in English)

[6-2] Six categories of asuras.
[6-2-1] gods of asuras — Vemacitra[35].
[6-2-2] asuras of asuras — those who produce very much anger.
[6-2-3] human beings of asuras — those who bear weapons.
[6-2-4] animals of asuras — those who construct dark strongholds.
[6-2-5] pretas of asuras — those who can hurl mountains, such as Mount Meru (?)[36]
[6-2-6] hell-beings of asuras — those who are afflicted with fighting.
[6-3] Six categories of human beings.
[6-3-1] gods of human beings — kings of a good family, those who worship bla ma, and masters with attendants.
[6-3-2] asuras of human beings — generals who bear flags, narcissists with poison (?), and those who hate and enrage [other people].
[6-3-3] human beings of human beings — rich men with treasure, ma drang sho drang[37] (?), and those who do not lie and have honest words.
[6-3-4] animals of human beings — the deaf and dumb, those who are attached to divination, and those who are used as servants.
[6-3-5] pretas of human beings — those who live in the three continents and do not throw away things, beggars [who wander] in the city[38], and those who have no treasure, but avoid shame [and therefore do not wander in the city][39].
[6-3-6] hell-beings of human beings — those who use themselves [and do not depend on the teaching][40], those who shamelessly become servants of masters, and those who are affected by disease.
[6-4] Six categories of animals.
[6-4-1] gods of animals — dragons, lions, garuḍas, good horses, and the mythical cow which fulfils all desires.
[6-4-2] asuras of animals — falcons and wolves, etc., which eat meat of their own class.
[6-4-3] human beings of animals — those who have strong relations with human beings.
[6-4-4] animals of animals — those who are projected in the darkness.
[6-4-5] pretas of animals — dogs and chickens, the quantity of whose food is controlled by men.
[6-4-6] hell-beings of animals — those who live in oceans.
[6-5] six categories of pretas.
[6-5-1] gods of pretas — Kha 'bar ma[41], and Kha 'dra ma[42].
[6-5-2] asuras of pretas — the king of dGe snyen[43] (a type of local deity), etc.
[6-5-3] human beings of pretas — human beings of the eight small continents[44].
[6-5-4] animals of pretas — gandharvas which move about in space[45].
[6-5-5] pretas of pretas — those who have external sins[46].
[6-5-6] hell-beings of pretas — those who have internal sins and live in the bottom [of the world].
[6-6] six categories of hells.
[6-6-1] gods of hells — those who have no pain, time having passed.
[6-6-2] asuras of hells — those who cut into pieces [the criminals of hell] with black iron wire.
[6-6-3] human beings of hells — those who, having heard the teaching, get away from the mouth of the cauldron of the hell.
[6-6-4] animals of hells — those who say "a tsha" when they put their hands in the fire, and "a chu" when they put their feet in the water; they do not know that it is their own fault.
[6-6-5] pretas of hells — those who want cold, when it is hot, and hot, when it is cold.
[6-6-6] hell-beings of hells — those who are unable to get away and remain in Avīci hell for a thousand kalpas.

Notes

1) The beings in this Hell are tortured with iron bars and swords and are cut into pieces and die. But when a cold wind blows, they are resuscitated and are tortured again in the same way as before.
2) The beings in this Hell are tortured with black iron wire which is red-hot, and they are cut into pieces.
3) Several kinds of torture happen together, for example eagles with red-hot iron beaks peck at the intestines of the beings in this Hell.
4) The beings in this Hell cry and càll out with pain because of terrible tortures.
5) The beings in this Hell get blisters because of the cold.
6) The blisters burst open because of the cold.
7) In this Hell, since it is terribly cold, one is obliged to cry *a chu* or *kyi hud*, two onomatopoeic expressions.
8) In this Hell, the teeth of the beings make the sound *thams thams* ... because of the cold.
9) Because of the cold, the skin breaks open like a red lotus.
10) Because of the cold, the skin bursts open like a blue lotus.
11) If the upper part of the body suffers from heat, the lower part of the body suffers from cold.
12) Some of the asuras' names are difficult to identify. An asterisk indicates that the name can be found in the list of local mountain deities established in Karmay 1996: 72.
13) Most of these are personifications of natural phenomena.
14) Cf. *ZM* 206.16: *g-yung drung khyim bdun gyi mi.* Cf. also Karmay 1998: 86-87 (No. 50), p.101 (No. 50): men who live in Yungdrung khyimdün (*g-yung drung khyim bdun mi*).
15) *bar bskal* = *bar gyi bskal pa* / *antara-kalpa*, cf. *Mvyut* 8281.
16) These beings are depicted on a *thangka* in Karmay 1998: 86-87 [No.49], p. 101 [No. 49]).
17) Meaning of the terms *drum shing* and *mu le* are not clear.
18) These beings are depicted on a *thangka* in Karmay 1998: 86-87 (No.51), p. 101 (No. 51).
19) *ZM* (207.15-16) gives these four as [i] *ljon pa*, [ii] *skyes drug*, [iii] *ting tsug*, and [iv] *mgo brnyan can.* Therefore, we understand that these are the general names of each category of *kinnara.* Among these four categories, only the first one, namely *ljon pa* (Druma), is mentioned in the *Mvyut* (1352) as *kinnara.*
20) Cf. *Mvyut* 1352 Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā / Mi'am ci'i rgyal po lJon pas zhus pa; cf. *Mvyut* 3414 Druma-kinnara-rāja / Mi'am ci'i rgyal po sDong po.
21) *ZM* (207.17) has *me tog 'bru za* (eat the seeds of flowers) instead of *me tog 'bras bu za.*
22) *ZM* (207.19) has a slightly different reading: the *Ting tsug*, carrying swords, <u>fight against</u> demons, and eat meat and blood (*ting tsug mtshon thogs srin po rnams dang 'thab cing sha khrag za ba*). The meaning of *ting tsug* is not clear.
23) I do not understand well the meaning of *zhi* here. Can we correct it to *phyi*, which would make more sense: small exterior continents? The *gZer mig* version is easier to understand:... *zas su rtsi shing za <u>zhing</u> gling chung khyab par yod* / (... eating fruit-trees as food, they are everywhere in the small continents).

24) Here *gandharvas* are classified under the heading of *preta*. This fits into the explanation given below, since *gandharvas* are described as *yi dwags kyi byol song* (animals of *pretas*) in the six times six classification, see below in [6-5-4].
25) According to *ZM*, "... the river (*klung*), master of water" (*chu bdag klung*).
26) Cf. *Mvyut* 4758: *srul po / pūtana*.
27) Cf. *Mvyut* 4755: *grul bum / kumbhāṇḍa*.
28) Cf. *Mvyut* 3222: *nam mkha' lding / garuḍa*. It is very strange that *garuḍas* are classified here under the heading of *preta*, since they are mentioned as *byol song gi lha* (gods of animals) in the six times six classification; see below in [6-4-1]. We have seen that in the Buddhist division, namely in the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis*, *garuḍas* (*khyung* or *nam mkha' lding*) were classified under the heading of animals (*dud 'gro*).
29) *ZM* (204.19) has *'ju byed* in place of *'jug byed*.
30) *BGSB* has *skye mched* (*āyatana*) which does not make much sense here; I have therefore chosen the reading of *ZM* (204.19): *skem byed*. Cf. *Mvyut* 4761: *skem byed / skanda*.
31) I have corrected the reading of *BGSB*, *rgyud*, to *brgyud*. *ZM* (204.20) has *rgyu* in place of *rgyud*.
32) In *BGSB* the five particular categories are presented according to the *sNyan rgyud*. *ZM* only has an explanation of the seven particular categories, which we find below in [5-2].
33) Literally "in the way of a [provisional] house [made] of lances".
34) Cf. Karmay 1996: 72.
35) Thang bzang ris (*BGSB*), Thags bzangs ris (Bar 39.3); cf. *Mvyut* 3393: Thag bzang(s) ris / Vemacitra (No 2 under the heading of Asura: *Mvyut* 3391).
36) I am not sure of my translation.
37) I do not understand the meaning of these words; cf. Bar 40.2: *mal drang shol drang*.
38) Cf. *Bar* 40.4: *sprang po grong khyer rgyu ba*.
39) Cf. *Bar* 40.4: *dkor med khrel srung grong khyer mi rgyu ba*.
40) *Bar* (40.5) adds *bka' la mi gnas*.
41) The image of Kha-'bar-ma as the queen of the *pretas* is found in Karmay 1998: 102 (No. 61). Sarat Chandra Das (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 132) gives Kha-'bar-ma / Jvālāmukhī as the name of the goddess of cholera in the Hindu pantheon, unfortunately without any reference. A Jvālāmukhī is mentioned as a local family goddess of Kashmir in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (vol. 13: 17) (New York, 1987). Jvālāmukhī is mentioned as the name of a volcano, a celebrated place of pilgrimage in the Lower Himālayas, in Dawson, J., *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature* (p. 136) (London, 1961). But we have found no evidence of it as the name of a *preta* in Indian materials.
42) Cf. *Bar* 41.3: Khang 'dra ma.
43) Cf. Karmay 1996: 72.
44) Cf. *Bar* 41.4: "evil spirits transformed from human beings" (*mi las gyur pa'i gdon rnams*). *Bar*'s explanation is easier to understand.
45) Here *Bar* gives a totaly different explanation. Cf. Bar 41.4: "*kinnara*, etc., which live in the eight small continents" (*mi'am ci la sogs pa'i gling phran brgyad na gnas pa*). *Bar*'s explanation is strange: it does not fit into the definition of *'am ci*, which was

considered as a category of human beings; see above the category of human beings [3], [3-2].

46) Cf. *Bar* 41.4-5: "those who have internal sins, their minds full of desire, but who do not experience anything" (*nang gi sgrib pa can te / 'dod pa yid la btags te / ci yang mi myong ba*). Here *Bar*'s explanation is in contradiction with that of *BGSB* in that the former has *nang gi*, while the latter has *phyi 'i*.

Abbreviations

AK:	*Abhidharmakośa*
AKBh:	*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*
Bar:	*Bar ti ka,* cf. *mDo rnam 'grel*...in "References"
BGSB:	*Bon sgo gsal byed*
DNDz:	*dDe snod mdzod*
DzP:	*mDzod phug*
LVP:	La Vallée Poussin, *l'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 6 tomes, Bruxelles, 1971.
ZM:	*gZer mig*

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The 'Bon' *dBal-mo Nyer-bdun(/brgyad)* and the Buddhist *dBang-phyug-ma Nyer-brgyad*: A brief comparison[1]

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Introduction

In Fall 1998, in sMan-ri dgon-pa (Dolanji, HP, India), I happened to discuss some of my work on the *Kar gling zhi khro* (the peaceful and wrathful deities according to Karma gling-pa) with the abbot and throne-holder of sMan-ri, the sMan-ri khri-'dzin Lung-rtogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin-po-che. We reviewed a '*Bon*' and a *Buddhist bar do thos grol zhi-khro maṇḍala* that I had briefly compared for my research and as I was pointing out the general correspondences in the larger groups of deities the abbot seemed to show an increasing interest in the historical relations between the two sets of *maṇḍalas*, '*Bon*' and *Buddhist*. The general correspondence as such is quite conspicuous indeed, yet the exact historical relations are less clear, at times even quite intriguing. Compare, for instance the deities/ groups from a '*Bon*' *Bar do thos grol* text, the *sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*[2], with those from a *Buddhist Bar do thos grol* source, the *Chos nyid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo*:

'Bon'		***Buddhist***
Kun-tu bzang-po and	-	*Kun-tu bzang-po* and
Kun-tu bzang-mo	-	*Kun-tu bzang-mo*
bDe-bar-gshegs rigs-lnga	-	*rGyal-ba'i rigs-lnga* and their consorts:
bDe-gshegs yum lnga	-	*'Byung-ba'i yum-chen lnga*
Ye-gshen sems-dpa' brgyad	-	*Byang-chub sems-dpa' chen-po brgyad* and their consorts:
Ye-sangs lcam brgyad	-	*Byang-chub sems-ma brgyad*
Ye-shes sgo bzhi	-	*sGo-ba bzhi* and their consorts:
Dus-bzhi rgyal-mo bzhi	-	*sGo-ma bzhi*
'Dul-ba gshen-rab drug	-	*sPrul-pa'i thub-pa drug*
Ye-shes khro-bo yab lnga	-	*He-ru-ka lnga* and their consorts:
Yum-chen khro-mo lnga	-	*Krodheshvarīs*

?Ha-la Khro-bo brgyad and consorts:
Yum-chen khro-mo brgyad - *?Kau'u-rī/ Ke'u-ri ma-mo brgyad* and *Phra-men brgyad*

sGo-ba yab-yum brgyad:
rNgam-chen khro-bo bzhi and consorts:
Dus-bzhi rgyal-mo bzhi - *sGo-skyong khro-mo bzhi* or *sGo-ma bzhi*

dBal-mo nyi-shu rtsa-'brgyad - *dBang-phyug-ma nyi-shu rtsa-brgyad*
(*Gyad-chen bcu, dMag-dpon bcu*
and *rGyal-chen sde-bzhi*)

The *Buddhist Rig-'dzin* are not included in the '*Bon*' *bar do thos grol zhi-khro maṇḍala*, as we can also note for earlier *Buddhist* presentations of a *zhi-khro maṇḍala* (cf. Blezer (1997: 39-66)).

Even when casting a cursory glance at the groups of deities in the *Buddhist maṇḍala* the *rGyal-ba'i rigs-lnga*, *Byang-chub sems-dpa' chen-po brgyad*, *sGo-ba bzhi*, *sPrul-pa'i thub-pa drug*, and *He-ru-ka lnga*, it is abundantly clear that they most probably will not pose too much of a challenge to determining the history and nature of their antecedents or even their relation to the '*Bon*' equivalents, for that matter. Yet I hasten to admit that I am far from suggesting that the matter would be settled and not stand in need of further study. Most of these seemingly straightforward relations might still be problematic to disentangle and do, in fact, still await proper analysis.

A closer examination of the *tantric* (*Buddhist* and Hindu) origins of the wrathful deities, at the present stage of knowledge, obviously promises more interesting and revealing results than tracing the 'history' of the peaceful *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. The *sGo-skyong khro-mo bzhi* and especially the *Kau'u-rī/ Ke'u-ri ma-mo brgyad* and *yul-gyi Phra-men brgyad*, seem somewhat more difficult to match and contextualise (than the *He-ru-ka*s etc.). At the same time, the Hindu (*tantric*) origins for the *Kau'u-rī/ Ke'u-ri ma-mo brgyad* are, considering the designation for their class and their individual names, not so very difficult to guess. Neumaier in her published Ph.D. thesis on *Mātaraḥ* and *Ma-mo* (1966) sheds some stroboscopic historical light on the Indian antecedents of these deities. Nevertheless, more work still needs to be done here as well. The *dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad*, though not as clearly identifiable as a group, considering their names, equally suggest Hindu (*tantric*) origins.

It was at this point in my so far still very general comparison that the abbot suggested an inquiry into the origins and especially the exact relation with regard to two analogous groups of deities, the '*Bon*' *dBal-mo nyer-bdun(/brgyad)* and the *Buddhist dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad*. Considering the above brief assessment of the situation concerning the sub-*maṇḍala*s, this quest indeed promises interesting results.

1. Larger Context

The larger context of this excursion into the *dBal-mo* and *dBang-phyug-ma* deities is the similarities in the basic structure of descriptions of supposed visionary experiences of the well-known triad of sound, light and coloured rays (*sgra 'od zer gsum*), spheres of light, *maṇḍala*s, and deities, as apparent in both the descriptions of a *Buddhist chos nyid bar do* and a '*Bon*' *(bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do* and descriptions contained in *Buddhist* and '*Bon*' *rDzogs-chen* cosmogonical and theogonical material[3]. At sMan-ri dgon-pa, I had the opportunity to gather a number of relevant '*Bon*' cosmogonical texts. Of central importance is, of course, the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, 101 in '*Bon*' *abhidharma*, but in addition its commentaries and other cosmogonical traditions also need to be studied.

In the context of an intermediate state, or, to be more precise, of the intermediate state of the clear light (of reality as it is), *(bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do*, the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* of the *bar do thos grol zhi-khro maṇḍala* in the (early *sNyan rgyud*) '*Bon*' *Bar do thos grol* are said to appear from the triad of sound, light and (coloured) rays.

In a cosmogonical or theogonical context the arising of deities, often involving light and coloured rays in the earlier stages, is described in a similar manner. By way of illustration I should like to refer to the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug* and one of its commentaries here. In the *mDzod phug* we find a brief cosmogonical/ theogonical account of the formation and hatching of two eggs, a white and a black one[4]. This account is elaborated in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*. Here the eggs are identified as a light-egg and a darkness-egg[5]. In the root-text the white egg is said to be pierced by light and (coloured) rays[6]. The commentary again elaborates further, it includes a description of the arising of 360 *'thor gsas* (deities) from the scattering (*'thor ba*) of the clear light (*'od gsal*) in the empty sky (*nam mkha'*)[7]. It also describes the arising of the *mDa'-gsas* (deities) etc. from the (coloured) rays that spread downward, deities appearing from other parts of the egg, and the hatching of the darkness-egg[8]. Please note that the explicit and elaborated light-imagery only appears in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*, it apparently does not belong to the earliest layers of the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*-tradition. I shall discuss this more in detail elsewhere.

Now, the *dBal-mo*s are, as many of you will know, also described as originating from eggs[9], some of the latter (i.e., the eggs of the *gZe-ma* and *Gyad-mo dgu*) are moreover said to break through special sounds[10].

To facilitate this academic excursion, the sMan-ri khri-'dzin kindly assigned me one of his best *dGe-bshes*, dGe-bshes Shes-rab grags-pa, a learned young monk hailing from sNang-zhig Monastery (rNga-ba area, A-mdo). In spite of his busy teaching schedule Shes-rab grags-pa kindly assisted me for many hours a day during the larger part of my three-month stay at sMan-ri dgon-pa. He sorted out relevant passages from the abundance of '*Bon*' material that discusses or describes

(parts of) the *dBal-mo nyi-shu rtsa-bdun/brgyad*, the twenty-seven *dBal-mos* (twenty-eight if their mistress Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo is included), and other *dBal* deities. Under his learned guidance[11)] a concise thirty-three-page-long Tibetan compendium saw the light of day, outlining *dBal-mo* deities, their attributes and other associated categories. This brief and *thor bu* compilation groups together relevant passages on the *dBal-mos* from various texts, carefully selected from all walks of '*Bon*' literature. The most important data for each group of deities are arranged in the form of tables,.at the end of each section. For the ease of reference I have converted this useful short anthology to Wylie transliteration and included it as an appendix.

In the following I shall attempt a brief comparison of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* with their corresponding group of *Buddhist* wrathful deities, the twenty-eight powerful *yoginīs*, the *dBang-phyug-ma nyi-shu rtsa-brgyad*. According to *Buddhist Bar do thos grol* texts the *dBang-phyug-ma* are said to appear in a similar manner as visionary experiences in (the *Buddhist* equivalent of) an intermediate state of reality as it is. For the *dBang-phyug-ma nyi-shu rsta-brgyad* I shall mainly rely on the iconographic data available in editions of the *Chos nyid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo*, contained in the *Buddhist Bar do thos grol chen mo*-cycles (these cycles of texts can also be included in larger cycles, generally styled *Kar gling zhi khro* and *Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol*; see bibliography). For a description of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* as a group of twenty-seven deities in a larger *zhi-khro maṇḍala* I shall turn to the editions of the '*Bon*' *Bar do thos grol* (see bibliography).

I need to stress here that the topic of *dBal-mos* and *dBang-phyug-mas* is an extremely involved one. If one plans to do justice to these, at least in '*Bon*' traditions, important deities, the topic will prove to be vast and provide enough work for a major research-project. Moreover, we should not assume that all material regarding the *dBal-mos* is consistent. It would be hazardous, I think, to generalise on the basis of the limited material consulted so far. An exhaustive documentation of the perceived variance would be a first desideratum for a more thorough study. Thus, my present paper can be no more than an exploratory excursion that treads only as far as serves the purposes of the current context of research, which I briefly introduced above. I am far from able to exhaust the abundance of information available. I also cannot trace the earliest origins for all the names and deities mentioned. Nevertheless, I strongly feel that it is good to address the topic in such a cursory manner at this point in my research, perhaps to be revisited later.

2. Prolegomena

Allow me to submit some introductory considerations regarding these sub-*maṇḍalas* of (groups of) female deities. Some of the points submitted here are

digests of ideas formulated by other scholars and received wisdom (as indicated), some are preliminary working hypotheses posited to help focusing this article. I will revisit some of these points later.

I My first observation is fairly basic: the *dBal-mo*s are *female* deities. However obvious this may seem, it is a point that could easily be overlooked but that, to my perception, should not go unnoticed. The fierce and warlike associations of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* are also very much apparent when reading the descriptions of these deities. The *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu* in particular appear as tamed warrior deities (i.e., possibly converted by sTon-pa gShen-rab, see the discussion of these deities below), now 'piously' engaged in destroying enemies. Some of the members of the *dBal* as a larger group, like, for instance, the *dMag-dpon bcu*, are explicitly associated with spreading disease, pestilence and other misfortune. This wrathful, bellicose character and the often grim and gruesome associations of the deities as they are here projected on an unambiguously female form should alert us. It might be indicative of a form of discourse that splits up the identity of 'the female' into separately embodied mild positive aspects subservient to male super structures (mother, consort, saviouress, etc.) and negative disruptive aspects (old hag, whore, witch, etc.), the latter accrue the dark elements that are generally considered to pose a threat to a world-view that is ordered in accordance with a male-centred sexual polarity/ complementarity; Herrmann-Pfandt recently developed this argument[12)].

II As a second point I should like to submit that the *Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas*, *as* wrathful *yoginīs*, at first sight, that is, already considering their names alone, seem to suggest Indian (i.e., earlier *Buddhist tantric* and eventually Hindu) origins, whereas the *dBal-mo*s rather seem to suggest so-called 'indigenous Tibetan', or should I say, non-South Asian origins, for that seems to be the most precise purport implied in that nomer.

III The closest Tibetan *Buddhist* relatives for the groups of (nine) *dBal-mo*s seem to be the various groups of *Ma*-mos[13)]. The *Ma-mo*s are usually associated with dPal-ldan lha-mo (cf. Śrīdevī, a form of Durgā), Rematī or Ekajātī in a position comparable to that of Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo vis-à-vis the *dBal-mo*s. The *Ma-mo*s, as groups, apparently formed after the model(s) of groups of Indian (derivative) 'Buddhist' and Hindu *Mātaras*/*Mātṛkās*. At present – time for an independent and more thorough investigation of the matter lacking – I feel inclined to agree with Neumaier's (1966: 19-32) preliminary conclusion that there is reason to believe that the individual *Ma-mo*s, generally, as they appear in groups (remotely reminiscent of the *dBal-mo*s, see below), unlike their leader dPal-ldan lha-mo, might again refer back to these so-called 'indigenous Tibetan deities' rather than to Indian ones. Like the *dBal-mo*s, the *Ma-mo*s are (now also often

physically) dark and ugly figurines, frequently associated with combat and disease and, at times, associated with similar attributes and vehicles. See, for instance, the twelve *Ma-mo*s in the retinue of Yama or the twelve animal-headed *mThu-chen ma-mo bcu-gnyis*, see also the sisterhood of nine *Ma-mos*, the *Ma-mo mched-dgu*, or the animal headed *Ma-mos*, the *(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad* (for the animal headed varieties compare especially the *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu*)[14].

IV As I already indicated above, as far as their names go the *dBang-phyug-mas* like the *Kau'u rī/ Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad* also suggest to be traceable to Hindu deities, via, amongst others, older Buddhist *zhi-khro maṇḍalas*. See Kimiaki Tanaka (1992: 276) for earlier *zhi-khro maṇḍala*s in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*. For a listing of an earlier *Buddhist* example of the *dBang-phyug-mas* see the *Trilokavijayamahāmaṇḍalavidhivistara* section of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*[15]. Here we find five groups of in total twenty-one *yoginī*s, one group of five and four groups of four deities. I shall not present details here, suffice to say that even though the number and the individual names of the deities only partially match, the sub-*maṇḍala* of wrathful *yoginī*s as such, obviously, is nevertheless already present here, with the context of conversion still being tangible. According to Nakamura (1980: 323-324) the text is said to have been composed or at least completed by a Nāgabodhi from South India, somewhere between 680 and 690 AD. Unfortunately it is not possible to elaborate on this and ilk antecedents here.

At the moment I am not aware of any work (published or done) on corresponding sub-*maṇḍala*s in Hindu *tantric* systems, I am not even sure if sufficiently close matches of such composite larger groups of wrathful *yoginī*s in a similar position in a *zhi-khro maṇḍala* are at all extant in these traditions. Anyway, evidence for earlier antecedents in *Buddhist maṇḍala*s already suffices to support the points to be forwarded in this article regarding the *dBang-phyug-mas* and *dBal-mo*s. However, especially considering the frequent occurrence of names of well-known consorts of Hindu deities among the *dBang-phyug-mas*, links to groups of *Mātara*s and *Mātṛkā*s do seem to present themselves quite naturally. Cf. the names of several groups of *dBang-phyug-mas*, e.g., *Rākṣasī*, *Brāhmaṇī*, *Mahādevī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Kumārī*, *Indrāṇī*, or, for that matter, *Vāyudevī*, *Nārī*, *Vārāhī*, *Vajrī*, *Mahānāsā*, *Varuṇī*. Many of these names are clearly reminiscent of *purāṇic* arrangements of seven, eight or more *mātṛkā*s. Compare, for instance, a listing in Monier Monier Williams' Sanskrit dictionary *Brāhmī/ Brahmāṇī*, *Māheśvarī*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Vārāhī*, *Indrāṇī/ Aindrī/ Māhendrī*, *Cāmuṇḍā*.

V Connected to the above point is my fifth preliminary observation. To my knowledge the *dBang-phyug-mas* do not figure very prominently as a group, as sub-groups, or as individual deities in *Buddhist* literature. They do not seem to have their own specific contexts of reference beyond the *maṇḍalas* they appear in. I am also not aware of any more (or less) extensive accounts regarding their origins in *Buddhist* traditions. They merely seem to be inherited as a part of the various *zhi-khro maṇḍalas* from earlier *Buddhist maṇḍalas* and ultimately from deities defined earlier in Hindu traditions and sources. They do not seem to figure very prominently outside that domain. The *dBal-mos*, however, do partake in a 'genre' of origin myths paralelled in many '*Bon*' cosmogonical/ theogonical expositions and are discussed, referenced and embedded in an extensive literature, both as a whole and as separate groups. Judging by all appearances they seem to have their centre of gravity outside the group of twenty-seven *Las-mkhans* as they are described in '*Bon*' *bar do thos grol zhi-khro maṇḍalas*. The three groups of deities of which the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* consist (the nine *gZe-mas*, the nine *Gyad-mos*, and especially the nine *Byin-tes*) at least seem to present more or less distinct groups or classes of deities, quite in contrast to the rather artificial and arbitrary four/five groups of *dBang-phyug-mas* which hardly distinguish themselves from each other as sub-groups.

VI As a sixth observation I should like to point to the numerical composition of the deities. The number twenty-four/eight in the configuration of the *dBang-phyug-mas* immediately suggests two connections. First there is the less obvious connection of the twenty-four (powerful) *yoginīs* (that is, without their four leaders) to twenty-four *pīṭhas*, (sacred places located in different regions[16)]) or, also, places on the body[17)]. Secondly there seems to be a more obvious connection to astrology, reminding one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*), or the twenty-eight days or four weeks of the lunar month (as referred to in popular usage)[18)].

As one can gather from the tables below, the *dBang-phyug-mas* indeed split up into four groups of six (according to the four directions of the compass), together with its four leaders (one for each group) we arrive at four groups of seven and the total number of twenty-eight. The arrangement into four groups in the *Buddhist maṇḍala* is obviously dictated by convenience, that is to say, the structure of the *maṇḍala*: the deities are arranged according to the four cardinal points. The *dBal-mos*, on the other hand, split up into three groups of nine, the *gZe-ma dgu*, *Gyad-mo dgu*, and the *Byin-te dgu*, altogether twenty-seven deities, together with Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo, their leader, also totalling twenty-eight. Trying to fit them into a fourfold *maṇḍala* structure would be like trying to square the triangle. In the *maṇḍala* they are divided into nine sets of three,

each set featuring one from each sub-group of nine deities, thus clearly suggesting other numerical associations[19].

VII Lastly, when discussing these two sub-*maṇḍala*s of deities, it seems to be advisable to treat them as (sub-)groups rather than to discuss them individually. I have no doubt that many of the *dBang-phyug-ma*s may be traced to Hindu divinities (at times probably ultimately to obscure *grāmadevatā*s – another desideratum for future research), or that the groups of *dBal-mo*s will, ultimately, derive from or have equivalents in, again, these 'indigenous Tibetan deities'. Yet, tracing such antecedents, at the present state of knowledge, would not only be an extremely labour-intensive task (probably the more so because untimely) but first of all it also does not seem to serve any purpose in the present context. The deities seem to have lost their individuality long ago in their group-identity. I therefore argue that we may content ourselves here treating them as collectives.

3. *dNgos gzhi*

3.1 Deities Listed[20]

3.1.1 *dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad*[21]

shar nas
srin-mo smug-nag g-yag-mgo-ma lag na rdo rje thogs pa
tshangs-pa dmar-ser sbrul-mgo-ma lag na padma 'dẓin pa
lha-chen ljang-nag gzig-mgo-ma lag na tri shū la thogs pa
gtogs-'dod sngon-mo sri-mong-mgo phyag na 'khor lo 'dẓin pa
gzhon-nu dmar-mo dred-mgo-ma lag na mdung thung 'dẓin pa
brgya-byin dkar-mo dom-mgo-ma lag na rgyu ẓhags thogs pa

lho nas
rdo-rje ser-mo phag-mgo-ma lag na sbu gri (spu gri) thogs pa
zhi-ba dmar-mo chu-srin-mgo lag na bum pa thogs pa
bdud-rtsi dmar-mo sdig-pa'i mgo lag na pạdma thogs pa
zla-ba dkar-mo khra'i mgo lag na rdo rje thogs pa
be-con ljang-nag wa'i mgo lag na dbyug to (dbyug tho) phyar ba
srin-mo ser-nag stag-gi mgo lag na thod khrag thogs pa

nub nas
za-ba ljang-nag bya-rgod-mgo lag na be con thogs pa
dga'-ba dmar-mo rta'i mgo lag na khog chen thogs pa
stobs-chen dkar-mo khyung-gi mgo lag na dbyug to (dbyug tho) thogs pa
srin-mo dmar-mo khyi'i mgo lag na rdo rje sbụ gris (spu gris) gcod pa
'dod-pa dmar-po pu-shud-mgo lag na mda' gzhu 'gengs pa

nor-srung dmar-ljang sha-ba'i mgo lag na bum pa 'dzin pa

byang nas
rlung-lha sngon-mo sbyang-gi'i (spyang ki'i) mgo lag na ba dan phyar ba
mi-mo dmar-mo skyin-gyi mgo lag na gsal shing 'dzin pa
phag-mo nag-mo phag-gi mgo lag na mche zhags bsnams pa
rdo-rje dmar-mo khwa-ta'i mgo lag na zhing chung 'dzin pa
sna-chen ljang-nag glang-chen-mgo lag na bam chen thogs shing zong khrag 'thung ba
chu-lha sngon-mo sbrul-gyi mgo lag na sbrul zhags bsnams pa

Four Leaders
shar nas *rdo-rje dkar-mo khu-byug-gi mgo-can lag na lcags kyu 'dzin pa*
lho nas *rdo-rje ser-mo ra-mgo-ma lag na zhags pa 'dzin pa*
nub nas *rdo-rje dmar-mo seng-mgo-ma lag na lcags sgrogs 'dzin pa*
byang nas *rdo-rje ljang-nag sbrul-mgo-ma lag na dril bu 'dzin pa*

3.1.2 *dBal-mo nyer-bdun*[22]

skad kyi gdang[23] gi thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na[24]
gze ma 1: *las-mkhan sngon-mo 'brug-mgos chu srin lag pa g-yob*
gyad mo 1: *las-mkhan dmar-ser 'brong-mgos ru skyogs 'dzin*

byin te 1: *las-mkhan bud-med dkar-mos ba dan 'phyar*

ljags kyi ngar gong thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gsas mkhar na
gze ma 2: *las-mkhan ljang-nag sbrul-mgos khyung gshog 'phyar*
gyad mo 2: *las-mkhan dkar-mo rgod-mgos ru mtshon 'phyar*
byin te 2: *las-mkhan sa-srin nag-mos sbrul zhags 'debs*

stag pa'i bdud sgo thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od ri nag 'joms pa'i gsas mkhar na
gze ma 3: *las-mkhan nag-mo skyung-mgos zangs spar gdengs*
gyad mo 3: *las-mkhan nag-mo dom-mgos sbrul zhags 'debs*
byin te 3: *las-mkhan nag-mo gdong-dgus bdud mda' 'phen*

sku stod gding tshigs thig le'i 'od klong du 'ja' 'od ri rgyal lhun po'i gsas mkhar na
gze ma 4: *las-mkhan dkar-mo seng-mgos mtshal zhags sdog*
gyad mo 4: *las-mkhan ser-mo glang-mgos sgyogs rdo 'phen*
byin te 4: *las-mkhan bud-med smug-mos gru gu sdog*

thugs kyi dkyil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od gnam sgo can gyi gsas

mkhar du

gze ma 5:	*las-mkhan dmar-mo dred-mgos ral kyu 'phyar*
gyad mo 5:	*las-mkhan sngon-mo gzig-mgos btsan zhags sdog*
byin te 5:	*las-mkhan sngon-mo gdong-drug chu srin g-yang gzhi 'khur*

sgal tshigs gzhung rtsa'i thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na

gze ma 6:	*las-mkhan dmar-nag spyang-mgos khra gshog 'phyar*
gyad mo 6:	*las-mkhan ser-ljang 'ug-mgos srin bya spor*
byin te 6:	*las-mkhan dkar-mo zhal-gnyis shel sgong 'thor*

drod kyi mtha' yi thig le'i 'od klong du 'ja' 'od me dpung 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na[25)]

gze ma 7:	*las-mkhan smug-nag stag-mgos dred-kyi g-yang gzhi 'khur*
gyad mo 7:	*las-mkhan dmar-mo khra-mgos ral gyu 'phyar*
byin te 7:	*las-mkhan dmar-mo mgo-dgus byur thag skyong*

snyan gyi mchog gi thig le'i 'od klong du 'ja' 'od rnga gshang sgra yi gsas mkhar na[26)]

gze ma 8:	*las-mkhan ser-ljang khyung-mgos pho mo skung na 'gyed*
gyad mo 8:	*las-mkhan skya-bkra-mgos dred lag 'phyar*
byin te 8:	*las-mkhan sngo-ljang dbu-gnyis dmu thag 'dren*

rtsa yi sbubs kyi thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na

gze ma 9:	*las-mkhan sngo-ljang chu srin mgo-can rlung g-yab bsnams*
gyad mo 9:	*las-mkhan dmar-nag phag-mgos dru gu (dru bu, gru gu?) bsdog*
byin te 9:	*las-mkhan dmar-nag lcags ral gshin lam 'dren*

3.2 Deities Discussed

3.2.1 More Deities

Having set the scene with a brief background and larger context for this comparative exercise, some preliminary considerations and working-hypotheses, and having listed the deities, I should now like to develop some further ideas regarding the precise relation between the twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s and *dBang-phyug-ma*s. Considering what has been forwarded in the above seven-point prolegomenon, which, as said, is largely a reasoned digest of received wisdom regarding the matter, the focus in our comparison obviously should not be whether individual deities from one sub-*maṇḍala* derive from the other, or, for that matter, whether the sub-*maṇḍala* or its composing groups as a whole are imported, but I indeed suggest that we should rather focus on the question whether the groups of deities are formed in analogy – compare what Neumaier posits[27)] regarding the

formation of some of the groups of *Ma-mo*s in analogy to Indian prototype-groups of *Mātara*s and *Mātṛkā*s. That is to say, in this comparison we will have to concentrate on similarities in the formation of the group as such, the general character of the (sub-groups of) deities, perhaps the numerical composition, position in the *maṇḍala*, and the like, rather than on detailed correspondences in iconography, or even borrowing, of the individual deities. In as far as the sub-*maṇḍala*s as such would have formed in analogy there might still be a temporal precedence of one tradition over the other. Since (the origins of) the Buddhist *dBang-phyug-ma*s seem less obscure (that is not to say unproblematic) than (the origins of) the *dBal-mo*s, I shall mainly adduce '*Bon*' material here and try to elucidate some of the background of the latter.

I do not think it would be helpful to illustrate the *lack* of iconographical correspondence of the individual deities by juxtaposing them in tables, a brief look at the lists of the *Bar do thos grol Las-mkhan*s or the tables for the *gZe-ma dgu*, *Gyad-mo dgu*, and *Byin-te dgu* (below) and *dBang-phyug-ma*s (above) will serve to bring this point home, if not eloquently, at least clearly and, to my perception, convincingly. But I shall not completely bypass a more detailed comparison, for, some curious iconographic convergence does, at times, seem to exist.

For instance, when we compare the *dBal-mo*s, no, not to the *dBang-phyug-ma*s, but to a sisterhood of eight animal headed *Ma-mo*s, styled *bKa'-srung-ma*, that is, the *(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad*, some general affinity does seem to emerge. The *(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad* are described in a *rNying-ma-pa*-text, the *bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs*[28]. The animal heads could, perhaps, suggest a connection with the *gZe-ma dgu* or *Gyad-mo dgu*. However, by itself this does not strike me as a very convincing connection, animal headed deities are extremely common after all. Yet there is a rather more remarkable, though also not very precise, correspondence to the *Byin-te dgu*, even though the *Byin-te*s, in fact, do not have animal heads. Each of the eight *(l)Ce-spyang-ma*s holds a drum *(rnga)* made out of a specific material. Most of these materials and (of course) the associated colours correspond fairly well to materials the nine last eggs (*srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu*) are made of. As you may remember, according to the *Khro bo dbang chen*[29] the *Byin-te dgu* came forth from these last eggs. I readily concede that the correspondence is not anywhere near compelling, actually, that is not the point I am trying to make here anyway. I should think that there is nonetheless a rather striking element of structural convergence, especially if one would also take into consideration the further evidence presented below; in any case, this example might serve to show the level of correspondence that we, to my assessment, may have to be prepared to look for when attempting our comparison.

Allow me to briefly point out the resemblance in table-format. First the *(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad*, their colours and the material of their drums are listed; then the *Byin-te dgu* (preceded by a number indicating the original order of their appearance), their colour and the description of the egg they emerged from are recorded, those *Byin-te*s without a satisfactory match amongst the *(l)Ce-spyang-ma*

brgyad are appended at the bottom of the table according to the order of their appearance.

(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad	*color*	*material drum*	*Byin-te dgu*	*#*	*colour female*	*material and color egg*
Ma-mo seng-ge yi mgo-can	*dkar mo*	*shel*	*gNyan-gyi byin-te chen-mo*	6	*dkar mo*	*shel gyi sgong dkar mo*
Ma-mo stag-gi mgo-can	*ser mo*	*gser*	*Sa yi byin-te chen-mo*	2	*nag mo*	*gser gyi sgong ser mo*
Ma-mo dom-gyi mgo-can	*nag mo*	*lcags*	*bDud-kyi byin-te chen-mo*	3	*nag mo*	*lcags kyi sgong nag mo*
Ma-mo gzig-gi mgo-can	*dmar mo*	*byi ru*	-	-	-	-
Ma-mo spyang-mo'i mgo-can	*sngon mo*	*g-yu*	*Klu-gi byin-te chen-mo*	5	*sngon mo*	*gyu'i sgong sngon mo*
Ma-mo kaṃ-ka'i mgo-can	*dmar smug*	*gse*[30]	-	-	-	-
Ma-mo dur-bya'i mgo-can	*khrag mdog*	*gsang ba*	-	-	-	-
Ma-mo dred-kyi mgo-can	*dmar mo*	*zangs*	*Srin-gyi byin-te chen-mo*	7	*dmar mo*	*zangs kyi sgong dmar mo*
			gNam-gyi Byin-te chen-mo	1	*dkar mo*	*dung gi sgong dkar mo*
			dMu yi byin-te chen-mo	4	*smug mo*	*mchong gi sgong smug mo*
			Phya yi byin-te chen-mo	8	*sngo ljang*	*rin po che'i sgo nga*
			bGegs-kyi byin-te chen-mo	9	*dmar nag*	*rdo sgong gro mo*

The overlap is, indeed, obviously too narrow to be indicative of a clear or intimate relationship between the *Byin-te dgu* and the *(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad*. Yet I should like to submit that the generic point of kinship between the *dBal-mo*s and the *Ma-mo*s, which has been suggested in the third prolegomenon above, seems to receive support from this conjunction.

I cannot resist comparing the above deities to the colours and materials associated with a series of she-wolf deities (*spyang mo*) mentioned in the same text:

> *dung-spyang dkar-mo ral pa can*
> *gser-spyang ser-mo ral pa can*
> *zangs-spyang dmar-mo ral pa can*
> *g-yu-spyang ljang-khu ral pa can*
> *mthing-spyang mthing-mo ral pa can*
> *mu-yen spyang-mo ral pa can*
> *mchong spyang-mo ral pa can*

ra-gan-gyi spyang-mo ral pa can[31]

Still a little further down in the *bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs* a group of bitch-deities (*khyi mo*) is also described, a similar association with materials can be observed:

dung-gi khyi-mo
gser-gi khyi-mo
zangs-gi khyi-mo
g-yu'i khyi-mo
byi ru'i khyi-mo
mchong-gi khyi-mo
bse'i khyi-mo
shel-gi khyi-mo[32].

Although the schemes look familiar, the chances of any clear genetic relationship, in my humble opinion, again are rather remote. We seem to be uncovering a more generic similarity in patterns of description and maybe even unavoidable similarities in iconographical vocabulary here rather than a distinct genetic affiliation (how many (semi-)precious or otherwise special materials could such a Tibetan text list after all).

As I mentioned above, if we wish to look into the nature of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun*, for our present purposes we mainly need to have a closer look at the three groups of *dBal-mo* deities of which that collective consists (i.e., the nine *gZe-ma*s, the nine *Gyad-mo*s, and the nine *Byin-te*s). They seem to profile themselves as more or less distinct groups. The *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu* appear as somewhat related, the *Byin-te dgu*, however, diverge considerably from the former in more than one respect. All this in stark contrast to the four groups of six/seven *dBang-phyug-ma*s which, as we briefly indicated above, barely distinguish themselves from each other. Below I shall present some of the characteristics gathered from the appendix.

Deity\ Text	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**11**
gZe-ma dgu	*'jigs byed dbal*	*'dzin byed, mi bzad*	*ye shes*	*mi bzad*	*dbyings ye shes*
Gyad-mo dgu	*mi bzad stobs chen dbal*	*stobs ldan, mi bzad*	*rdzu 'phrul*	*mi bzad dbal... stobs chen*	*mkha' klong ... stobs chen*
Byin-te dgu/ sPar-ma dgu	*mthu rtsal stobs chen dbal*	*srog len*	*las*	*dbal*	*las thabs kyi thang mo*

The anthology of associations listed above may underscore the powerful and terrible character of these warrior deities. Even the names like *dbal* (point of a *phur pa*, blade), *gze* (quick, but apparently also: very fearsome and sharp[33]), *gyad* (athlete, champion (wrestler)) seem to partake in this semantic field, not to mention other groups of *dBal* deities, for instance, the *Gyad-chen bcu* (freely: the ten great champions) and *dMag-dpon bcu* (the ten warlords), which will not be discussed here. Especially for the *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu* the fierce and warlike associations need not be elaborated, a quick glance at the material presented in the appendix will suffice. (Possibly) tamed by *sTon-pa gShen-rab*[34] they are now rather invoked to wipe out unnamed 'enemies', oft in gruesome manner: tearing out their hearts, seizing their wandering souls (*bla*), other means of 'persuasion' are also indicated. The *Byin-te dgu* are described as human figurines. They are listed (and also named) in association with certain realms of deities and demons: those living in the heavens (*gnam*), those living on the earth (*sa*, the *Sa-srin* seem to be implied), the *bDud*, the *dMu*, the *Klu*, the *gNyan*, the *Srin*, the *Phywa*, and the *bgegs*[35]. The overall description and mise en scène is much more developed and quite divergent from what we encountered in the other two groups of *dBal-mo*. The *Byin-te dgu* also seem to have more developed individual features and individual identity within their group than the *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu*. When ruminating these data I definitely regret no to be able to spend more time with these deities, their history and the back-ground of the conglomeration of all the various groups of deities that came to be regarded as *dBal-mo*s, and now I am also thinking of the *Gyad-chen bcu*, *dMag-dpon bcu*, and *rGyal-chen sde-bzhi*. Some of these groups seem to suggest slight yet interesting dissimilarity and divergence in origins, as if they only got to be associated over time. One of the important aspects that seems to tie them and their leader Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo together is their fierce and warrior-like nature.

3.2.2 More Eggs

The theme of 'the world' or deities, demons, etc. hatching from eggs is very common in both '*Bon*' cosmogonical or theogonical texts and in folk literature[36]. Nevertheless, its precise origins still remain obscure. Globally, the theme seems to be most widely spread in equatorial regions[37], but it is not exclusively found there. In any case, it also occurs in cosmogonical myths of other, at times related[38], cultures. The theme is, for instance, attested to the east of Tibet among the *Naxi*[39], the Tangut (*Xixia*)[40] and the Chinese[41]; to the north in North Asia[42]; to the south in India[43], Nepal[44] etc.; but it also occurs also in more remote areas, such as Indonesia (e.g. Java[45]), South America (e.g. Peru[46]), Japan[47], ancient Greece[48], Scandinavia (e.g. Finland[49]), Africa (e.g. Mali, West Africa[50]), Egypt[51], and in numerous other areas as well[52]. Though they *are* related, it might still be wise to distinguish, at least, between the cosmic egg, describing the origin of the cosmos

from a primeval egg, and the birth of deities, demons, humans, etc. from eggs[53]. It seems safe to assume that the mythologeme of evolution from eggs must have been around in the Tibetan cultural area from at least before the twelfth century, for, as Karmay reports, it is already commented upon by Tibetan authors of that century, to wit, by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136-1204), referring to a non-*Buddhist*/ heretic (*mu stegs pa*) who supposedly brought it from sTag-gzig[54], and by dBon-po Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (1187-1241), who refers the theory back to Śaivism[55].

In the following I should like to introduce some Tibetan materials that mention the egg in a cosmogonical and theogonical context. Most of the texts listed are treated at greater length in an unpublished MA thesis by Claudia Seele (Bonn 1995). A reworked version of her study, in my humble opinion, very much deserves to be submitted to a larger public. Seele presents partial editions and translations and subsequent discussion of some these texts. Her main objective is to question the often posited assumption of influences of Iranian dualism in '*Bon*' cosmogonical material[56]. In the following I shall present translations of relevant passages from the root-text for two of the more important sources, the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug* and the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*. For the other texts and traditions I shall only provide brief indications of the main themes. It is not feasible, nor would it be very enlightening, I believe, to translate all texts and commentaries listed here. I should moreover like to point out that the list of texts presented below is not exhaustive[57].

A The *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*[58]: From the essence of the five causes (elements) two eggs came forth. The white one was punctured by light and (coloured) rays. It manifested as Yod-khams srid-pa'i rgyal-po (the ruler of existence, the sphere of being). The black one was pierced by darkness and obscurity. It manifested as Med-khams stong-pa'i rgyal-po (the ruler of emptiness, the sphere of non-being), who rejoiced about non-being and did not engage with being. Father Tshangs-po did engage with existence. Arising from space as a blue lake, a *dByal-mo* (woman[59]) came forth from the centre of the lake: Chu-lcam rgyal-mo, the Queen of existence. While Chu-lcags (Chu-lcam rgyal-mo) and Sangs-po ('bum-khri) were living together, eighteen children, nine brothers and nine sisters, were born[60].
For commentaries see: the *bDen pa bon kyi mdzod sgo sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde'u mig* (*mDzod sgra 'grel*)[61], the *sNang srid mdzod phugs kyi gzhung dang 'grel ba 'phrul gyi sgron me* (*sNang srid mdzod 'grel*)[62], the *Lung mtshan nyid srid pa'i mdzod phug gi klad don* and *Lung mtshan nyid srid pa'i mdzod kyi lus rnam par bzhag pa'i spyi don*[63], and the *Kun las btus pa srid pa'i mdzod phug gi gzhung 'grel*[64].

B1 The *gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs gsang ba bsen thub rgyud* (*rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub)*[65]: Male[66] (Sangs-po 'bum-khri) and female (Chu-lcam

rgyal-mo)[67] together nurtured obscurity. The hostile[68] sphere of non-being entered in between them. From obscurity it arose as black fumes, from which it emerged as a black hue, from that as black scum, and from the black egg that arose therefrom, as a black sack[69] without an opening. Being broken and pierced by a whirl-wind, (coloured) rays[70] scattered into the sky and subsequently the thirteen permeating sky *gYen* came into being, from the unoccupied space between the rays of light, which is the extraordinary fierceness of the mind(?)[71], the nine soaring *gYen* of the intermediate space, and from the cream of the egg that fell onto the earth the eleven dull earth *gYen*. The egg-shell arose as the dwelling of suffering, the membrane(?)[72]as dangerous weapons, the liquid parts of the egg as the seed of disease. Remaining body to body, while (not[73]) bowing their heads and also not involving their noses (that is, without kissing)[74], one pale wooden egg emerged. As the egg self-punctured of itself, the clear part arose as *gNod(-sbyin)* (Goblins) and *Dri(-za)* (*Gandharvas*). From the centre of the egg (i.e. the yolk)[75], (animals) having (or, that have developed) feathers, claws and hoofs[76], that is, game animals, quadrupeds and beasts of prey, came into being. Then when (remaining body to body while) they bowed their heads and involved their noses (that is, kissed, see above) a jewel egg arose, which emanated as wisdom and method. It was such that when it was viewed from the outside it appeared luminous in the inside and when viewed from the inside appeared luminous at the outside. At that point, after the egg was broken and pierced by both father and mother, (coloured) rays[77] scattered into the sky and the 360 *'thor-gsas* came into being, displaying the magical manifestation of (their) bodies in all directions. As the dregs of the fluid spilled out[78] onto the earth the 21.000[79] *bDar-gsas*[80] arose. From the stirred inner[81] centre (yolk) it emerged as the triad of men (*Mi*), *sMra* and *gShen*. From colour[82] and light entwined in the sky as the triad of *Phywa*, *Srid*, and *sKos*[83]. From the shell as a protecting armour. From the membrane(?)[84]as a protecting sword. From the dregs of that egg the gShen-bdud Khyab-pa lag-ring, the bDud-po Ma-trang ru-ring, the Srin-po Gar-ma ja-la, and the cruel (*gdug rtsub*) Yagsha kho-re, these four, came forth, the *bDud* of the innate (mental) afflictions[85].

For a commentary see: the *rTsa rgyud chen po gsang ba bsen thub kyi 'grel pa rin po che yid bzhin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyan* (*bSen thub 'grel ba yid bzhin bkod pa'i rgyan*)[86].

See also a commentary on the *Khro gzhung chen mo ngo mtshar rgyas pa* (*Khro bo dbang chen*), which, as you will have guessed, is much used in this study as a source for the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad*. It can be found in the *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba (dang dbal phur spyi don nyi shu rtsa lnga'i grel pa bcas)*[87], more in particular the third text of this collection, the *Khro bo dbang chen ngo mtshar rgyas pa'i rnam bshad gsal ba'i sgron ma*. This commentary, inter alia, also comments on the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen*

thub, also a *sPyi-spungs* text. Needless to say, this is a most interesting source of information regarding the *dBal-mo* deities.

B2 The *Srid pa las kyi gting zlog gi rtsa rgyud kun gsal nyi zer sgron ma* (*Nyi zer sgron ma*)[88]. The material in this text is indeed (cf. Seele (1995: 93)) very similar to that contained in the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* and its commentary and need not be summarised here.

B3 The *Ye shes nyi ma lha'i gsas mkhar ting mur g-yu rtse ye shes bsnyen bsgrub rtsa ba'i rgyud* (*Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba*)[89] describes how from light and (coloured) rays an ocean came into existence. From the centre of that ocean Mother Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo came forth. From the breath of her friendly smiling face an egg made out of conch[90] and from this a white conch[91] man. He named himself Ye-srid srid-pa'i rje-bo, Kun-gyis khyab Sangs-po 'bum-khri and named the woman (Ma Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo) bsKo-ting cig-la wer-mo[92].

I should briefly like to point out that this text also contains an extremely interesting description featuring the development from absolute emptiness into light, five-coloured circles of light, coloured rays and elements, which is described in the part preceding what I summarised above[93]. This seems to provide a fascinating parallel to descriptions of 'experiences' of luminosity as they appear in presentations of the *chos nyid* and *(bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do* and of *thod rgal* vision. I cannot elaborate on this facet here, the reader may be referred to a study on *chos nyid* and *(bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do* that I am currently preparing.

For a commentary see: the *gSas mkhar ting mur g-yu rtse'i bsnyen bsgrub rtsa ba'i brgyud 'grel yid bzhin nor bu* (*Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba brgyud 'grel*[94]).

B4 The *gTsang ma klu 'bum*[95] contains highly diverse materials. In one of its accounts it (also) describes a white and a black egg and employs a theme that must ring familiar after having read the *rTsa rgyud gSang ba bsen thub*. The *Klu 'bum* informs us that the white egg, when viewed from outside appeared luminous in the inside and when viewed from inside appeared luminous at the outside, like a jewel. The black egg is merely briefly characterised as obscured or defiled. The text is brief and reads like a commentary, partly due to these characteristics, it does not read as a very coherent account in itself[96].

B5 The *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud dri ma med pa gzi brjid rab tu 'bar ba'i mdo* (*gZi brjid*)[97] describes how through the magical power of the *lHa*, *gSas*, and *dBal*, an egg consisting of five precious substances came forth. It broke by itself and produced all kinds of objects and substances. From the centre (yolk) a miraculous man came forth that had incorporated parts of animals and weapons into his body. He was given the name dPa'-chen Wer-ma.

Next a pale and unappealing egg is described. A man and a woman cohabited at midnight without kissing[98], and – as all sorts of dual categories came forth, such as being and non-being, good and bad, cause and effect, and, ultimately, white gods and black demons, which arose from clear and obscured *karmic*

propensities – a pale and unappealing egg emerged. From the broken egg all kinds of demons and evil came forth. The structure of the description is vaguely reminiscent of the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*, equally some of the numbers used, for instance, the numbers 360 (see also the *mDzod phug*-tradition) and 21.000[99].

C1 The *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags*[100] describes how within primordial non-existent emptiness, a little bit of primordial being came into existence. Within that, light – the father – and (coloured) rays – the mother – appeared. Between them darkness and obscurity[101] came into being. From this a breeze, a pale frost and a shimmering[102] dew subsequently came forth. When the frost and dew mixed, a mirror-like lake arose. On that lake a thin layer appeared, which rolled up into an egg, from which two white-tailed eagles[103] came forth: a white one, sNang-ba 'od-ldan and a black one, Mun-pa zer-ldan. When these two eagles united, three eggs came into existence, a white, a black and a variegated one. From the parts of the white egg a white, divine rock (shell), and the male deity 'Od-kyi khri-lde (membrane), the female deity mDzo-mo dkar-mo (white of the egg), and the triad Srid-lha 'od-dkar, Cang-shes mi-mgon dkar-po and Dun-gi mig-ldan dkar-po (yolk), came forth. From the black egg Ngam-mi nag-po and Tril-nag dpung-bkra. And from the variegated egg a formless Prayer-Man (sMon-lam-mi lam-lam-lum-lum). This myth has been edited, translated and discussed at great length by Karmay[104].

C2 See also closely related material contained in the so-called Herrmanns manuscript (Herrmanns (1948)).

C3 A very similar description also appears in a *Buddhist* source, the *Phag-mo gru-pa* chronicle *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa)*[105], which here records folk-tradition. According to this description a large egg arose out of the essence of the five elements. From the egg-shell a white, divine rock emerged, from the liquid parts a white round conch lake, from the membrane in between, the six classes of living beings spread out far and wide. Eighteen gristle(?)[106]eggs are also said to appear. From up high(?), those eighteen mediocre eggs developed into one conch egg[107], which was the formless Wish-Man (sMon-pa'i mi-bo lum-lum)[108].

C4 Similar material can also be found among the *Naxi*[109].

D1 The *sPyi spungs rin po che a dkar gsang sngags kyi bka' srung drwa ba nag po'i rgyud skor* (*Drwa ba dmar nag gi rgyud*)[110] describes how first one jewel-egg came forth from the mouth of the deity gYu'i bye'u lug-ldzi as she said "*ha*" and "*hu*" and later four jewel-eggs emerged from the luminous syllable "*ha*" arising from the hearts of the deities of the four divisions (*ru bzhi lha*)[111].

D2 The *'Dzam gling gangs rgyal ti se dkar chags tshangs dbyangs yid phrog* (*Gangs ti se'i dkar chag*)[112] describes how from primordial emptiness four

jewel-light-eggs formed, self-arisen in the vast expanse of the sky. A lake arose from each. Norbu and Prats have edited and partially translated this text[113)].

On the basis of many more features of these fascinating myths than I have adduced above, Seele (1995) has already shown that in these transmissions of origin-myths more or less distinct, though slightly overlapping, traditions can be discerned. The three main strands may be exemplified by the *mDzod phug*, the *gSang ba bsen thub* and the *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags*. I shall not repeat or summarise her main arguments and findings here[114)]. The material is obviously highly diverse even within these strands of themes. I have the impression that '*Bon*' traditions very well hold a place of their own when compared to the origin-egg-mythologemes from other areas. Even though it is not an objective of this exposé and I cannot elaborate on this point here, I would argue that '*Bon*' materials suggest that they belong to rather unique traditions. No doubt, most of the themes may be found elsewhere in some form or other[115)], yet, overall, the specific bouquet of mythologemes and narremes of at least the first two of the three main traditions outlined above do not seem to have direct ancestors in 'adjacent' or otherwise accessible cultural areas, such as, for instance, Persia[116)], India[117)] North Central Asia[118)], or China[119)], even though some neighbouring traditions indeed do occasionally show some diffuse overlap in the themes used[120)].

A 'locus classicus' for the specific account of twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s hatching from twenty-seven eggs is, as you will know by now, the *Khro bo dbang chen* (see appendix). This source is therefore quoted extensively in the appended anthology. The *Khro bo dbang chen* was purportedly rediscovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035) in 1017. According to Karmay there was a close connection between the *gShen*-clan and the protective deity Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo, the latter being their favourite protectress[121)]. There is an obvious affinity between the (*sPyi-spungs*) *Khro bo dbang chen*-tradition and the cosmogonical/ theogonical tradition of the (*sPyi-spungs*) *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*. Extensive quotes in the *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba* from the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*, also in the context of the *dBal-mo*s, serve to underline this[122)]. Yet a concrete match to the origin of the twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s from eggs remains to be found, so far we merely have found an abundance (both in quantity and diversity) of evidence for the theme or prototype of deities, demons, etc. coming from eggs.

At this point, I am not aware of any precise correspondence to the twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s hatching from (as many) eggs in other texts (and now I do not mean other versions of this particular story, of course). Parallels for deities hatching from larger numbers of eggs do exist, however. Here I should like to refer to a passage from an episode of the Gesar epic, which, to my knowledge, Stein has first discussed[123)]. In this passage eighteen eggs are mentioned. In a rather non-spectacular way, these eggs are laid by birds, two birds, to be precise. The eggs are divided again into three groups of six of different colour: white, yellow and blue.

Their ordinary origin notwithstanding they appear to function in an extraordinary, that is, cosmogonical or theogonical context. Laid by birds they are said to have been forged by divine creatures, to wit: by the *lHa* (white), the *gNyan* (yellow, or also by men) of the middle realm and the subterraneous *Klu* (blue), successively. Later in the narrative they become associated with eighteen castles, six white *Ra* up high, six blue ones in the middle and six nether black ones. It is very tempting, indeed, to compare this to a thematically very similar description in the *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags*[124)], where from a primeval egg two eagles(?)[125)] appear: sNang-ba 'od-ldan and Mun-pa zer-ldan[126)]. These two unite and in turn produce three eggs of different 'colour', a white, black and multicoloured one. I think this theme also deserves to be compared to the Yakut story referred to in a note to the Yakut myth at the beginning of this section. Yakut shamans are said to derive from eggs laid and hatched by the Bird-of-Prey-Mother, which has an eagle head and iron feathers, on three levels in a giant fir tree in the North at the root of terrible diseases. The Yakut believe that each shaman has a Bird-of-Prey-Mother[127)]. The theme also seems to resonate with the Tamang myth noted under Nepal, also at the beginning of this section. The same number of (eighteen) eggs that occurs in the Gesar story also figures in the *Phag-mo gru-pa* chronicle, the *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa)*[128)], yet, in a different configuration, they develop from a primeval egg and mainly appear as an abstract group or number giving rise to the initially amorphous sMon-pa'i mi-bo lum-lum, who in the *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags* emerges from one of three eggs (the multi-coloured one).

Several other groups of deities and demons are also said to hatch from a larger number of eggs. In the *gNod sbyin rgyal chen sku lnga 'khor bcas* we find an account of the origin of Pe-har in connection with eggs[129)]. According to this account Pe-har, here called Bi-har rgyal-po, originated from one of thirteen eggs produced by a white *Klu-mo* who lived high on Ri-rgyal lhun-po (Mt. Meru, here Mt. Kailas) at the lake Ma-dros-mtsho (Manasarovar). Bi-har rgyal-po is described as having a human body but an animal head, to wit, the head of a *khyung*.

Engaging the same number of (thirteen) eggs is a story about the origin of the *Sri*, (according to Nebesky-Wojkowitz) an important class of early Tibetan deities/demons[130)]. At a certain point in the descent of the *Sri* from ancestors of curiously dubious character – most of them are in one way or the other associated with transgressions, faults, and impurity – multiple deities come forth from (each of) the thirteen eggs of existence (*srid pa'i sgo nga*[131)] *bcu gsum*). The direct parents are the father of the *Sri*, gNam-gyi bya-nag gshog-chags(!), and mother *Sa-yi byi-gshog*. The demons belonging to each of the groups of *Sri* have human bodies and animal heads. The head differs for each batch of deities (wolf, camel, weasel, *khyung*, owl, pig, pig (again)[132)], snake, *g-yag*, stag, fox, horse, goat).

The *Klu* are also associated with birth from eggs – for quite obvious reasons, they represent snakes after all. I should like to refer here to the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. There six classes of *Klu* are said to have originated from six eggs laid by

a golden tortoise. However, at several locations in the same text *five* classes of *Klu* are also mentioned and these are described as having animal heads[133].

Conclusions

The few parallels for the *dBal-mo* deities and for their origination from eggs discussed above confirm some of the points raised in the prolegomena. In contrast to the *Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas* the origins of the *dBal-mos* and their cosmogonical/ theogonical context point to Tibet, Central Asia and East(-Central) Asia rather than to South Asia. I presume that this is the point where some of us would be inclined to speak about 'indigenous Tibetan origins'.

The '*Bon*' *dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad*, quite in contrast to the *Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas*, indeed have a 'real' and, if I may abuse English idiom here, 'relatively unique' context in Tibetan cosmogony/ theogony. In their specific cosmogonical/ theogonical context, as described in the *Khro bo dbang chen*, they identify themselves as groups of warrior-deities that seem well at home in Central Asia and are strongly connected with '*Bon*' traditions. The groups may nevertheless have slightly diverging origins. They were apparently 'tamed' at (a) certain point(s) and subsumed into another fold or discourse as protective deities and were ultimately incorporated into the artificial structure of a *zhi-khro maṇḍala*. As far as the scant evidence presented so far goes, the deities as such seem to have developed independently from the *Buddhist* and ultimately 'Hindu'-derived, say, South Asian, *dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad*.

It is not unlikely, however, that the pattern or prototype for the sub-*maṇḍala* of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad* as part of the '*Bon*' *zhi-khro maṇḍala* (that is, for the *dBal-mos* as a group and as a specific section of a larger *maṇḍala*) is nevertheless derived from the *dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad* sections of *Buddhist zhi-khro maṇḍalas* and their antecedents. The three groups of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* lack the neat fourfold *maṇḍala* structure that the *dBang-phyug-mas* show, and can only be squeezed into a *maṇḍala* with its fourfold division into the cardinal points with some difficulty. In contrast, the *dBang-phyug-mas* as a group seem to have developed in and with this *maṇḍala*-structure. Moreover, the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* are part of a larger group, which includes the *Gyad-chen bcu*, *dMag-dpon bcu*, and *rGyal-chen sde-bzhi*, for which the *maṇḍala* (also) does not seem to have a special and appropriate seat prepared. The separation of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad* from this larger group of *dBal* deities that they belong to (and which moreover even appears in the *zhi-khro maṇḍala* but is not counted) – one would almost feel inclined to say, *in order to* secure a number of twenty-eight deities that could parallel the twenty-eight *dBang-phyug-mas* – also clearly lends a suggestion of primacy to the *dBang-phyug-mas* as far as the originality of the conception of the sub-*maṇḍala* prototype of twenty-eight female deities is concerned. Actually, I would not be surprised at all if a closer examination of the other sections of the

'*Bon*' and *Buddhist* (*Bar do thos grol*) *zhi-khro maṇḍala* would force us to posit a similar relation for the other groups of deities, that is to say, to conclude that the '*Bon*' *bar do thos grol zhi-khro maṇḍala*, considering the extant early South Asian *Buddhist* (and Hindu) antecedents for ilk more elaborate *maṇḍalas*, was formed following a probably (that is, regarding the specific *bar do*-context) *Buddhist* prototype, recycling relevant (groups of) deities to 'man' the templates. This hypothesis, of course, would require a separate study to support it.

In any case the descriptions of the individual (sub-groups of) deities of the '*Bon*' and *Buddhist* 'twenty-eight-sections' as such do not warrant to posit a relation of derivation on the level of (sub-groups of) deities. In a sense our comparison is not relevant to be pursued on that level, not even as far as the precise numerical subdivision of their total number of twenty-four/seven/eight is concerned, 'it's apples and oranges'. This is another way of saying that the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad* and the *dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad* basically come in droves, in which the concrete (sub-groups) of deities at this point hardly have retained any individual identity anymore. It is only as collectives that they may be compared and their prototype seems to derive from a similar South Asian sub-*maṇḍala*-prototype. The *dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad* do show all kinds of generic parallels to other more remote groups of deities, with which they occasionally share certain characteristics or narremes, but no convincing genetic relations or clear origins have emerged so far.

The closest cosmogonical/ theogonical prototype for the origination of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* would perhaps be the generation of in total eighteen brothers and sisters by Sangs-po 'bum-khri and Chu-lcam rgyal-mo as described in the *mDzod phug* (translated above). Thus the prototype for a pre-*maṇḍala* collective in cosmogony and theogony might have been a group of eighteen rather than twenty-seven. This link would then also sharpen the perceived difference between the eighteen *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu* and the slightly diverging *Byin-te dgu* in the group of twenty-seven. Yet, the *Byin-te dgu*, considering their marked individual features and narrative context, as a group, might still be an older unit in the total collective of fifty-one/two *dBal* deities, perhaps even out-dating all the other sub-groups, not only the *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu*. One indeed has to admit that the *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu* have a somewhat suspiciously stencilled look. Thus the *Byin-te dgu*, though perhaps even the oldest group of *dBal* deities, might nevertheless have been added later to a prototype of eighteen deities with a similar cosmogonical/ theogonical context to form a larger tripartite collective of twenty-seven *dBal* deities born from eggs, specifically designed for *maṇḍala*-purposes, giving a possible match to the *dBang-phyug-mas* and providing a numerically more attractive division into three groups of nine. The above extrapolation is at this point, of course, purely hypothetical and has to be tested as further evidence becomes available.

As more connections are gradually being discovered in the above comparisons, the motif of deities/ demons originating from (groups of) eggs is slowly emerging

as a recurrent theme that appears and reappears in many variations, a non-composed fugue of convergence and assimilation in the vastly diverging plethora of cosmogonical and theogonical mythologemes. '*Bon*' and popular cosmogonical and theogonical literature indeed seem to abound in several more or less characteristic strands of recurrent and often vaguely resembling themes. The origination of deities and demons from eggs is a quite common and wide-spread motif in Tibetan tradition, yet also in other, occasionally related, traditions (for instance, amongst the *Naxi*), and, moreover, in more remote areas and slightly diverging cultural contexts as well (for instance, amongst the Yakut, as evidenced by the story about the birth of shamans from eggs)[134]. So far, no convincing lines of derivation have been established for the origin myth of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* within '*Bon*' traditions, Tibetan (and Central Asian) traditions in general, or with regard to adjacent and more remote cultural areas. I feel inclined to speculate that the mode of birth from an egg, a 'foreign', yet (unlike birth from moisture or miraculous birth in *Buddhist abhidharma*) still familiar alternative to our specific mammal/ human birth from a womb, might well underline the other-worldly or at least non-human associations/ destination of gods, demons and also shamans. It is common to indicate the foreignness of fictional living beings by associating them with characteristics of phylogenetically speaking remote animals; insects and reptiles are long-time favourites in this vocabulary.

It might also be interesting to briefly note here that in the above we have been able to witness repeatedly that the mode of birth from an egg is in one way or the other associated with negative antecedents or results, be it primordial impurity, or the birth of demons, like the *bTsan*[135], *Klu*, and *Sri*, be it with transgressive elements (see, e.g., the ancestry of the *Sri*, briefly referred to above), or be it in the fact that many of the deities/ demons are associated with destruction, evil influence and disease. Even though the primordial transgress at the beginning of creation is not an uncommon theme, I am not sure whether such a connection could be established for the birth from an egg.

This particular combination of elements: a female form; a terrible, warlike or destructive character; and a foreign, remote, or in any case extraordinary non-human origin or destination (birth from eggs), seems to connect the *dBal-mo*s to a familiar '(arche)type' of female: an old – yet not the most archaic – dark, wild, other-worldly female, perhaps of local origin, embodying at least dangerous, if not fierce and belligerent, potencies. When perceiving the terrible 'Gestalt' of these deities we seem to stare into the disquieting dark face of the 'Witch', the shadowy aspect of a split female archetype, possibly indicative of a 'patriarchal' schism in female identity, which Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt theorised about with regard to the oft fearsome *Ḍākinī*s. One might even feel inclined to speculate on a real-life background of old and ugly women that are deprived of the social functions of wife, mother, grandmother, and the like, or that otherwise dropped out of the manifold accommodating folds and wrinkles of established social relations and loci of status and thus easily became a focal point for the negative projections of a

community, branded and feared as witches, vampires, or what have you. But we would definitely need further information regarding male and female deities and demons and especially the oldest female divine figures and their real-life social background in Tibet and Central Asia to be able to make such a preliminary determination more firm and, not in the last place, productive. At this point it is, in fact, no more than a loose concluding remark.

Tibetan Texts[136]

Note the following conventions used for the editions in Wylie:

/	ordinary *shad*
%	*gter shad*
!	*spungs shad*
?	*sbrul shad*
=	abbreviation sign
-	*shad* absent (mainly after *ka* and *rjes 'jug ga*)
@	*dbu*
[#]	bracketed indication of pages, lines, etc.

***Zab chos zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol las chos nyid bar do'i gsol 'debs* (read: *gsal 'debs) thos grol chen mo*:**

ka/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, Kalsang Lhundup (1969) [text *kha*];

kha/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, Library of the Kern Institute (Johan van Manen Collection, Inv.No. 2740/H187,12,19), [text *ka* and *kha*];

ga/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, Library of the Kern Institute, Nr. 28.452.4 [*ChB*, text *kha*];

nga / *gSang ba ye shes kyi chos skor/ phrin las le lag dang 'pho ba man ngag*, Shuh et al. (1985), Nr. 235 [text *jo*] (Microfilms of the cycle *mKha' 'gro gsang ba ye shes kyi rgyud* are preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin; this *gter ma*-cycle is also extant in the library of the Kern Institute in Leiden (no systematic catalogue-number) as a xylographic reprint of block-prints from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche);

ca/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, IASWR Microfiche R 285, Tachikawa (1983/88), Nr. 1233 [text *ka* and *kha*].

[Kalsang Lhundup (1969: 57,14 - 60,7)] *kye rigs kyi bu% he ru ka drag po'i lha sum cu tham pa'i phyis rim du dbang phyug ma nyi shu rtsa brgyad mgo bsnyan sna tshogs dang bcas te% mtshon cha sna tshogs pa thogs nas klad pa'i nang nas*

thon nas rang la shar du 'ong ngo % de la ma 'jigs par gang shar thams cad rang snang rig pa'i rtsal du ngo shes par gyis shig% don chen 'gag la thug pa'i dus tshod 'dir% bla ma'i [ka 58] *gdams ngag dran par gyis shig% kye rigs kyi bu% shar nas srin mo smug nag g-yag mgo ma lag na rdo rje thogs pa% tshangs pa dmar ser sbrul mgo ma lag na padma 'dzin pa dang % lha chen ljang nag gzig mgo ma lag na tri shū la thogs pa dang % gtogs 'dod sngon mo sri mong mgo phyag na 'khor lo 'dzin* [kha-kha 14] *pa dang % gzhon nu dmar mo dred mgo ma lag na mdung thung 'dzin pa dang % brgya byin dkar mo dom mgo ma lag na rgyu zhags thogs pa dang % shar gyi rnal* [nga 330] *'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la 'char ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi bu% lho nas rdo rje ser mo phag mgo ma lag na sbu gri thogs pa dang % zhi ba dmar mo chu srin mgo lag na bum pa thogs pa dang % bdud rtsi dmar mo sdig pa'i mgo lag na padma thogs pa dang % zla ba dkar mo khra'i mgo lag na rdo rje thogs pa dang % be con ljang nag wa'i mgo lag na dbyug to phyar ba dang % srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo lag na thod khrag thogs pa* [ca-kha 12] *dang % lho'i rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang* [ga 44] *nas thon nas rang la 'char du 'ong ngo % de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs* [nga 331] *kyi bu% nub nas za ba ljang nag bya rgod mgo lag na be con thogs pa dang % dga' ba dmar mo rta'i* [ka 59] *mgo lag na khog chen thogs pa dang % stobs chen dkar mo khyung gi mgo lag na dbyug to thogs pa dang % srin mo dmar mo khyi'i mgo lag na rdo rje sbu gris gcod pa dang % 'dod pa dmar po pu shud mgo lag na mda' gzhu 'gengs pa dang % nor srung dmar ljang sha ba'i mgo lag na bum pa 'dzin pa dang % nub kyi rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la shar ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi bu% byang nas* [nga 332] *rlung lha sngon mo sbyang gi'i mgo lag na ba* [kha-kha 15] *dan phyar ba dang % mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo lag na gsal shing 'dzin pa dang % phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo lag na mche zhags bsnams pa dang % rdo rje dmar mo khwa ta'i mgo lag na zhing chung 'dzin pa dang % sna chen ljang nag glang chen mgo lag na bam chen thogs shing zong khrag. 'thung ba dang % chu lha sngon mo sbrul gyi mgo lag na sbrul zhags bsnams pa dang % byang gi rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la* [nga 333] *'char ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi bu% sgo ma'i rnal 'byor ma bzhi klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la 'char ro% shar nas rdo rje dkar mo khu byug gi mgo can lag na lcags kyu 'dzin pa dang % lho nas rdo rje ser mo ra* [ka 60] *mgo ma lag na zhags pa 'dzin pa dang % nub nas rdo rje dmar mo seng mgo ma lag na lcags sgrogs 'dzin pa dang % byang nas rdo rje ljang nag sbrul mgo ma lag na dril bu 'dzin pa dang %* [ga 45] *rnal 'byor ma sgo ma bzhi klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la 'char du 'ong ngo % dbang phyug ma nyi shu rtsa brgyad kyang he ru ka drag po'i lha rang* [nga 334] *byung gi sku'i rtsal* [ca-kha 13] *las rang shar ba yin pas ngo shes par gyis shig% ...*

Cf. ***Man ngag snying gi dgongs pa rgyal ba'i bka' zhes bya ba'i rgyud***

[Taipei-edition, Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol.*pa*), no.4766 (= *gTing skyes* no.84?), [p.591, l.7 –p.593, l.1] *he ru ka drag po'i lha sum cu'i phyi rol na / srin po smug nag rdo rje*

thod pa bsnams pa dang / [592] tshangs pa ser mo lag na padma bsnams pa dang / lha chen dkar ljang lag na rdo rje thogs pa dang / rtogs 'dod sngon mo 'khor lo 'dzin pa dang / dga' ba ser mo spu gri thogs pa dang / gzhon nu dmar mo mdung thung 'dzin pa dang / brgya byin dkar mo rgyu zhags thogs pa dang / zhi ba dmar mo bum pa 'dzin pa dang / bdud rtsi dmar mo padma 'dzin pa dang / zla ba dkar mo rdo rje 'dzin pa dang / be con ljang nag dbyug to 'phyar ba dang / srin mo dmar nag thod khrag 'thung ba dang / za ba ljang nag be con thogs pa dang / dga' ba dmar mo khog chen thogs pa dang / stobs chen dkar mo dbyug to 'dzin pa dang / srin mo rdo rje spu gri 'dzin pa dang / 'dod pa dmar mo mda' gzhu 'gengs pa dang / nor srungs ljang khu bum pa 'dzin pa dang / rlung lha sngon mo ba dan 'phyar ba dang / mi yo dmar mo gsal shing 'dzin pa dang / phag mo nag mo mche zhags bsnams pa dang / rdo rje dmar mo zhing chung 'dzin pa dang / sna chen ljang nag thod khrag 'thung ba dang / chu lha sngon mo sbrul zhags bsnams pa'o/ /rdo rje dkar mo lcags kyu bsnams pa shar sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje ser mo ra mgo ma lho sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje dmar mo seng mgo lcags sgrogs ma nub sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje ljang nag ke ka'i mgo can byang sgo na bzhugs so/ /dbang [593] phyug ma nyi shu rtsa brgyad he ru ka drag po'i lha rang byung gi sku'i rtsal las shar ba'o/ / ...

sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo

[Karmay (1977).29.32 = Zogai 614 =T.124: 668.3 - 680.5:] *a ôṃ hūṃ/ skad kyi gdang gi thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na/ ? las mkhan sngon mo 'brug mgos chu srin lag pa g-yob/ las mkhan dmar ser 'brong mgos ru skyogs 'dzin/ las mkhan bud med dkar mos ba dan 'phyar/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar chad zhi ba dang / snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin gyis rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ a ôṃ hūṃ/* [669] *ljags kyi ngar gong thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan ljang nag sbrul mgos khyung gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan dkar mo rgod mgos ru mtshon 'phyar/ las mkhan sa srin nag mos sbrul zhags 'debs/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar/ snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo a ôṃ hūṃ! stag pa'i bdud sgo thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od ri nag 'joms pa'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan nag mo skyung mgos zangs spar gdengs/ las mkhan nag mo dom mgos sbrul zhags 'debs/ las mkhan nag mo gdong dgus bdud mda' 'phen/ 'jigs byed* [670] *dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du!/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ sku stod gding tshigs thig le'i 'od klong du / 'ja' 'od ri rgyal lhun po'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan dkar mo seng mgos mtshal zhags sdog/ las mkhan ser mo glang mgos sgyogs rdo 'phen/ las mkhan bud med smug mos gru gu sdog/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar chad*

zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ thugs kyi dkyil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong du/ gzha' 'od gnam sgo can gyi gsas mkhar du/ las mkhan dmar mo dred mgos ral kyu 'phyar/ [671] las mkhan sngon mo gzig mgos btsan zhags sdog/ las mkhan sngon mo gdong drug chu srin g-yang gzhi 'khur/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar chad zhi ba dang snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ sgal tshigs gzhung rtsa'i thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan dmar nag spyang mgos khra gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan ser ljang 'ug mgos srin bya spor/ las mkhan dkar mo zhal gnyis shel sgong 'thor/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la! phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par= rigs drug bar do'i lam= [672] ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ drod kyi mtha' yi thig le'i 'od klong du / 'ja' 'od me dpung 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yang gzhi 'khur/ las mkhan dmar mo khra mgos ral gyu 'phyar/ las mkhan dmar mo mgo dgus byur thag skyong / 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par= rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ snyan gyi mchog gi thig le'i 'od klong du/ 'ja' 'od rnga gshang sgra yi gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan ser ljang khyung mgos pho mo skung na 'gyed/ las mkhan skya bkra gsa' mgos dred lag 'phyar/ las mkhan sngo ljang dbu gnyis dmu thag 'dren/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ [673] phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la bar chad zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ rtsa yi sbubs kyi thig le'i 'od klong du/ gzha' 'od rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na! las mkhan sngo ljang chu srin mgo can rlung g-yab bsnams/ las mkhan dmar nag phag mgos dru gu bsdog/ las mkhan dmar nag lcags ral gshin lam 'dren/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod 'bul bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la bar chad zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin gyis rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? dbal mo nyi shu rtsa bdun 'gro kun drongs/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs drug bar do'i gnas nas 'dren du gsol/ 'og min bde chen [674] zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid 'od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ bdag sogs 'di nas tshe 'phos lus brjes dus/ bon nyid 'od gsal snang ba 'char dus su/ bar do 'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams pa'i tshe/ shar gyi dbal mo mun (read: bdun) gyis lam sna drongs/ byang gi dbal mo bdun gyis rgyab nas skyor/ nub kyi dbal mo bdun gyis mtha' nas brten/ lho yi dbal mo bdun gyis gshed dang phrol/ bred skrag sngangs 'dar 'jigs 'khrul med par mdzod/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ ! rigs drug bar do'i gnas nas 'dren du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bde chen dbyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ ! a ôṃ hūṃ/ A dkar sa le 'od a yam ôṃ 'du/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ ltag tshigs thig le'i gzha' 'od me [675] klong na/ las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos bso cha ha la sgrog/ dpung tshig g-yas kyi gzha' 'od me klong na! las mkhan dung gi mi thung dbal mdung 'debs/ dpyi tshigs g-yas kyi 'ja' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan g-yu yi mi

thung mda' gzhu 'gengs/ dpyi tshigs g-yon gyi gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan zangs kyi mi thung dgra sta 'phyar/ dpung tshigs g-yon gyi 'ja' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan lcags kyi mi thung ral gri 'phyar/ gru mo g-yas kyi 'ja' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal stag khra bos mche sder brdar/ pus mo g-yas kyi 'ja' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal 'brug sngon pos 'ur sgra sgrog/ pus mo g-yon gyi gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal g-yag dkar pos ru ze [676] *bsigs gru mo g-yon gyi gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal khyung sngon po 'jum zhing lding / mjug rus thig le'i gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan khro chu'i mi thung gtar tshan bsnams/ dbal gyi las mkhan gyad chen bcu po la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs rjes thar pa'i lam la bar chad zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad= ? dbal gyi gyad chen bcu yis 'gro kun drongs/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs drug bar do'i gnas nas 'dren du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid 'od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ tshigs chen bcu yi gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan glang po'i mgo can brag ri 'debs/ las mkhan mthing nag dom mgos* [677] *ral gri 'phyar/ las mkhan chu srin mgo can dbal mdung gsor/ las mkhan dmar mo spyang mgos khra gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan skya bkra gsa' mgos bam ro za/ las mkhan ser ljang khyung mgos sbrul zhags 'debs/ las mkhan mthing nag rnga mgos mdung ring bsnams/ las mkhan phag rgod mgo can me dpung spor/ las mkhan dred kyi mgo can byad thag bsnams/ las mkhan stag gi mgo can dgra sha za/ dbal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod gdab la dbang bskur thugs rjes thar pa'i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? dbal gyi dmag dpon ma bcus 'gro kun drongs/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs* [678] *drug bar do'i gnas nas 'dren du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid 'od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ bdag sogs 'di nas tshe 'phos lus brjes dus/ bon nyid 'od gsal snang ba 'char dus su/ 'jigs skrag drag po 'khor bar 'khyams pa'i tshe/ las mkhan gyad chen bcu yi lam sna drongs/ las mkhan dmag dpon ma bcus rgyab nas skyor/ bred skrag sngangs 'dar 'jigs 'khrul mi 'byung mdzod/ rigs drug bar do'i skye sgo bcad du gsol/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyar du gsol/ bde chen dbyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ ā dkar sa le 'od a yam ôṃ 'du/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ phyag g-yas mthil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong na/ las mkhan mi dkar seng mgos ral gri* [679] *'phyar zhabs g-yas mthil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong na/ las mkhan phag rgod mgo can sbrul zhags 'phen/ zhabs g-yon mthil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong na/ las mkhan mi sngon 'brug mgos sta mo 'phyar/ phyag g-yon mthil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong na/ las mkhan mi nag dom mgos thog mda' 'phen/ dbal gyi las mkhan rgyal chen sde bzhi la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod 'bul gsol bdag la dbang bskur thugs rjes thar pa'i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin bar do 'jigs pa'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? las mkhan rgyal chen sde bzhis 'gro kun drongs/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs drug bar do'i gnas nas= 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid 'od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas* [680] *shog/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ bdag sogs 'di nas tshe 'phos lus brjes dus/ 'khor ba'i*

rgya mtsho snang ba 'char ba'i tshe/ skye gnas bzhi yi lam gyi sgo chod la/ thugs rje bzhi yi lam gyi sgo phyes la/ las mkhan seng mgo phag mgos lam sna drongs/ las mkhan 'brug mgo dom mgos rgyab nas skyor/ bred skrag sngangs 'dar 'jigs 'khrul mi 'byung mdzod/ rigs drug bar do'i skye sgo bcad du gsol/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bde chen dbyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ ...

Notes

1) Many thanks to Peter Richardus for careful proof-reading of this paper.
2) See bibliography, please note the other editions mentioned there.
3) This interesting connection was kindly pointed out to me by David Germano at the eighth IATS seminar (Bloomington, U.S.A., Summer 1998). Germano has already done some work on *rNying ma* material in this respect and suggested to look into '*Bon*' material in order to ascertain whether a similar connection exists for their *rDzogs-chen*-traditions.
4) The root-text is very brief and only mentions that two eggs arise (*rgyu lnga'i srid las sgong gnyis srid*, Namdak (1966: 6.5f.), *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*), later identified as a white and a black one. See the translation presented below.
5) The commentary is slightly more elaborate: *'od gong dang mun gong gnyis su byung ste/*, Namdak (1966: 52.11f.), *mDzod sgra 'grel*.
6) Tib.: *dkar ni 'od dang zer las brdol/*, Namdak (1966: 6.6f.), *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*.
7) Tib.: *'od gsal nam mkha' 'thor ba las/ 'thor gsas sum brgya drug cu srid de/*, Namdak (1966: 52.16f.), *mDzod sgra 'grel*.
8) Cf. the last part of the description from the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*, presented below.
9) See, for instance, the *Khro bo dbang chen*, which is contained in the *Zhi khro sgrub skor*, listed as text No.2 in the appendix.
10) Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 312f.). Not all descriptions are clear. He is therefore unable to translate and explain all the sounds mentioned, partly this is due to possible corruption in his text. For instance, regarding the hatching of the fifth *gZe-ma*, *Dred-kyi mgo-can*, his text describes the sound as: *dbal kha(!) ngam sgo can gyi sgra*, while my text No.2 reads: *dbal khang gnam sgo can gyi gsas mkhar na/ thugs nyid dbal gyi sgra* (see appendix).
11) Including the kind assistance of several monks and lay-people from Dolanji, who volunteered to translate Shes-rab grags-pa's *rNga-ba* dialect for me.
12) Herrmann-Pfandt (1992), see especially chapter 2d.
13) See, e.g., rather frequent locutions as: *dbal mo gyi ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun* and *ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun* (appendix, text No.8: 198.6); the twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s are also quite often styled *sPar-mas*, so are the *Byin-te dgu*, who are at the same time connected to the *sPar-ma dgu khri'i 'a-mo* deities.
14) These groups are discussed in more detail (with reference to some sources) in Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 269-273 especially).
15) Alexis Sanderson kindly pointed me to this section, a listing of the deities can be found in chapter six of Yamada's critical edition (1981: 273).

16) See Kalff (1978: 158f.), *Pullīrmalaya*, *Jālandhara*, *Oḍ[ḍ]iyana*, etc., for references see his note 35.
17) See Kalff (1978: 159), e.g., head, crest of the head, right ear, etc., for references see his note 36. See also the bodily categories associated with the *gsas mkhar* of the nine the groups of three *dBal-mos* of the *'Bon' Bar do thos grol*.
18) See also Back (1988), I cannot enter into discussion regarding his interpretations here. Suffice to say that I am not convinced by the further interpretation he attempted in his paper and that I also cannot appreciate the 'shamanic' influences that he introduces in connection with these deities.
19) A distinction between an indigenous Himalayan/ Central Asian division into three/ nine (earth, intermediate space and heaven/ nine planets (old Iran)?) and a South Asian division into four (*maṇḍala*-structure, four directions of the compass, cf. also the body-based orientation of front, back, left and right) has been tentatively suggested by several colleagues at the symposium (Charles Ramble, Mona Schrempf and Balthasar Bickel), yet, so far I have not been able to make such a distinction more firm. The numbers three and nine (perhaps basically the number three) and its prototypes are not only well attested in Central Asia (Eliade (1964: 274-279)) but also in South Asia. For some South Asian evidence see, for instance: *bhūr bhuvaḥ svar*, a common classification into heaven, middle realm and earth; the *navagraha* (sun, moon, five planets plus *Rāhu* and *Ketu*, deriving from old Iran); *navadurgā* (the nine forms of *Durgā*); the *navarātra* (nine days from the first of the light half of the month *Āśvina* to the ninth, which are devoted to the worship of *Durgā*); and many other associations in South Asia, such as a classification into nine lower casts (these casts are then styled *navaśāyaka*). While in Central Asia we also find many other numerical configurations; for instance, the number seven (seven planets, Mesopotamia?) is quite prominent, see Eliade (1964: 274-279). This is an issue that definitely requires more work and cannot be resolved within the limits of this paper.
20) Please note that in the texts and tables presented below I try to maintain the orthographic peculiarities and mistakes of the originals, without attempting to emend them. Critical editions have been (and partially are in the process of being) prepared, but, since this apparatus is not relevant to our present concern, the quite lengthy annotation is not included here.
21) From the *Zab chos zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol las chos nyid bar do'i gsol 'debs* [read: *gsal 'debs*] *thos grol chen mo*, Kalsang Lhundup (1969).
22) Extracted from the *sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*, Karmay (1977).29.32. Some slight deviations from text No.2 occur (see appendix), especially with regard to the descriptions of the sounds and the names of the *gsas mkhar*, only the more significant divergence is noted below. The *maṇḍala* continues beyond the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* with the *dBal-gyi las-mkhan gyad-chen bcu po* (cf. appendix, *Gyad-chen bcu*), *dBal-gyi las-mkhan dmag-dpon bcu-po* (cf. appendix, *dMag-dpon bcu*), and the *dBal-gyi las-mkhan rgyal-chen sde-bzhi*.
23) For these qualifiers see appendix, table of the *gZe-ma dgu*, under *sku lus mi mor byung ba'i rtags*.
24) Not mentioned in text No.2, note that this name repeats part of the one listed under 5 (also in text No.2).
25) Text No.2 has *me dpung 'bar ba* as a description of the sound and lists the name as: *bskal pa sreg byed me yi gsas mkhar*.

26) Text No.2 again: *rnga gshang sgra*, sound, and *mi bzad sgra rgyal 'phrul gyi gsas mkhar*, name.
27) See especially, Neumaier (1966: 32), she speaks of a merging of the groups.
28) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 271), he based his account on a description in a manuscript-edition of the *bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs*, 33a (yet he indicates that this manuscript has only 23 folios). A manuscript of that title in the Johan van Manen collection (Inv.No. 2740/M371, text No.17?), which has 46 folios, features the deities on 9v.4 - 10r.6, here the deities are called *Ce-spyang-ma brgyad* instead of *lCe-spyang-ma brgyad* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz).
29) See, e.g., the table regarding the *Byin-te dgu*, which is based on text No.2 (listed in the last table of the appendix), or Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 314).
30) Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956), leather, *gse* probably has to be emended to *bse*.
31) Johan v. Manen collection, Inv.No.2740/M371: 20v.2-4.
32) Johan v. Manen collection, Inv.No.2740/M371: 20v.5 - 21r.1.
33) From the *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*, compiled by *bTsan-lha Ngag-dbang tshul-khrims*, Beijing 1997 (1996), see further references there.
34) As possibly indicated by the epithet *dam can*, which one can find prefixed to the name *gze ma*, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 312).
35) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956) for these classes of deities and demons.
36) See, for example, Seele (Bonn 1995, unpublished MA thesis). For her thesis Seele has studied diverse '*Bon*' and popular traditions, also as contained in *Buddhist* sources. She presents a brief conspectus of the main features of most of the texts used (1995: 134f.). Her study is based on several important cosmogonical text-traditions (and also related material), which she tentatively tries to arrange into groups that show thematic affinity. Texts that mention the egg in a cosmogonical and theogonical context are: the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug* with the commentaries: *mDzod sgra 'grel* and the *sNang srid mdzod 'grel*; the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* with commentary: *bSen thub 'grel ba yid bzhin bkod pa'i rgyan* see also the commentary on the *Khro bo dbang chen*, contained in the *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba dang dbal phur spyi don nyi shu rtsa lnga'i grel pa bcas*; the *Nyi zer sgron ma*; the *gZi brjid*; the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*; the *Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba* with the commentary *Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba rgyud 'grel*; moreover, some popular lore contained the *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags* and a closely related material (Herrmanns manuscript); and, lastly, she also adduces accounts contained in *Buddhist* sources like the *Phag-mo gru-pa* chronicle *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa)*; she also discusses part of the *Drwa ba dmar nag gi rgyud* and the *Gangs ti se'i dkar chag* in this regard. Some more will be said about her study and these fascinating texts below.
37) See the article on Creation, Cosmography, and Cosmology in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica.
38) See, for instance, the *Naxi* below, who supposedly moved from north-eastern Tibet to *Yun-nan*, somewhere towards the end of the first millennium AD (see, e.g., Jackson (1978: 309)), thus deriving from the *Qiang* (see Rock (1947: 4)).
39) See Rock (1947: 76-86) and Rock (1937: 5-83), the most relevant parts are presented (in simplified form) in Seele (1995: 73-75).
40) Kychanov, E. (1988: 245-248).
41) See the Chinese Taoist myths of *Pan-gu*, a relatively late myth, dating from the third century AD, and said to have been compiled by *Xu-Zheng*. The first man came forth from *Hun-tun*, chaos, which had the shape of a chicken's egg. The turbid parts of the

egg (*yin*) precipitated as the earth, the lighter parts (*yang*) rose up as the sky, see Birrell (1993: 29-34). Birell discusses Rémi Mathieu (1989: 29, note 1) Anthologie des mythes et légendes de la Chine ancienne: Textes choisis, présentés, traduite et indexés, Connaissance de l'Orient, Vol.LXVIII, Paris) here as suggesting that "the myth may derive from Tibetan peoples of the south-western region, where the author, Hsu Cheng, lived in the era of the Three Kingdoms" (1993: 29). The theme of the separation of heaven and earth seems to resonate well with what is known from the *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* in the *Can lnga*. Seele (1995) also noticed this point (see 1995: 53-62, especially 60) she presents a version of the Chinese *Pan-gu*-story, gives a translation, and moreover some further references regarding the origin of the myth. In this context I should also like to refer to some *Naxi* material (just referred to above) and an Indian parallel to this theme as contained in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* II.19.1-3. See also The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and religion, Boston 1994 (dating the *Pan-gu* myth to the third century BC!). See further the article on *Pan-gu* in Encyclopaedia Brittanica, dating the myth to the third to sixth centuries AD.

42) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 552) and also Eliade (1964: 37f.). The Bird-of-Prey-Mother, eagle-headed and with iron feathers, laid three classes of eggs from which she hatched Yakut shamans of different capabilities. A more elaborate description and further reference will be presented below.

43) According to Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, Creation and Procreation of the Tibetan People according to an Indigenous Myth, 1998[a]: 249, note 20, this article was translated from a French version (see references there), the text-edition appears on 274-281) one of these Indian mythologemes, the account of *Brahmā* being born from an egg created by *Śiva*, was even borrowed into *Bon* literature (to wit, into Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan's *Lung rig mdzod*, Dolanji: 89); it also appears in the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. In Indian myths the (golden) egg is strongly associated with the sun. For references to text-passages and snippets of translation see Karmay (1998[a]) as above; Hellbom (1963); Newall (1971: 11-14); and Seele (1995: 52 and 140).

44) See the Tamang shamanic song/myth in Höfer (1997: 33, a version of the song is given on 44-46): "... the raven sitting on the *surjen* tree and the Khyung (Garuḍa) sitting on the *pema gesere* tree, swallow the fruit of these trees and each one lays an egg, out of which originate Urgyen Pema, the First Lama, and Dunsur Bon, the First Shaman, respectively" (sometimes the connection tree and bird is the other way round, see Höfer's footnote (6)). These deities then fixate the world. Thanks to Geoffrey Samuel for kindly referring me to this myth.

45) See a creation myth relating the origins of the figure Semar. Sang Hyang Tunggal and Rekawati, daughter of the crab king Rakatatamam, engendered a golden egg. The egg rose with high speed to heaven, like a flash of lightning. In heaven Sang Hyang Wenang, the father of Sang Hyang Tunggal, was meditating and grabbed the lightning, and ... found a golden egg in his hand. Seeing that it was just a golden egg, he threw it back to the earth, where it fell on the island of Java and broke. Three boys came forth from the egg, Manikmaya, Ismaya and Antaga. Ismaya later became the pot-bellied Wayang trickster hero Semar (Knaud, J.M. (1981: 117-119) Tussen Schemering en Dageraad, Achtergronden van de Wayang Poerwa, Den Haag; thanks to Ms. Lidie Bossen for kindly pointing me to this story).

46) In the matriarchal Chimu culture in Peru, featuring a moon-centred mythology, men and heroes came forth from the egg, a symbol of the moon (Krickeberg, W. (1928: 38

and 40f.) Märchen der Azteken und Inkaperuaner, Maya und Muiska, Jena); reference from Neumann (1974: 174).

47) For example in the Yamamoto-cycle the world is said to have evolved from a chaotic mass, an ill-defined egg full of seeds. The finer parts (*yang*) became heaven the heavier parts (*yin*) earth (Encyclopaedia Brittanica). Cf. Newall (1971: 27f.): "*Nihongi*, the chronicle of Japan, a Shinto work from the eighth century BC, puts it quite clearly: 'Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated ... they formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly diffused and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became the earth'."; see the reference there.

48) A cosmic egg, upper half white lower half black, figures in Orphic creation myths, see Neumann (1974: 54, inter alia), he refers to Bachofen, J.J. (1954) Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten, Gesammelte Werke, Band 4, Basel (see index "Ei"). Unfortunately that work is not accessible to me. Allow me therefore to refer to another early study that discusses the Orphic egg, to wit, to Guthrie, W.K.C. (1935: 92-95, inter alia) Orpheus and Greek Religion, London 1952 (1935). Guthrie (1935: 254f.) refers to a Mithraic relief at Borcovicum (plate 13, see also plate 12), showing the god Mithra appearing from an egg, which, according to the Guthrie is indicative of syncretism between Orphic and Mythraic mythology. According to Staudacher (no reference) this would rather be indicative of a derivation of the Orphic egg from this Mithraic relief; mentioned in Newall (1971: 17). Guthrie dates the myth to the pre-classical stage of Greek thought; as a version is already mentioned in Aristophanes' (450-385 BC) comedy 'The Birds', the fifth century BC seems safe (Guthrie (1935: 92) quotes the story; it is interesting to note that this version states that black-winged night bore a wind-sown egg). Moreover, Damaskios, quoting Eudemos, in an unclear reference suggests that it was already part of the cosmogony of Epimenides the Cretan (end of the seventh century BC). A slightly more elaborate description of one of the many version of this myth can be found in Newall (1971: 17), "from Chaos and Ether, surrounded by night, the universe was shaped in the form of an egg, night serving as the shell. The upper part made the vault of the sky, the lower part the earth. In the centre Protogones was formed, a being symbolizing light, and hence presumably the sun ... Near Lemisso, in Cyprus, a huge stone vase, thirty feet around, supposedly represents this Orphic egg".

49) In the Kalevala Epic there is a cosmogony from eggs embedded in the story of the birth of the earth and Väinämöinen from the womb of Ilmatar, the water mother. The version recounted below apparently collates two creation myths. Ilmatar, the water mother, originally was the virginal daughter of the pure and lofty skies. She grew weary of her loneliness and was fed up with her virginal life. Therefore she decided to descend to the waters and there was made pregnant by a tempestuous gust of east wind. All swollen she continued to float on the mist-shrouded waters, yet could not give birth. When praying for relief to Ukko the Lord of Heaven, a duck appeared, looking for a place to make its nest. Ilmatar offered her knee and shoulder. The duck made its nest on her knee, laid six golden eggs and an iron one, and started hatching the eggs. Irritated by the heat from the hatching Ilmatar's knee jerked, and the eggs rolled into the water and broke into many pieces. Creation then issued forth from pieces of the eggs. This is the version recounted in the later edition of the Karelian Kalevala by Elias Lönnrot, to wit, Kalevala, Das Finnische Epos, München 1979 (1967: 5-9). In another version Väinämöinen floats on the primeval waters and the nest is made on his knee

(thus it is, for instance, summarised in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, see also the excerpt in Hellbom (1963: 63f.); see Hellbom (1963: 72) for a reference to different versions of the myth.

50) A creator deity created an egg containing two pairs of twins, male and female each, to develop into androgynous beings (Encyclopaedia Brittanica).

51) E.g., the myth describing how the sun is born from an egg laid by a Nile-goose (mate of Seb, the gander god of the earth), see Kees, H. (1941: 307) Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten, in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft, Bd.45, Leipzig; reference from Neumann (1974: 208). For more information and references regarding this theme see Newall (1971: 7f.).

52) I tried as much as possible to provide examples that have not yet been discussed in the studies mentioned below, to which I should like to refer here for further references. Hellbom (1963) gives a quite comprehensive survey of the geographical and cultural spread of the different forms of myths and other stories regarding an extraordinary generation from eggs. See also Newall (1971: 1-44, inter alia) and Seele (1995: 9) for a general overview, (1995: 52) Indian material, (1995: 60) *Pan-gu* myth, (1995: 65-67) *Ge-sar*, (1995: 73-75) *Naxi* material from Rock (1937: 5-83), (1995: 135) conspectus, and Anhang (1995: 40) more Indian material, (1995: 142f.) more *Naxi* material from Rock (1947).

53) See Hellbom (1963: 64f.). She distinguishes four categories, the cosmic or world egg, the man or mankind egg, the god or hero egg, and the magic egg.

54) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 248f.), Karmay refers to the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* .

55) Karmay refers to the *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i 'grel chen*.

56) See also Kværne (1987).

57) NB. those of the (following) dates that are preceded with a "K: No.#" derive from Karmay (1977), "No.#" indicates the number of entry in Karmay's catalogue. Please note, no original work from my side has been spent on these dates, the reader be referred to the sources mentioned.

58) K: No.1, a *gter ma* of either gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035), gNyan ston(/mtheng) Shes-rab rdo-rje (discovery 1067), or rMa ston Srid 'dzin (b. 1092), edition: Tenzin Namdak, Dolanji 1966, see appendix. See also *sNang srid bon gyi mdzod phug thams cad 'byung ba'i sgo mo*; edition: Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1973.

59) *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*, Beijing 1997 (1996).

60) Tenzin Namdak (1966: 6.5-16), *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*. Edition: Dolanji 1966, together with *mDzod sgra 'grel* commentary, see the appendix.

61) K: No.1, attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (eighth century AD), probably rediscovered by rMa-ston Srid-'dzin (b. 1092). Edition: Tenzin Namdak, Dolanji 1966, together with root-text, see the appendix.

62) Preface: attributed to mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415). Edition: Khedup Gyatso, Dolanji 1982, see the appendix.

63) Preface: commentary attributed to 'A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1198-1263). Edition: Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1973.

64) Written by a Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, i.e., dGa' ston Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (14th century AD)? Edition: Tashi Dorji(?), Dolanji.

65) K: No.11.3, a *gter ma* discovered by Gyer-mi nyi-'od in 1108. Edition: Dolanji?.

66) Read: *stang*?, see *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*, Beijing 1997 (1996), under *dbyal mo*.

67) See the long lists of epithets in the part preceding what is presented here.

68) Here *gdug pa* would indeed, as Seele suggests, be preferable to *dug (pa)*.
69) Seele correctly emends *rgyang par*, in accordance with the *Nyi zer sgron ma* (66.4: *rkyal bu*), to *rkyal par*.
70) Read: *zer*, *zer ma* would translate as droplets, cf. the following *'od zer*.
71) I am not sure about this translation.
72) I am following general custom of translation, I am not sure about the exact meaning of *bdar sha* here, see also *dar cha*, *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru*, 1986: 4.19, *Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang*, Lhasa. It is explicitly circumscribed as *bar gyi sgo nga'i dar cha*, that is, between the egg-shell (*sgong shun*, line 18) and liquid contents (*sgong chu*, line 19).
73) Cf. the *mDzod sgra 'grel*, 1966: 54.4. Probably both have to be negated as in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*, then the relevant distinction is whether the deities kiss or not when they mate, not whether the noses get wet or not (as Seele translates). Moreover it seems that *kyang* would not make much sense without the first part being negated as well.
74) Seele emends *blan (par)* in all instances to *rlan (par)*, also in the *mDzod sgra 'grel* (1966: 54.4 and 5) and in the *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba* (NB., reading *klan par* (1966: 69.7) and *glan par* (1966: 70.6) successively, instead of *blan par/ rlan par*). The only occurrences of *rlan par* in this context occur in the late *gZi brjid* (Vol.II: 449.4: *rlan pa ru*) and in the *Nyi zer sgron ma* (67.3: *brlan nas*), which is possibly also later than the *gSang ba bsen thub*. I would hesitate to recommend the suggested substitution without further evidence supporting the reading *rlan*, not in the last place given the fact that it doesn't yield a better translation.
75) Read: *sgong nga nang gi ....*
76) Seele correctly emends *dmig pa* to *rmig pa*.
77) Read: *zer*, as above.
78) Read: *'bo ba*.
79) Read: *nyi khri cig stong*.
80) Cf. the *mDar-gsas* in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*.
81) Read: *nang gi snying po*.
82) I follow Seele in reading *kha* as *kha dog*.
83) As Seele (1995: 87, note 62) points out, the *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba*, (1995: 70.1), reads, Srid-rje 'Brang-dkar, sKos-rje 'brang-dkar, Phywa-rje Ring-dkar here.
84) I am following general custom of translation, I am not sure about the exact meaning of *bdar sha* here, see also *dar cha*.
85) *gSang ba bsen thub rgyud*, (14.5 - 17.1).
86) K: (No.20) written by A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1198-1263) on the behest of the *gter ston* dByil-ston (dPon-gsas) Khyung-rgod (1175-?) in the monastery of gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha. Edition: Dolanji?
87) K: No.22, said to be written by sKyabs-kyi ston-pa Rin-chen 'od-zer (1353-?) in 1391 (that is, if the date of birth is correct) most probably in dBang-ldan lhun-grub sgang in Tshang (lhun gyis grub pa'i khang bzang), on behest of two prince brothers, dPal-ldan-sa and dPon-chen gYung-drung-'bum of bTsan-la, a principality in rGya-rong. Edition: Yongdzin Sangye Tenzin, Dolanji 1973.
88) K: No.63, *gter ma* by Bra-bo sgom-nyag from Tsong-ka bka'-gnyen mtsho-nag, attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (eighth century AD). Based on the mention of his fourth successor, Khyung-po blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (15th century AD?) in the

colophon, Seele concludes the *gter ston* must have lived before the fourteenth century AD. Edition: Dolanji?.

89) Preface: a *gter ma* attributed to rMa-ston Shes-rab seng-ge (twelfth century AD). Edition: Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1974, together with commentary.

90) The root-text, 1974: 4.2, reads *rin po che u sdong*, which the commentary, 1974: 163.5, explains as: *rin chen un ni dung sgong gcig*, Seele (1995: 98, note 123) in my opinion correctly connects this to the *Zhang-zhung* word for conch, *un*.

91) See previous note.

92) See 1974: 4.1-5.

93) See especially 1974: 2.3f..

94) Preface: commentary by Bru-ston bSod-nams blo-gros (1277-1341). Edition: Tashi Dorje, Dolanji 1974, together with root-text.

95) K: No.8, a *gter ma* that is said to have been discovered first by A-tsa-ra mi gsum, the three *Ācāryas*, at *bSam-yas* in 913 (later it was supposedly discovered by Shu-bon dge-bsnyen). Edition: Dolanji.

96) See 445.3 - 446.4; text from Seele (1995: 91).

97) K: No.3, attributed to dMu-tsha Gyer-med (8th century AD), orally transmitted to Blo-ldan snying-po (b. 1360). Edition: Dolanji 1978.

98) The text, like the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*, reads, head bent noses not involved, possibly to be emended to, not kissing, i.e., head *not* bent noses not involved.

99) See 444.7 - 445.4 and 449.4 - 450.1; text from Seele (1995: 101f.).

100) Probably to be dated to the thirteenth century AD, parts might be older, see Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998a: 258f.). Edition as in Karmay (1998a).

101) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998a: 264, note 77).

102) Following Karmay I read *phrom* instead of *phrum*.

103) Following Karmay I read *bya glag* instead of *bya blar*.

104) Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998a: 245-281).

105) Part of which is attributed to Byang-chub 'dre-bkol (968-1076), part (the *Situ bka' chems*) to Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364), other parts might be composed in the seventeenth century; see Martin (1997, entries 2 and 65). Edition: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Lhasa 1986, as in Seele (1995).

106) Indicating their poorer quality?

107) I am not sure about this translation.

108) See 1986: 4.17 - 5.9; text from Seele (1995: 64).

109) See Rock (1937.5-83), relevant parts presented (in simplified form) in Seele (1995: 73-75).

110) Attributed to mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415).

111) See 253.4-7; text from Seele (1995: 104f.).

112) K: No.2, attributed to Grub-chen bsTan-'dzin rin-chen (b. 1801). Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1973, see also Norbu, N. and Prats, R. (1989).

113) The text consulted is not the Dolanji one but the edition in Norbu, N. and Prats, R. (1989: 12-14 (text-edition) and 111-113 (translation)).

114) See especially her arrangement of the texts into chapters, see also her tentative conclusions (1995: 130-135).

115) In most cases where cultural areas do not have a clear interface of exchange, 'convergence' would definitely be a more useful hypothesis than 'borrowing'.

116) The theme only appears in a fairly indirect manner, in that the universe is likened to an egg, see Hellbom (1963: 67).

117) Often focusing on a golden egg, strongly associated with the sun, producing a creator deity or first man (see, e.g., the evidence adduced by Newall (1971: 11-14)), yet other themes, such as the creation of heaven and earth from two parts of the egg also occur (e.g. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* II.19.1-3).

118) The mythologeme, apart from the Yakut story adduced above, does not seem to be very prominent in North Central Asia at all, see Hellblom (1963: 90 and 99).

119) The direction of influence would in the case of the *Pan-gu*-story rather seem to be the other way round; see the note regarding Chinese versions of the origin-egg myth at the beginning of this section.

120) Apart from the instances mentioned above, e.g. for China, another brief but telling example regarding the *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags* thematic strand will be discussed below.

121) See Karmay (Three Sacred Bon Dances (*'Cham*), 1998[a]: 195-197, especially 197), please note the reference should be corrected to Karmay (1977), No.*29*, 13-19.

122) I shall not discuss the concrete *bSen thub* quotes and their (lack of) relation to the *Khro bo dbang chen* here.

123) Stein (1959: 21f.), he refers to an edition of the *rGya le'u* of Gling Ge-sar that I do not have at my disposal, to wit to 176a - 178b, the passage is also discussed in Seele (1995: 66).

124) Probably to be dated to the thirteenth century AD, parts might be older (Karmay, The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 258f.).

125) See the discussion under C1 above.

126) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 264f., Tibetan on 274f.).

127) This story was told by Lukin Aleksandr, Feb. 11th 1925, and recorded by G.F. Ksenofontov (1955: 156f.).

128) About possible authorship of (parts of) this text more is said above.

129) See of the edition of the *gNod sbyin rgyal chen sku lnga 'khor bcas* in the J. van Manen Collection, Inv.No.Br.79/H191: 2v̇.1-4. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 102), he refers to 13a(r) of his edition.

130) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 300-303). He refers to the *Byang gter sri mnan yi dam drag po gang la'ang sbyar du rung ba'i lag len 'don 'gregs dkyus gcig tu bsdebs pa 'bar ba'i brjid gnon thog brtsegs* (16 folios), 8v, the work is said to have been composed by Padma gar-dbang-rtsal in rDo-rje thugs kyi rdzong.

131) Nebesky-Wojkowitz reads: *sgo lnga bcu gsum* (1965: 300).

132) The pig-headed demons are mentioned twice. At present I have no access to the text and therefore cannot check the original.

133) Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956:290, see also 286 and 309); not having access to a complete version I have not checked the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* regarding this myself and rely on the account of the author.

134) Briefly mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph in the discussion of the egg-theme, see résumé and references there.

135) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 171 and 252).

136) Please note that in the texts presented below I try to maintain the orthographic peculiarities and mistakes of the originals, without attempting to emend them. Critical editions have been (and partially are in the process of being) prepared, but, since this

apparatus is not relevant to our present concern, the quite lengthy annotation is not included here.

Appendix

dbal mo nyer bdun skor g-yung drung bon gyi dpe gzhung las phyogs bsdus byas pa//by dge bshes shes rab grags pa, sman ri dgon pa[1], 1998

ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo'i skor

11) mdzod sgra 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 53 las/ klong las g-yu mtsho sngon mor srid ces pa/ 'byung ba rgyu lnga klong las zil dang char du srid/ de la phyi'i rgya mtsho ru srid do/ de las srid pa'i smon dang sems can gyi las dbang gis/ mtsho dbus dbyal ma mo zhig srid ces pa/ mtsho de la rlung gis skyod pas/ lbu ba gur tsam pa zhig byung / de las 'od sgong sngon por byung / sgong nga rang gis rang brtol pas/ g-yu'i bud med sngon mo la/ 'thing[2] gi mchan ltas bdun du brtsegs pa zhig byung ngo / chu lcags rgyal mo srid pa'i yum zhes pa/ yab sangs po 'bum khris ming btags pa/ sko ba chu lcags rgyal mo zhes dang bya/ [54] chab shang 'phrul mo zhes kyang bya/ bzang za ring btsun zhes kyang bya/ srid pa'i rgyal mo zhes kyang bya/ sa trig er ti zhes kyang bya/ zhes dang /

8) mkha' klong gsang ba'i mdos gzhung dpe gzugs can shog grangs 169 las/ ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ ma zhes bya ba kun 'byung yum/ gcig zhes[3] bya ba nyag gcig sems/ [170] srid zhes[4] bya ba snod bcud gzhi/ rgyal zhes bya ba kun 'phags pas/ mo zhes bya ba 'byung ba'i gnas/ zhes dang /

9) mdzod 'grel 'phrul gyi sgron me dpe gzugs can shogs grangs 38 las/ phan byed yum gyi srid tshul ni/ klong nas g-yu mtsho sngon mo srid/ mtsho dbus dbyal mo gcig srid pa/ chu lcam rgyal mo'am srid pa'i yum/ zhes pa [39] 'byung ba lnga'i klong las zil dang char du srid/ de las chu'i rgya mtsho ru srid/ de las srid pa'i smon lam dang sems can gyi las dbang gi mtsho'[5] dbus su dbyal mo ma gcig[6] srid/ dran pas gsungs so/ la las mchog mtsho yin gsungs so/ sangs po yab kyis mtshan chu lcam rgyal mo zhes btags so/ srid pa 'go nas bshad bzhin yum don mthun no/ zhes dang /

5) bskang 'bum bam po dang po nang - mkha' klong bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 496 las/ ma gcig[7] srid pa'i rgyal mo mthu mo che/ zhal gsum phyag drug dmar nag rngams pa'i sku/ dbal gtor bdud rtsi sman gyis thugs dam bskang / g-yas dkar g-yon dmar dbus zhal mthing la nag/ khams gsum bsgral ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang/ phyag drug mtshon chas rgyu drug rtsad nas gcod [497] yul shes rang grol mchod pas thugs dam bskang / zhabs bzhis bdud bzhi skye rga na 'chi gnon/ chu bzhi bsgral ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang / mi dred bcibs nas stong gsum yud la bskor/ dam sri bskral[8] ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang / zhes dang /

5) bskang 'bum bam po gnyis pa nang - srid rgyal dre'u dmar mo'i bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 130 las/ ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ phyi rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ gnam phyi gung rgyal mthu mo che/ dkar mo 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / ? chibs su shel gyi khyung chen bcibs/ srid gsum zil gnon mthu mo che/ gshen rab ston pa'i bka' nyan ma/ sngon gyi thugs dam ji bzhin du/ gsang ba'i gnas 'dir gshegs su gsol/ 'dod yon mchod pas thugs dam bskang / ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ nang rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ nam mkha' khams kyi dbyings phyug ma/ smug nag 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / chibs su g-yu'i khyung chen bcibs/ khams gsum dbang bsdud mthu mo che/ khri zhi nam ting bka' nyan [131] ma/ sngon gyi thugs dam ji bzhin du / gsang ba'i gnas 'dir bdud rtsi sman gyis thugs dam bskang / ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ gsang rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ yon tan kun 'byung dpal ldan mo/ mthing nag 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / chibs su dre'u rta rkang gsum bcibs/ stong gsum 'dul ba'i mthu mo che/ gsang ba 'dus pa'i bka' nyan ma/ sngon gyi thugs dam ji gsang ba'i gnas 'dir gshegs rmad 'byung gtor mas thugs dam bskang//

? bstan srung yongs kyi gtso mo'i phyi nang gsang gi mtshan			
mtshan		**'khor**	**bcibs pa**
phyi	gnam phyi gung rgyal mthu mo che	dkar mo 'bum	shel gyi khyung chen
nang	nam mkha' khams kyi dbyings phyug ma	smug nag 'bum	g-yu'i khyung chen
gsang	yon tan kun 'byung dpal ldan mo	mthing nag 'bum	dre'u rta rkang gsum

yang 5) bskang 'bum bam po dang po nang - mkha' klong bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 592 las/ bswo srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gran gyi zla med ma/ lha za mtshan drug srid pa kun gyi yum/ [593] log rtogs[9] zhi ba'i ngang du rdzogs tsam na/ bzang za ring btsun lha mo dar gyi yum/ gsas mkhar rgyas pa'i gtso mo mdzad tsam na/ sa trig er sangs rgyal mo dbyings kyis[10] yum/ mkha' 'gying lha'i sgrol yum mdzad tsam na/ srid pa'i rgyal mo gzhan gyi 'gran zla med/ gnam bdud klu dbang zil gyi gnon tsam na/ gnam phyi gung rgyal srid pa'i dbang mo che/ skye 'gro srid pa'i wa mo[11] mdzad tsam na/ chu lcam rgyal mo srid pa'i yum gcig ma/ lha mchog thugs kyis[12] gsang yum mdzad tsam na/ mkha' la gdug mo ba ga srid pa'i yum/ lha za mtshan drug mtshan nas bso tsam na/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dbyings nas sku bskyod la/ ye shes rdzu 'phrul las kyis[13] spar ma rnams/ rang dbang med par yum gyi bzhes thob la/ [594] 'dir gshegs tha tshigs[14] sha khrag dmar la spyon/

? bstan srung yongs kyi gtso mo'i zhi rgyas dbang drag gi mtshan	
zhi ba	bzang za ring btsun
rgyas pa	sa trig er sangs
dbang	gnam phyi gung rgyal
drag po	chu lcam rgyal mo

7) sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 4 las/ bswo ma cig[15] dus drug drag tu khros pa'i tshe/ srod la nam mkha' khros tshul srog gcod ma/ nag mo dgu khri las kyi bran du 'khol/ bskang rten rdzas kyis gnas 'dir thugs dam bskang / bdud mo khram kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur! nam gong[16] sngon mo gtum tshul gzhen 'debs ma/ sngon mo dgu khri las kyi bran du 'khol/ skang rten rdzas= srin mo'i za kha sdang ba'i dgra la [5] sgyur/ tho rangs dkar mo mdangs ldan dbang sdud ma/ dkar mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten rdzas= lha mo'i dbu yog sdang ba'i dgra la= nyi shar ser mo 'jigs tshul 'od 'phro ma/ ser mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten rdzas= sman mo'i gdug gtsub sdang ba'i nyin byed[17] dmar mo mdangs ldan bkra gsal ma/ dmar mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten= mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad sdang ba'i= phyi 'phrad smug mo rngam tshul zer gsal ma/ smug mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten= klu mo'i dal yams sdang ba'i = yum chen khro mo sde drug 'khor dang bcas/ gzugs sgra dri ro reg rgyan bon gter dang / sna tshogs skang rdzas 'dod yon tshang pa 'dis/ dus drug sprul pa yum gyi thugs dam bskang / khyed kyi thugs dam dbyings su bskangs nas kyang / mi mthun bar chod sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur/ gshen gyi bka' [5 rgyab] srungs sgrub gshen 'khor 'dabs spel// zhes dang /

4) dbal gsas las rim sku bstod dpe gzugs can 254 las/ nam gung sngon mo'i chas su 'jug/ sngon mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma [255] 'gyed! tho rangs dkar mo'i chas su 'jug-dkar mo dgu khri'[18] dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ nyi shar ser mo'i chas su 'jug/ ser mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ nyi phyed[19] dmar mo'i chas su 'jug/ dmar mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ phyi 'phrad smug mo'i chas su 'jug/ smug mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed// rin chen sku ni gar yang mi bskyod de// thugs kyi sprul pas snang srid phyogs bcur khyab/ zhes dang /

2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can 373 la'ang gsal ba ltar dbal gsas las rim dang 'dra mtshungs yin pas ma bris so/

? dus drug sprul pa yum chen khro mo sde drug ni/				
dus tshod	**sku yi rnam 'gyur**	**gsang mtshan**	**bran 'khor**	**byed las**
srod mtshan 20-21 khyi	nag mo khros tshul	srog gcod ma	nag mo dgu khri las kyi bran	bdud mo khram kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba
nam gong nyin 18-19 yos	sngon mo gtum tshul	gzhen 'debs ma	sngon mo dgu khri las kyi bran	srin mo'i za kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba
tho rangs mtshan 4-5 stag	dkar mo mdangs ldan	dbang sdud ma	dkar mo dgu khri las kyi bran	lha mo'i dbu yog sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba
nyi shar nyin 8-9 'brug	gser mo 'jigs tshul	'od 'phro ma	ser mo dgu khri las kyi bran	sman mo'i gdug gtsub sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur

nyin phyed nyin 12-13 rta	dmar mo mdangs ldan	bkra gsal ma	dmar mo dgu khri las kyi bran	mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
phyi 'phrod nyin 14-15 lug	smug mo rngam tshul	zer gsal ma	smug mo dgu khri las kyi bran	klu mo'i dal yams sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur

yang 7) sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 5 las/ bswo ma cig[20] bka' blon 'byung bzhi'i rgyal mo bzhi/ sa sman ne slas rgyal mo g-yung drung ston sa yi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= sa las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs/ ne slas mkhris pa'i dal yams dgra la sgyur/ rlung sman li sman rgyal mo 'khor lo bsgyur/ rlung gi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= rlung las gyur pa'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs/ li mun rlung gi nad sna dgra la sgyur/ me sman tshangs stang rgyal mo padma gsal/ me yi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= me las gyur pa'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs/ tshangs stang tsha rims sdang ba'i dgra= chu sman ting nam rgyal mo rin chen gter/ chu yi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= chu las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs/ ting [6] nam rba 'khrug dal yams dgra=/

? dus bzhi dbang du bsgyur ba ma gcig bka' blon 'byung bzhi'i rgyal mo bzhi ni/			
mtshan	**phyogs rtags**	**sprul pa**	**byed las**
sa sman ne slas rgyal mo	g-yung drung	sa yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	sa las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs ne slas mkhris pa'i dal yams dgra la sgyur ba
rlung sman li sman rgyal mo	'khor lo	rlung gi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	rlung las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs li mun rlung gi nad sna dgra la sgyur ba
me sman tshangs stang rgyal mo	pad ma	me yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	me las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs tshangs stangs tsha rams sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba
chu sman ting nam rgyal mo	rin chen	chu yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	chu las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs ting nam rba 'khrug dal yams dgra la sgyur ba

yang 4) gze gyad spar gsum grol tshul lung las phyogs bsdud byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can shog grangs 264 las/ bswo mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa dang / srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gren[21] gyi zla med ma/ bar snang sgra yi nang du gnyis med thabs

kyi rol pa las/ dbal gyi sgo nga nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / dbal gsas rngam pa thugs kyi pho nya mo/ zhes dang /

3) zhi khro rtsa gsum gyi zlog bsgyur dpung gi mchong dpe gzugs can shog grangs 667 las/ ma cig[22] srid pa'i rgyal mo dang % khro chen gsung gis[23] rdzu 'phrul las% gnam gyis[24] lha rgod thog pa gnyis% thabs dang yid kyi sprul pa las% dbal gyi sgo nga nyi shu rtsa bdun% dang po ye shes gze ma dgu% de 'og rdzu 'phrul gyad mo dgu% tha chung las kyi spar ma dgu% gze ma dgu ni rje mo'i tshul% gyad mo dgu ni blon mo'i tshul% byin te dgu ni 'bangs mo'i tshul% zhes dang /

yang 8) mkha' klong gsang mdos dpe gzugs can shog grangs 197 las/ bswo ri rab bang rim dang po la// dbal mo gyi ma mo rtsa bdun bskangs/ ma cig[25] bde 'gro gsang ba'i/ sgal tshig[26] nyi shu rtsa bdun la/ ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun sprul/ rje blon 'bangs kyi tshul du bskang / zhes dang /

2) khro gzhung gze rtags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 540 las/ thugs rjes gnyis med thabs kyis rol pa ni/ dbal gsas rngam pa thugs kyi sprul pa las/ mi zad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa dang / ! [541] bar snang sgra yi nang du rol pa[27] mdzad du gsol/ ôṃ rol par mdzad par 'grub thabs kyi rol par mdzad pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / zhes dang/

yang 11) mdzod sgra 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 54 las/ sangs po chu lcags gnyis srid pas zhes pa/ de yang kun rdzob tu yab dang yum la smos kyang / don dam par thabs dang shes rab tu gnas pa'o/ yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 59 las/ gnam phyi lha rgod sprul pa las/ dgu gsum nyi shu rtsa bdun byung zhes [60] pa! bla'i gcen dgu ni dbyings ye shes kyi gze ma mgo dgu/ bar kyi tshigs dgu ni mkha' klong gi gyad mo stobs chen ma dgu/ 'og gi gcung dgu ni/ las thabs kyi thang mo byin te dgu/ ma btsun kun gyi rje mo mdzad cing / g-yung drung bon gyi dmu thag gyen du 'dren/ bstan pa srung ba'i spar ma lags so/ de yang don du khams chen po bco brgyad kyi 'od zer ro/ zhes dang /

yang 5) bskang 'bum bam po dang po nang - mkha' klong bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 590 las/ gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje/ sku ni sprul pa cir yang ston/ dbyings dgu klong gi nam mkha' las/ thugs rje byams ma sprul pa'i yum/ rlung srin[28] 'khrug pa'i gsas mkhar du / 'byung ba'i sgra las sprul pa la/ ye shes rdzu 'phrul las grub pa'i/ spa ma[29] nyi shu rtsa bdun 'byung / zhes dang /
2) zhi khro ye shes bskang rdzogs gsang 'dus thugs bcud dpe gzugs can shog grangs 229 las/ dmar tshogs byin chung phud nyams lhag ma shor/ dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad tshogs la mthol bshags/ zhes dang / yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 214 las/ phyi nang dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad dgongs su gsol/ nam mkha' dbyings kyi pho brang nas/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dgongs su gsol/ 'dzin byed gze ma ma dgu dgongs su gsol/ stobs ldan gyad mo ma dgu dgongs su gsol/ srog len spar ma ma dgu dgongs su gsol/ dmar tshogs byin gyi thugs dam bskang / zhes dang / yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 224 las/ bka' nyan las kyi gsas mkhar nas/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dbang grub ma/ gze gyad spar ma pho nya gyad kyi tshogs/ dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad dgongs su gsol/ zhes dang /

6) skyabs ston khro 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 330 las/ gnyis pa la 'gyur ba med pa yab kyi mkha' dang / yang dog med pa yum gyi klong dkyil te/ yab yum rol pa[30] mdzad pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung ces pa ltar skyed pa'i gnas so/ gong gi spyan drang ltar 'dir yang phyi nang gi gzhal yas dang sbyar ba te/ gnyis med ni las kyi sems dpa' stag lha'i gsung gi me tog la sogs lus kyi gnas dgu la/ gnam yol gyi thig pa ltar bshad pa'o/ de ltar yang don 'di sgrub pa'i gshen po gang yin pa de'i lus kyi gnas dgu'o/ thugs rje sprul pa dbang gi gsas mkhar ni/ gsas mkhar gnyen po de'i phyi rim gyi bar 'khyam khrag mtsho yin la/ de dag so so'i ming yang thugs rje mkha' yang la sogs dbal so[31] dang rtags nas bshad pa'i ming dgu so sor sbyar ro/ de kun gyi yod lugs spyad[32] nas/ srid rgyal dang mnyam pa'i nyer brgyad yod pa de la/ gtso mo'i bstod gnas gzhal yas dbus kyi dus su glo bur dkar po shar du bshad pa'o/

? gze gyad spar gsum gyi sa bon bcas				
gze gyad spar gsum	**sa bon**	**tshul**	**sprul pa**	**yang na**
gze ma dgu	ma	rje mo'i tshul	gtso mo'i sku yi sprul pa	ye shes kyi sprul pa
gyad mo dgu	dza	blon po'i tshul	gtso mo'i gsung gi sprul pa	rdzu 'phrul gyi sprul pa
spar ma dgu	bhyo	'bang mo'i tshul	gtso mo'i thugs kyi sprul pa	las kyi sprul pa

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i sku yi sprul pa/

yang 4) gze ma dgu grol tshul gyi lung phyogs bsdus byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can shog grangs 264 las/ dbal gyi sgo nga dang po dgu brdol ba/ mi bzad dbal gyi gze ma mgo dgu byung / zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 376 las/ thabs kyis rol pa mdzad pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / dbal gsas rngam pa thugs rje pho nya mo/ srid pa'i sgo nga dang po dgu brdol ba/ mi bzad dbal gyi gze ma mgo dgu ste zhes gsungs so/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung gze rtags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 541 las/ ôṃ bar snang kun grags sgra yi sgra rgyal 'brug gi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus sngon mo 'brug gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab gsung gi sgra las sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sgra las sprul par 'grub gyur cig/ sgra rgyal 'brug gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i rgyal khams 'khrugs par byed pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 'khrugs par byed par 'grub= sku mdog sngon mo g-yu yi rang bzhin ni/ nam mkha' g-yu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= chu srin lag g-yab[33] g-yob cing 'o dod 'bod pa ni/ dgra bgegs myur du dbang du sdud pa'i rtags/ [542] ôṃ dbang du sdud par 'grub= lcags kyi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i sha la za ba'i rtags/ ôṃ sha la za

bar 'grub= ôṃ 'brug lcam kun grags ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ bskal pa rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gsas mkhar na/ g-yo 'gul rlung gi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus ljang nag sbrul gyi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab dbugs kyi sgo nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sgo nas sprul par 'grub= gdug pa sbrul gyi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bgegs tsi rta rtsad nas 'dren pa'i rtags/ ôṃ rtsad nas 'dren par 'grub gyur cig/ sku mdog ljang nag 'tsher ba'i rang bzhin ni/ gdug pa dug gi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbal dang ldan par 'grub= khyung gi gshog pa [543] 'phyar zhing bar snang mkha' la rlobs pa ni/ dgra bo theg pa'i gzhung la bskyon pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gzhung la skyon par 'grub= dung gi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i rus la 'cha' ba'i rtags/ ôṃ rus la 'cha' bar 'grub= ôṃ sbrul lcam gdug pa mo la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ bdud kyi ri nag 'joms pa'i gsas mkhar na/ 'chi bdag bdag[34] bdud kyi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus nag mo skyung ka'i mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab ltag pa'i rgyas nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ rgyas nas sprul par 'grub= dmar 'byin skyung ka'i mgo bo btags pa ni! dgra bgegs mig srog gting nas 'dren pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gting nas 'dren par 'grub= sku mdog nag mo mun ka'i rang bzhin [544] ni! bkrag med bdud kyi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbal dang ldan par 'grub= zangs kyi spar shad gdengs shing 'dzin tshul ston pa ni! dgra bo'i bla 'khyams 'dzin nas yong ba'i rtags/ ôṃ bzung na[35] yong bar 'grub= gnam lcags phur chen dbal dang chas pa ni! bsgril zhing dgra bo'i snying la 'debs pa'i rtags/ ôṃ snying la 'debs par 'grub= ôṃ bdud lcam rma lo ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ! ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ byin chen ri rgyal lhun po'i gsas mkhar na/ stobs ldan seng ge'i sgra las gcig brtol ba/ mi lus dkar mo seng ge'i mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab sku stod gdengs nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gdeng nas sprul par 'grub= rtsal chen seng ge'i mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra yul [545] nad kyi sa bon 'debs pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sa bon 'debs par 'grub= sku mdog dkar mo dung gi rang bzhin ni/ 'od gsal lha yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= mtshal thag dmar po sdog cing dbu la 'ching ba ni/ dgra bo'i srog rtsa dbu la 'ching ba'i rtags/ ôṃ dbu la 'ching bar 'grub= lcags kyi bya ru dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i snying rtsa gcod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ snying rtsa gcod par 'grub gyur= ôṃ seng lcam stobs mo che la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ dbal khang gnam sgo can gyi gsas mkhar na/ thugs nyid dbal gyi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus dmar mo dred kyi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab thugs kyi dkyil nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ thugs las [546] sprul par 'grub gyur cig/ rngam pa dred kyi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i mchan nas bu yang phrel ba'i[36] rtags/ ôṃ bu yang phral bar 'grub= sku mdog dmar mo me yi rang bzhin ni/ dbal gsas me ri'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= lcags kyi ral pa sprug cing 'phrag la rdeb pa ni/ dgra bo smyo zhing 'bog tu 'jug pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 'bog tu gzhug par 'grub= lcags kyi ral gyu[37] dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i mgo lus phrel ba'i[38] rtags/ ôṃ mgo lus phral bar 'grub= ôṃ mi mo za byed ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ thig 'dren nam mkha' kha sgrom gsas mkhar na/ rgu tshig gzhung gi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus dmar nag spyang ki'i mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung [547] ba ni/ gshen rab sgal tshig[39] gzhung las sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gzhung las sprul par 'grub= sha zan spyang ki'i mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo sha dang rus su phrel ba'i[40] rtags/ ôṃ sha rus phrel bar[41] 'grub gyur= sku mdog dmar nag skar ma'i 'od

'phro ba! gnod sbyin skar mda' dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= khra yi gshog pa mngag cing pho nyar 'gyed pa ni/ ! dgra bo bang gi lha dang phral ba'i rtags/ ôṃ lha dang phral bar 'grub= khro chu'i mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zging dgra bo'i klad pa gshog pa'i rtags/ ôṃ klad pa gshog par 'grub= ôṃ srin mo spyang bzhin ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ bskal pa sreg byed me yi gsas mkhar na/ me dpung 'bar ba'i sgra las gcig brdol pa[42] / mi [548] lus smug nag stag gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab drod kyi mthong las sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ mthong las sprul par 'grub= dpa' bo stag gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo sha khrag zas su bza' ba'i rtags/ ôṃ zas su bza' bar 'grub gyur= sku mdog smug nag bse yi bzhin thogs pa/ srid pa ma mo'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= dred kyi g-yang gzhi brdeb cing phrag la 'gel ba ni/ dgra bo gnam sa bzlog par mdzad pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gnam sa bzlog par 'grub= chu gri'i lag pa dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i don snying gcod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ don snying gcod par 'grub= ôṃ stag lcam 'bri mthing ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ mi bzad sgra rgyal 'phrul gyi [549] gsas mkhar na/ rnga dang gshang gi sgra las gcig brdol pa[43] / mi lus ser ljang khyung gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab snyan gyi mchog las sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ mchog las sprul par 'grub= rlabs chen khyung gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i khyim 'khor zas su za ba'i rtags/ ôṃ zas su za bar 'grub= sku mdog ser ljang nyi ma'i 'od 'phro ba/ gza' chen brgyad kyi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= pho dgu mo dgu rbas shing bskungs nas 'gyed pa ni! dgra bo'i blo bur hur thum gsod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ hur thum gsod par 'grub= rdzu 'phrul mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i yan lag gcod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ yan lag gcod par 'grub= ôṃ khyung lcam rlabs mo skar la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur [550] med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ôṃ thugs rje rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na/ rgya mtsho gling gi sgra las gcig brtol ba[44] ! mi lus sngo ljang chu srin mgo can 'byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab rtsa yi sbubs nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sbubs nas sprul pa 'grub gyur= kha rngam chu srin mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo bang gi lha yang dngangs pa'i rtags/ ! ôṃ lha yang bsngang bar 'grub= sku mdog sngo ljang chu yi mdog can ni/ rgya mtsho klu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= sprul pa rlung gi g-yab mos khams gsum yongs la 'debs pa ni/ dgra bo ma lus dbang du sdud pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang du bsdu bar 'grub= shel gyi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ dgra bo'i khong khrag kha ru 'jib pa'i rtags/ ôṃ kha ru gzhib par 'grub= ôṃ klu mo gdug pa mo la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// zhes dang /

1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 54 las/ srid pa'i rgyal mo sku sprul gze ma dgu/ sngon mo 'brug mgos [55] chu srin ru mtshon phyar/ ljang nag sbrul mgos khyung gi gshog pa rdeb/ nag mo rkyung mgos sbrul gyi zhag pa sdog- dkar mo seng mgos gdug pa'i rno mtshon bsnams/ dmar mo dred mgos gnam lcags ral gri phyir[45] / dmar nag spyang mgos khra gshog pho nyar 'gyed/ smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yang gzhi rdeb/ ser ljang khyung mgos khram bam dmar nag bsnams/ sngo ljang chu srin mgo can rlung g-yab 'debs/ 'jigs byed dbal gyi gze ma mgo dgu ni/ dgra bgegs bsgral ba'i gnam lcags thog mda' yin/ thams cad myur du zlog pa'i rgyal po yin/ zhes dang /

10) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i srung zlog las byang / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po dang po shog grangs 550 las/ bswo gsas mkhar bar 'khyams khrag mtsho'i dbus dkyil nas/ ma mchog sku las sprul pa'i gze ma dgu/ 'brug sbrul skyung seng dred spyang stag dang khyung / kha rngam chu srin 'jigs [551] pa'i dbu brnyen[46] can/ rang rang sprul pa 'gyed pa'i lag cha thogs/ 'jigs byed stobs chen 'bum gyi lha 'khor bcas!! zhes dang /

yang 6) skyabs ston khro 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 327 las/ rtsa ba ni gze ni gyad la 'dzin pa dang / ma ni 'brug mgo mi mo ma zhes bshad pa ltar gyi dgu ste gzhan la yang 'gre'o/ mgo dgu rtags kyi byed pa dgu dang / rdol byed dgu dang mthun pa'i mgo brnyan no/

? srid pa'i sgo nga dang po dgu las grol ba'i gze ma mgo dgu ni/		
gze ma dgu	**phyag mtshan sogs**	**sku lus mi mor byung ba'i rtags**
sngon mo 'brug gi mgo can	chu srin lag g-yas g-yob pa	gshen rab gsung gi sgra las sprul pa'i rtags
ljang nag sbrul gyi mgo can	khyung gshog mkha' la phyar ba	gshen rab dbugs kyi sgo nas sprul pa'i rtags
nag mo skyung ka'i mgo can	zangs kyi spar shad gdengs ba	gshen rab ltag pa'i rgyas nas sprul pa'i rtags
dkar mo seng ge'i mgo can	mtshal zhags dbu la bcings pa	gshen rab sku stod gdengs nas sprul pa'i rtags
dmar mo dred kyi mgo can	lcags ral sprugs cing brdeg pa	gshen rab thugs kyi dkyil nas sprul pa'i rtags
dmar nag spyang ki'i mgo can	khra gshog pho nyar 'gyed pa	gshen rab sgal tshig gzhung las sprul pa'i rtags
smug nag stag gi mgo can	dred kyi g-yang gzhi khur ba	gshen rab drod kyi mthong las sprul pa'i rtags
ser ljang khyung gi mgo can	pho mo skung nas 'gyed pa	gshen rab snyan gyi mchog las sprul pa'i rtags
sngo ljang chu srin mgo can	rlung g-yab stong gsum g-yob pa	gshen rab rtsa yi sbubs nas sprul pa'i rtags

NB. Table continues next.

? srid pa'i sgo nga dang po dgu las grol ba'i gze ma mgo dgu ni/		
dbu brnyan gyi rtags	**sku mdog**	**phyag mtshan gyi rtags**

dgra bo'i rgyal khams 'khrugs par byed pa'i rtags	nam mkha' g-yu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bgegs myur du dbang du sdud pâ'i rtags
dgra bgegs tsi rta rtsad nas 'dren pa'i rtags	gdug pa dug gi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo thog pa'i gzhung la bskyon pa'i rtags
dgra bgegs mig srog gting nas 'dren pa'i rtags	bkrag med bdud kyi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo bla 'khyams 'dzin nas yongs pa'i rtags
dgra yul nad kyi sa bon 'debs pa'i rtags	'od gsal lha yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo srog rtsa dbu la 'ching ba'i rtags
dgra bo'i mchan nas bu yang 'phrel ba'i rtags	dbal gsas me ri'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo smyo zhing 'bog tu 'jug pa'i rtags
dgra bo'i sha dang rus su 'phrel ba'i rtags	gnod sbyin skar mda' dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo pang gi lha dang phral ba'i rtags
dgra bo'i sha khrag zas su bza' ba'i[47] rtags	srid pa ma mo dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo gnam sa bzlog par mdzad pa'i rtags
dgra bo'i khyim 'khor zas su za ba'i rtags	gza' chen brgyad kyi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo blo bur myur thub gsod pa'i rtags
dgra bo'i bang gi lha yang dngangs pa'i rtags	rgya mtsho klung gi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo ma lus dbang du sdud pa'i rtags

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i gsung gi sprul pa/

yang 4) gyad mo dgu grol tshul lung las phyogs bsdus byas pa/ dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim dpe gzugs can 271 las/ bswo srid pa'i sgo nga bar ma dgu brdol pa[48] / mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[49] / dbal g-yag ngar ba'i dgra las gcig brdol pa[50] / mi lus 'gying ma 'brong gi mgo bo can/ 'brong gi ru g-yug sdang pa'i[51] dgra la 'gyed/ 'brong skad ngar ba 'don zhing gshegs su gsol/ 'gying ma stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[52] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du [271 rgyab] rlogs/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[53] / lha ri spos mchog rtse la gcig brdol pa[54] / mi lus dkar mo bya rgod mgo bo can/ rgod kyi rje phur mngag cing dgra la 'gyed/ lha yi ru mtshon phyar zhing gshegs su gsol/ kang ka stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[55] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ ring par[56] khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[57] / nag po klu yi sgra las gcig brdol pa[58] / gtum chen mi bzad dom gyi mgo bo can/ dom gyi gtum tshul 'jigs pa dgra la 'gyed/ klu yi pho nyar 'gyed kyin gshegs [272] su gsol/ gtum mo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[59] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[60] / za mkhan ma mo'i sgra las gcig brdol pa[61] / mi lus stobs ldan glang po'i mgo bo can/ sa la 'phang rdo blang zhing dgra la 'phen/ sa srin g-yang gzhi brdabs kyin gshegs su gsol/ stobs ldan glang mgo 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[62] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[63] / skye dang btsan gyi [272 rgyab] sgra las cig brdol pa[64] / mi lus sngon mo gzig gi mgo bo can/ btsan zhags khra bo dgra la mda' ltar 'phen/ btsan zhag khra bo

bsdogs kyin gshegs su gsol/ gzig mgo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[65] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[66] / ngar chen 'brug gi sgra las cig brdol pa[67] / mi lus ser ljang 'ug pa'i mgo bo can/ 'jigs pa'i skad kyis dgra la ltas ngan skyel/ gad rgyang ha ha rgod kyin gshegs su gsol/ rkan sgra stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[68] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du [273] bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du bsgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[69] / gsal 'khyug glog gi sgra las cig brdol pa[70] / mi lus dmar mo mgyogs byed khra yi mgo bo can/ drag po khra yi dpung zur dgra la brdeg/ dgra bo'i bla 'khyams 'gugs kyin gshegs su gsol/ mgyogs byed stobs ldan 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[71] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[72] / lha chen gsa' yi sgra las cig brdol pa[73] / mi lus skya bkra gsa' yi mgo bo can/ dred kyi lag pa thogs nas g-yab [273 rgyab] mo 'debs/ dgra bgegs srog la rgol zhing gshegs su gsol/ gdug mo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[74] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[75] ! phyag mtshan g-yas kyi sgra las cig brdol pa[76] / mi lus dmar nag phag rgod mgo bo cán/ phag rgod mche ba bdar zhing dgra sha za/ sngon dmar gru gu bsdogs kyin gshegs su gsol/ dmig ngan stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[77] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad stobs chen dbal [274] gyi gyad mo dgu/ dam tshig bsnyan pa'i[78] las la gshegs su gsol// thugs rje sprul pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ dgra dpung bshigs pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ bdud dpung gzhom pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ bstan pa bsrung ba'i don la gshegs su gsol/ rdzu 'phrul thabs dang ldan te gshegs su gsol/ nga ro sgra dang chas te gshegs su gsol/ mo mtshon dbal dang chas te gshegs su gsol// zhes dang /

yang 1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 56 las srid pa'i rgyal mo/ ma cig[79] srid rgyal gsung sprul gyad mo dgu/ dmar ser 'brong mgos 'brong gi ru skyogs 'dzin/ dkar mo rgod mgos lha yi ru mtshon phyar/ nag mo dom mgos sbrul nag zhags pa sdogs/ ser mo glang mgos sa srin g-yang gzhi rdebs/ sngon mo gzig mgos btsan zhags dmar po 'phen/ ser ljang 'ug mgos srin bya dgra la spor/ dmar mo khra mgos lcags kyu'i dgra snying 'dren/ skya bkra gsa' mgos spu gri'i dgra srog phrol/ dmar nag phag mgos mtshon gyi gru gu sdog/ mi bzad stobs chen dbal gyi gyad mo dgu/ dgra bgegs bsgral ba'i gnam lcags [57] thog mda' yin/ thams cad myur du zlog pa'i rgyal po yin/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 403 nas 407 gyi bar du/ yod la dbal gzhung dang gcig mtshungs yin pas ma bsdus so/ zhes dang /

yang 10) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i srung zlog las byang / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po dang po shog grangs 551 las/ bswo gsas mkhar bar khyams khrag mtsho'i g-yas phyogs na[80] / ma mchog gsung las sprul pa'i gyad mo dgu/ 'brong rgod dom glang gzig 'ug khra dang gsa'/ dmar nag phag rgod 'jigs pa'i mgo

brnyan can/ rang rang 'jigs rngam sprul pa'i lag cha thogs/ rgol byed khros ma 'bum gyi lha 'khor bcas//

? srid pa'i sgo nga bar pa dgu las grol ba'i gyad mo dgu ni/	
gyad mo dgu yi grangs	**phyag mtshan sogs**
gying ma 'brong mgo can	ru gyug dgra la 'gyed
kang ka rgod mgo can	rje phur sngags cing 'phen
klu mo nag mo	gtum tshul dgra la ston
stobs ldan glang mgo can	sa srin g-yang gzhi g-yob pa
mdzes ldan gzig mgo can	btsan zhag mda' ltar 'phen
ser ljang 'ug mgo can	gad rgyang ha ha rgod pa
dmar mo mgyogs byed khra mgo can	dpung zur dgra la brteg
skya bkra gsa' mgo can	dred lag g-yang bzhi g-yob
dmig ngan phag mgo can	mche bas dgra sha za

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i thugs kyi sprul pa/

yang 4) byin te dgu grol tshul lung las phyogs bsdus byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can 274 las/ bswo srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu brdol pa[81] / dbal gyi byin te chen mo dgu ru byung / zhes dang /

yang 1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 57 las srid pa'i rgyal mo/ ma cig[82] srid rgyal thugs sprul byin te dgu/ lha dmag dkar mo lha yi ba dan phyar/ nag mo gser ral sbrul zhags mda' ltar 'phen/ nag mo gdong dgu'i bdud mda' thog ltar 'phen/ smug mo mthing ral mtshon gyi gru gu bsgyur/ sngon mo gdong drug chu srin g-yang gzhi phyar/ dkar mo zhal gnyis shel sgong dkar nag 'thor/ dmar mo gdong dgu'i byur thag dgra la 'dog[83]- sngo ljang dbu gnyis gshen la dmu thag skyongs/ dmar nag lcags ral gshin lam [58] log par 'dren/ mthu rtsal stobs chen dbal gyi spar ma dgu/ dgra bgegs bsgral ba'i gnam lcags thog mda' yin/ thams cad myur du zlog pa'i rgyal po yin/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 407 las/ bswo srid pa'i rgyal mo gnam phyi gung rgyal dang / gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa gnyis/ bar snang sgra yi nang du ma mjal yid kyis bshos pa'i dbal gyi sgo nga tha ma dgu/ 'phrugs shing brdol du ma 'dod de/ dung sgong de ni dkar mo zhig/ yul gnam gyi ya bla ru/ gnam rje [408] smon thang de la byin te btang / lha rlung 'phyo ba'i rlabs kyis brdol/ bud med dkar mo ya mtshan can/ gnam gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni lha mo thang / gnam gyi spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? gser sgong de ni ser mo zhig/ yul sa ga dog drug tu! sa bla mgon bu de la byin te btang / gser rdo legs pa'i gdar la brtol/

bud med nag mo gser gyi ral pa can/ sa yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni dog mo thang / sa srin spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? lcags sgong de ni nag mo zhig/ yul bdud yul nag po dgu sul du / bdud kyi rgyal po ri bo mgo g-yag de la byin te btang / bdud brag nag po'i ngos la brtol/ bud med nag mo bse yi gdong dgu ma/ bdud kyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni bdud mo thang / ma bdud spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo [409] byed! ? mchong sgong de ni smug mo zhig/ yul dmu yul stang 'brang steng 'brang du/ dmu rje btsun thog skyol po de la byin te btang / dmu brag shel mo'i ngos la brtol/ bud med smug mo mthing gi ral pa can/ dmu yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni dmu mo thang / dal bdag spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? g-yu sgong de ni sngon mo zhig/ yul klu yul na tra gseng sngon du/ klu yi rgyal po ba ru rgyal ba de la byin te btang / klu glang ru dkar ru yi rtse la brtol/ bud med sngon mo skar ma'i gdong drug ma/ klu yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni klu mo thang / klu srin spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? shel sgong de ni dkar mo zhig/ yul gnyan yul pho ma gser steng du/ gnyan sum gtod de rgyal ba de la byin te btang / gser [410] gyi pha bong sra brtan zur la brdol/ bud med dkar mo g-yu yi zhal gnyis ma/ gnyan gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni gnyan mo thang / gsang rgyud spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? zangs sgong de ni dmar mo zhig/ yul srin yul nag po dgu sul du/ srin gyi rgyal po lang ka mgrin bcu de la byin te btang / srin gyi sgong rdo khra bo'i log la brtol/ bud med dmar mo 'jigs pa'i gdong dgu ma zhig byung / srin gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni srin mo thang / srin mo mgo brnyan spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? rin po che yi sgo nga zhig/ yul phya yul snang dang g-yu rtse ru/ phya btsun deng gi rje la byin te btang / phya mkhar steg pa gnyan gyi rtse la brtol/ bud med sngo ljang sprul pa'i dbu gnyis ma/ phya yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni phya mo thang / ? [411] phya sman spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? sgo nga dbal gyi tha chung ni/ rdo sgong de ni gro mo zhig/ sbyin gyi de ni sa mi mda'! yul nyi ma byang shar mtshams su bsgyur te btang / mi bzad bgegs kyi rgyal po'i lag tu bab/ bgegs kyi rgyal po'i mchid na ro! rdo sgong de ni gro mo 'di/ ci'i cho la ci'i 'brang zhes mchi/ sgo nga la brtol lhangs kyi smras/ nga ni srid pa rgyal mo'i bu/ srid pa phyi yi gdar brtol na/ nga yi lus ngag khyod la sbyin zhes smras/ bgegs kyi rgyal po'i mchid na ro/ srid pa'i rgyal mo ci mi mdzad/ mnol dang btsog gi bu yang mo zhes mchid/ brag dmar zangs yag ngos la brdabs te btang / bud med dmar nag lcags lcags[84] kyi ral sa can cig byung / lus ngag byin nas ya ka sgrogs po skad/ bgegs kyi rgyal po byi na ya ga zhes kyang de la bya/ bud [412] med kyi ming btags pa/ bgegs kyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni bgegs mo thang / phug bdag spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed// zhes dang /

yang 10) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i srung zlog las byang / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po dang po shog grangs 551 las/ bswo gsas mkhar bar 'khyams khrag mtsho'i g-yon phyogs nas/ ma mchog thugs las sprul pa'i byin te dgu/ sku mdog kha dog sna tshogs so sor gsal/ 'jigs byed rang rang khros pa'i dbu zhal can/ [552] rdzu 'phrul sprul pa 'gyed pa'i lag cha thogs/ sprul pa spar ma dgu khri'i lha 'khor bcas//

? srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu las grol ba'i byin te dgu ni/			
byin te dgu yi grangs	**phyag mtshan sogs**	**mtshan**	**grol gzhi sgo nga**

gnam gyi byin te chen mo	lha yi ba dan dkar po	thang nga lha mo thang	dung gi sgong dkar mo
sa yi byin te chen mo	zhags pa	thang nga dog mo thang	gser gyi sgong ser mo
bdud kyi byin te chen mo	bdud mda'	thang nga bdud mo thang	lcags kyi sgong nag mo
dmu yi byin te chen mo	mtshon gyi dru gu	thang nga dmu mo thang	mchong gi sgong smug mo
klu yi byin te chen mo	chu srin gdug pa'i g-yang gzhi	thang nga klu mo thang	gyu'i sgong sngon mo
gnyan gyi byin te chen mo	gnyan gyi shel rgod	thang nga gnyan mo thang	shel gyi sgong dkar mo
srin gyi byin te chen mo	srin gyi byur thag	thang nga srin mo thang	zangs kyi sgong dmar mo
phya yi byin te chen mo	dmu thag	thang nga phya mo thang	rin po che'i sgo nga
bgegs kyi byin te chen mo	dgra bo bslu byed gshin lam log par 'dren	thang nga bgegs mo thang	rdo sgong gro mo

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i yon tan gyi sprul pa/

yang 1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 58 las/ ma cig[85] srid rgyal yon tan sprul pa ni/ bka' nyan las byed dbal gyi gyad chen bcu/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung gyad dmag rgyal chen[86] gyi sku bstod dpe gzugs can shog grangs 715 las/ bswo dbang chen gzhal yas chen po yi/ me ri 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na/ sprul pa dbal gyi gyad bcu bswo / steng phyog[87] dbal gyi gyad chen ni/ gser gyi mi thung dzwa dmar 'phen/ shar phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni/ dung gi mi thung dbal mdung 'debs / byang phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / g-yu yi mi thung mda' gzhu 'gengs / nub phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / zangs kyi mi thung dgra stwa 'phyar / lho phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / lcags kyi mi thung ral kyu 'dzin/ lho shar dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal stag khra bos [716] mche sder bdar / byang shar dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal 'brug sngon pos sgra chen sgrog / byang nub dbal gyi gyad chen ni/ dbal g-yag dkar po ru zer bsigs / lho nub dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal khyung sngon pos 'jum[88] zhing lding / 'og phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / tshwa la rgyung ni[89] stwar tshan bsnams/ sprul pa bye ba sa ya 'bum/ 'jigs dang khros pa'i sgra sgrog cing / bzhings[90] shig bzhengs shig dbyings nas bzhengs/ bskyod cig bskyod cig gnas nas bskyod / sdang ba'i sgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs / dbang du bsdud la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/

? gyad chen bcu ni/		
phyogs	**mtshan**	**phyag mtshan sogs**

steng phyogs	gser gyi mi thung	dzwa dmar 'phen pa
shar phyogs	dung gi mi thung	dbal mdung 'debs pa
byang phyogs	g-yu yi mi thung	mda' gzhu 'gengs pa
nub phyogs	zang gi mi thung	dgra sta phyar ba
lho phyogs	lcags kyi mi thung	ral kyu 'dzin pa
lho shar	dbal stag khra bo	mche sder bdar ba
byang shar	dbal 'brug sngon po	sgra chen sgrogs pa
byang nub	dbal g-yag dkar po	ru zer bsigs pa
lho nub	dbal khyung sngon po	'dzum zhing lding ba
'og phyogs	tsha la rgyung ne	star tshan bsnams pa

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i 'phrin las kyi sprul pa/

yang 1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 58 las/ ma cig[91] srid rgyal 'phrin las sprul pa ni/ bka' nyan las byed dbal gyi dmag dpon bcu/

? dmag dpon bcu ni/		
phyogs	**mtshan**	**phyag mtshan sogs**
steng phyogs	rdol thabs blang mgo can	brag ri 'degs pa
shar phyogs	mtum[92] chen dom mgo can	ral gri phyar ba
byang phyogs	chu srin mgo can	dbal mdung spor ba
nub phyogs	'dzin byed spyang mgo can	khra gshog phyar ba
lho phyogs	gdug mo gsa' mgo can	dbal chen gsol ba
lho shar	mkha' lding khyung mgo can	sbrul zhag 'debs pa
byang shar	so 'dzug bya mgo can	mdung ring bsnams
byang nub	mig ngan phag mgo can	me dpung spor ba
lho nub	sngo mar dred mgo can	byed thag bsdog pa
'og phyogs	bkra gsal stag mgo can	dgra sha bza' ba[93]

yang 7) dmag dpon chen mo dgu bstan pa'i lung phyogs bsdud byas pa/ sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 7 las/ bswo ma cig[94] sprul pa las kyi pho nya mo/ lha srin g-yab 'debs dmag dpon chen mo dgu/ sngon gyi tshul bzhin gnas 'dir thugs dam bskang / lha yi dmag dpon chen mo sad ting shag/ lha sman spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo mdzad/ rgyal mo lha yi dmag dang bcas pa rnams/ skang rten= lha sdang bdud 'beb sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur/ bdud kyi [8] dmag dpon chen mo ge ting shag- bdud lcam spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo mdzad/ dral po bdud kyi dmag dang bcas pa rnams/ skang rten= bdud kyi khram thogs sdang ba'i dgra la= dmu yi dmag dpon chen mo byin gyi dpal/ dmu dmag spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo mdzad/ dral

po dmu yi dmag dang bcas pa rnams/ skang = dmu gab 'on 'thibs sdang ba'i= btsan gyi dmag dpon chen mo ne ram shag/ btsan lcam spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo= dral po btsan gyi dmag= skang = btsan gyi gzer mda' sdang ba'i= phywa yi dmag dpon chen mo she ting shag/ phywa lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po phywa yi dmag dang = skang = phywa bdud dbul rmang sdang ba'i= klu yi dmag dpon chen mo chu ting ron[95] / klu lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po klu yi [8 rgyab] dmag dang = skang rten= klu yi dal rims mdze gzer dgra= gnyan gyi dmag dpon chen mo gu ting shag/ gnyan lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po gnyan gyi dmag= skang = gnyan nad lhog rgod sdang ba'i= srin gyi dmag dpon chen mo ha ting shag/ srin lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po srin gyi dmag dang = skang = srin gcan za kha sdang = bgegs kyi dmag dpon chen mo kha ting shag/ bgegs lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po bgegs kyi dmag= skang = 'dre srin bgegs kyi byur sna= lha srin g-yab 'debs dmag dpon chen mo dgu/

? lha srin g-yab 'debs dmag dpon chen mo dgu ni/		
mtshan	**'khor**	**byed las**
lha yi dmag dpon chen mo sad ting shag	'khor lha yi dmag dang bcas	lha sdang bdud 'beb sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
bdud kyi dmag dpon chen mo ge ting shag	'khor bdud dmag dang bcas	bdud kyi khram thogs sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
dmu yi dmag dpon chen mo byin gyi dpal	'khor dral po dmu yi dmag dang bcas	dmu gab 'on 'thibs sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
btsan gyi dmag dpon chen mo ne ram shag	'khor dral po btsan gyi dmag dang bcas	btsan gyi gzer mda' sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
phywa yi dmag dpon chen mo she ting shag	'khor dral po phywa yi dmag dang bcas	phywa bdud dbul rmang sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
klu yi dmag dpon chen mo chu ting shag	'khor dral po klu yi dmag dang bcas	klu yi dal rims mdze gzer dgra la sgyur
gnyan gyi dmag dpon chen mo gu ting shag	'khor dral po gnyan gyi dmag dang bcas	gnyan nad lhog rgod sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
srin gyi dmag dpon chen mo ha ting shag	'khor dral po srin gyi dmag dang bcas	srin gcan za kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
bgegs kyi dmag dpon chen mo kha ting shag	'khor dral po bgegs kyi dmag dang bcas	'dre srin bgegs kyi byur sna dgra la sgyur

dbal mo'i skor gyi dpe gzhung khag gsham gsal/

? dbal mo'i skor bsdus gzhi'i dpe gzhung khag					
grangs	**dpe gzhung gi mtshan tho gsham gsal**	**shog grangs**	**gzugs**	**mdzad pa po**	**par bris**

1	khro rgyal lha rgod thog pa snang srid zil gnon gyi dgra bgegs phung zhing brlag pa'i zlog gzhung bzhugs/[96]	1-616	dpe	khams btsun rnam dag 'od zer g-yas ru dben sa kha ru sbyar ba dge	spar ma
2	zhi khro'i sgrub skor/[97]	1-1448	dpe	...	spar ma
3	zhi khro rtsa gsum kun 'dus kyi dpe rtsis dang brgyud rim bzhugs pa legs so/[98]	1-977	dpe	...	spar ma
4	dbal gsas sgrub skor bzhugs so/ (dbal gsas las rim)[99]	1-800	dpe	...	spar ma
5	bskang 'bum bzhugs so/[100]	1-638	dpe	...	spar ma
6	skyabs ston khro 'grel bzhugs so/[101]	1-392	deb	skyabs ston rin chen 'od zer	spar ma
7	srid rgyal dre'u nag mo'i nang skang gi dbu phyogs bzhugs pa legs so/[102]	1-12	dpe	...	bris ma
8	mkha' klong gsang ba'i mdos kyi bca' thabs gsal ba'i sgron ma bzhugs so/[103]	1-574	dpe	...	spar ma
9	snang srid mdzod phugs kyi gzhung dang 'grel ba 'phrul gyi sgron me bzhugs so/[104]	1-547	dpe	mnyam med shes rab rgyal mtshan	spar ma
10	khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen bsgrub las gsum gyi gsungs pod bzhugs/[105]	215-593	dpe	...	spar ma
11	bden pa bon kyi mdzod sgo sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde'u mig ces bya ba bzhugs so/[106]	1-240	deb	Dran-pa nam-mkha'	spar ma

spar ma tshang ma ldi li nas yin na'ang dbal gsas sgrub skor bod nas yin/

? gong ltar lung tshig mang du bsdus pa'i go rim bzhin ma cig[107] srid pa'i rgyal mo grol tshul dang de nyid dang gnyis su med pa khro bo lha rgod thog pa gnyis kyi ngo bo thabs shes kyi cha mtshon zhing nam mkha' stong pa'i ngang las yid kyis bshos pa las

dbal sgong rab 'bring tha ma gsum byung ba'i yab yum gnyis su med pa'i sku sprul gze ma dgu dang gsung sprul gyad mo dgu thugs sprul spar ma dgu ru byung ba'o/ gzhan yang yon tan gyi sprul pa gyad chen bcu dang phrin las kyi sprul pa dmag dpon bcu bcas kyi grol tshul skor la zhib 'jug bya ba'i ched du mkhas dbang Henk Blezer mchog la g-yung drung bon gyi dpe mdzod las phyogs bsdus byas pa 'dis khong gi dgongs don yid bzhin du 'grub pa'i smon 'dun bcas/ snang zhig dgon gyi dge bshes shes rab grags pa nas phul// mu tsug smar ro!

Notes to the Appendix

[1] I should also like to thank Slob-dpon 'Phrin-las nyi-ma Rin-po-che and dBu-mdzad Rig-'dzin g-yung-drung for the kind and learned assistance in the first proof-reading the appendix, their trained eyes expediently detecting typos that otherwise would have remained unnoticed. Slob-dpon 'Phrin-las nyi-ma Rin-po che also kindly helped in other areas, patiently explaining difficult passages, arranging translators and so forth.

[2] 'thing mthing yin pa 'dra/

[3] zhes ces yin/

[4] zhes ces yin/

[5] mtsho' yig rnying yin pas/

[6] gcig cig yin/

[7] gcig cig yin/

[8] bskral ba'i ni bsgral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/

[9] rtogs rtog yin/

[10] kyis kyi yin/

[11] wa mo 'a mo yin/

[12] kyis kyi yin/

[13] kyis kyi yin/

[14] tha tshigs tha tshig yin/

[15] cig gcig yin/

[16] nam gong nam gung yin/

[17] nyin byed nyin phyed yin/

[18] khri' khri yin/

[19] nyi phyed nyin phyed yin/

[20] cig gcig yin/

[21] 'gren 'gran yin/

[22] cig gcig yin/

[23] gis gi yin/

[24] gyis gyi yin/

[25] cig gcig yin/

[26] sgal tshig sgal tshigs yin/

[27] rol pa ni rol par zhes bya ba yin/

[28] srin sprin yin/

[29] spa ma spar ma yin/

[30] rol pa ni rol par zhes bya ba yin/

[31] dbal so dbal mo yin/

[32] spyad bshad dam dpyad yin pas/

[33] g-yab g-yas yin pas/

[34] bdag bdag ni bdag ces bya ba yin/

[35] bzung na ni bzung nas shes bya ba yin/

[36] phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/

[37] ral gyu ral kyu yin/
[38] phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[39] sgal tshig sgal tshigs yin/
[40] phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[41] phrel bar ni 'phrel bar zhes bya ba'am phral bar zhes bya ba yin/
[42] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[43] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[44] brtol ba brdol ba yin/
[45] phyir phyar yin/
[46] brnyen brnyan yin/
[47] bza' ba'i ni za ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[48] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[49] cig zhig yin/
[50] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[51] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[52] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[53] cig zhig yin/
[54] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[55] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[56] ring par ni rings par yin/
[57] cig zhig yin/
[58] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[59] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[60] cig zhig yin/
[61] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[62] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[63] cig zhig yin/
[64] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[65] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[66] cig zhig yin/
[67] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[68] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[69] cig zhig yin/
[70] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[71] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[72] cig zhig yin/
[73] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[74] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[75] cig zhig yin/
[76] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[77] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[78] bsnyan pa'i ni bsnyen pa'i zhes bya ba yin/
[79] cig gcig yin/
[80] na nas yin/
[81] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[82] cig gcig yin/
[83] 'dog 'dogs yin/
[84] lcags lcags ni lcags yin.
[85] cig gcig yin/
[86] N.B. In actual fact only the *Gyad-chen bcu* are taken from this text, the *dMag-dpon bcu* follow later from another text, the *rGyal-chen sde-bzhi* are not presented in this anthology.
[87] phyog phyogs yin/

88 'jum 'dzum yin/
89 ni ne yin/
90 bzhings bzhengs yin
91 cig gcig yin/
92 mtum gtum yin/
93 bza' ba za ba yin/
94 cig gcig yin/
95 ron shag yin/
96 In volume two of: A collection of Rituals for the Propitiation of the Wrathful Deity Lha-rgod-thog-pa, revealed by Sku-mdun Bsod-nams blo-gros (1784-1835), reproduced from a rare manuscript from Hor Ba-chen Klu-phug at Bde-chen-g.yung-drung-gling, two volumes, Dolanji 1985.
97 The *Khro bo dbang chen*-cycle, which is said to have been rediscovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035) can be found on pp.175-564, entries No.29.13-19 in Karmay (1977).
98 A Collection of Bonpo Revelations of Dbal-'bar-stag-slag (1832-), reproduced from a rare manuscript from the sPa-tshang Bla-bran, Published by Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltsen, Dolanji 1985.
99 Cf. Karmay (1977), No.32(.22?). The photocopies I presently have to work with (ff.30-49 (folio-numbers 33 and 38 appear twice), margin ff.253-274) unfortunately do not cover the full text and where made from a Tibetan reprint of a calligraphed version kindly lent to me by Lung-rtogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin po che. Because I do not have the full text and colophon I can not identify the text with one of the texts of the Dolanji edition (which I do not have at my disposal either) as it is listed in Karmay's catalogue. Is the text from the *sPyi spungs skor gsum gyi yang bcud rtsod pa zlog pa'i 'khor lo dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim* (T.129), said to be rediscovered by dByil-ston Khyung-rgod-rtsal (1175-)?
100 Mchog gsum rgyal ba sras bcas dang bka' skyong dam can rgya mtsho bcas kyi thugs dam bskang ba'i gsung pod, Collected Propitiary Rites for the Host of Tutelary and Protective Deities of Bon according to the Liturgy of Sman-ri Monastery and the Bru Lineage, reproduced from a manuscript prepared on the basis of older texts from Dolpo (Northwestern Nepal), two volumes (Yi dam skor, and Bon srung skor), Vol.I, pp.487-503, *sNyan rgyud rin chen sgron gsal gyi bskang bshags* by Wer-zhi drung-mu (no dates) & pp.567-601, *mKha' klong bskang ba* (no author) and Vol.II, pp.127-143, *Srid rgyal dri'u dmar mo'i bskang bshags*, a *gter ma* of dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (1175-), Dolanji 1973.
101 *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba dang dbal phur spyi don nyi shu rtsa lnga'i grel pa bcas*, Commentaries on the Spyi spungs and Dbal phur cycles of esoteric Bonpo practice by sKyabs-ston Rin-chen-'od-zer (1353-?) and Khu-tsha Zla-'od (1024-), reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of Bsam gling Monastery in Dol-po by Yongdzin Sangye Tenzin, Dolanji 1973.
102 Manuscript in the possession of *Lung-rtogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin-po-che*, see also Bon skyong sgrub thabs bskang gsol bcas, see also volume two of A Collection of Propitiary Rituals for the Host of Bonpo Protective Deities, reproduced from a manuscript prepared by Phyug-gtso Mkhan-po, published by Tshultrim Tashi, two volumes, Vol.II, pp.115-134, *Srid pa'i rgyal mo dre'u dmar mo'i bskang ba* attributed to *sTong-rgyung mthu-chen* (no realistic date), Dolanji 1972.
103 Gsas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs kyi cha las mkha' klong gsang ba'i mdos chen gyi las mtha' bcas, A Collection of Bonpo Propitiary Texts from the Rediscoveries of Rma-ston Srol-'dzin, 'Or-sgom Phug-pa, and others, reproduced from a manuscript belonging to the late Khyung-sprul 'Jigs-med-nam-mkha'i-rdo-rje and brought from Gu-ru-gyams near Mt. Kailash by Khedub Gyatso, pp.117-258, *mKha' klong mdos bskangs kyi gzhung chen*, a *gter ma* by *sPrul-sku rMa-ston Shes-rab seng-ge* (late 12th century), Dolanji 1973.
104 The Bonpo Approach to Abhidharma, Texts from the Sman-ri yig-cha by Mnyam-med Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415) and Slob-dpon Bstan-'dzin-rnam-dag, reproduced from rare manuscripts from the library of the Bonpo Monastic Centre, Dolanji 1982.
105 In volume one of the title described under text 1.

follow

[106] Tenzin Namdak, mDzod phug: Basic Verses and Commentary by Dran pa'i nam mkha' (a *gter ma* of either gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035), gNyan-ston(/mthing) Shes-rab rdo-rje (discovered 1067, or rMa-ston Srid-'dzin (b. 1092)), Delhi 1966.

[107] cig gcig yin/

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Please note, for the texts used in the appendix see the last table at the end of the appendix (*dbal mo'i skor gyi dpe gzhung khag gsham gsal/*). Texts only occasionally referred to are not entered into the bibliography, but are identified in the notes. For bibliographical information in cosmogonical/ theogonical material see the section of this article where these texts are discussed.

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- *sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*, in *Zhi khro sgrub skor*, Delhi 1967 (Karmay (1977).29.32, Zogai 614 (=T.124):605-691);
- *Zhi khro bar do 'phrang grol gyi thos grol las byang bag chags rang grol*, in *dBang ldan zhu yi ring lugs kyi zhi khro'i sgrub skor*, Dolanji 1975 (I-Tib 75-903251, IASWR micro-fiche-number SB 774), Vol.II:249-330.

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- *Chos nyid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo*, Kalsang Lhundup (1969:4-69)

rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum-section of the Taipei edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka (Taipei 1991):

- Taipei-edition, Vol.LVI (Tib.Vol.*pa*), no.4766 (= *gTing skyes* no.84?):311/580(6) - 315/607(5), eight chapters; see also no.4781 (= *gTing skyes* no.84?):342/795(2) - 349/843(3), fourteen chapters plus concluding verses; except for minor variant readings this text is identical to the Dilgo Khyentse *gTing-skyes*-edition, Vol.V:314-352, Thimphu 1973, which, however, stops at the thirteenth chapter; NB. the Taipei-texts are print-identical to the *mTshams-brag*editions.

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rDzogs-chen Doctrines

The *Lo rgyus chen mo* in the collection of the *Ye khri mtha' sel* attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha'

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Introduction

The *sPyi rgyud chen po nam mkha' dkar po ye khri mtha' sel gyi rgyud* is a collection of works which expounds teachings in the *rdzogs chen* fashion supposedly transmitted by Dran-pa nam-mkha', the eighth-century Bonpo master whose critical yet inspiring conversion to Buddhism marked the end of the so-called early diffusion of Bon (*snga dar*) and the subsequent concealment of texts. The *Ye khri mtha' sel* does not belong to any of the three main transmissions of the Great Perfection in the Bon religion (*a rdzogs snyan gsum*). However, since it is considered to be the work of such a famous Bonpo figure as Dran-pa nam-mkha', it occupies a revered place within the Bonpo canonical literature. It is also known as the Indian cycle of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen rgya gar gyi skor*), since the transmission-lineage first appeared in that country.

The collection is mentioned in the *Zab dang rgya che g-yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur dkar chag nyi ma 'bum gyi 'od zer* by Rig-'dzin Kun-grol grags-pa, composed in 1751 (1993: 223), as section Ca, and it is described as having five main parts (*bam po*) and twenty-five small sub-sections (*mchong chung*) which are all listed in that work. We also find it mentioned in the *bKa' 'gyur brten 'gyur gyi sde can sgrigs tshul bstan pa'i me ro spar ba'i lung g-yab bon gyi pad mo rgyas byed nyi 'od*, composed by the sMan-ri abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (1813-1875) at an unspecified date (Kvaerne 1974: 112). It is conspicuously absent from the *rGyal ba'i bka' dang bka' rten rmad 'byung dgos 'dod yid bzhin gter gyi bang mdzod la dkar chags* [sic] *blo'i tha ram bkrol byed 'phrul gyi lde mig*, the fantastic work in 1391 pages composed, probably in 1880, by gYung-drung tshul-khrims dbang-grags. The cycle is mentioned and/or cited by Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1859-1934) in his *Legs bshad rin po che'i gter mdzod* (Shar-rdza 1985: 120); in the *Sangs rgyas g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa'i 'byung ba brjod pa'i legs bshad bskal pa bzang po'i mgrin rgyan* (TBMC 1972: 379) by dPal-ldan tshul-khrims (1902-1973); and in the *Three Sources for a History of Bon* (Gyatsho 1972: 511: 4, 515: 1, 518: 2, 708: 1). It is contained in the first reprint of the Bonpo Canon, which was supervised by the late gYung-drung bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, alias Bla-ma A-g-yung (1927-1998). His *gYung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur glog par ma'i dkar chag* (1985) lists it as volume 4/Ca in five *bam po* and 445 folios, and states that it is a treasure text found at mKho-mthing in lHo-brag. We also have a copy

preserved as volume 101 in the second reprint of the Bonpo Canon supervised by Bla-ma Bon-slob Nam-mkha' bstan-'dzin from rTogs-ldan monastery in A-mdo rNga-ba. Both reprints were carried out in the late '80s. In the second reprint we read from the colophon that the cycle has been published by a bKra-shis rnam-dag, who also published other Bon works in India during the '80s. In this respect, since the volumes contained in both the first and second canonical reprint have the same number of folios/pages, we may assume that both Tibetan printings were based on the Indian one.

As for the person who is directly connected with the diffusion of the cycle, Shar-rdza quotes a prophecy contained in the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang rnam thar chen mo*, another text attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' and discovered by Gyer Thogs-med in 1310, which predicts the encounter between Lung-bon lHa-gnyan and the son of Dran-pa nam-mkha', Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin. Shar-rdza further describes the way in which the encounter took place on repeated occasions and locations where, among other teachings by Dran-pa nam-mkha', Lung-bon lHa-gnyan was imparted instructions on the *Ye khri mtha' sel* (Karmay 1972: 277-278). Lung-bon lHa-gnyan was born in 1088 according to the abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (Kvaerne 1971: 230). We have a short biography composed by his son and spiritual recipient, Lung-sgom 'Khor-lo rgyal-po, the *Lung ston lha gnyan gi rnam thar*, contained in the *Three Sources for a History of Bon* (Gyatsho 1972: 276-286). According to this biography, his name was Lung-ston 'Od-'bar; he passed away at the age of 37, and his mystical encounters with Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin would have taken place while he was 31. dPal-ldan tshul-khrims (TBMC 1972: 385: 6) mentions other works attributed to Lung-bon (or Lung-sgom), as does Karmay (1977: 11, 108-116), who gives his dates as either 1088-1124 or 1112-1148. However the collection of the *Ye khri mtha' sel* itself is not listed in Karmay (1977).

1. Brief description of the *Ye khri* cycle

The copy which was available to me for the present study is volume 101 of the second reprint of the Bonpo Canon preserved in the special collection of the East Asian Library at the University of Seattle, Washington. This volume, in 445 folios or 890 pages, is composed of 12 texts. One of them, which bears no title, contains a general outline of the *Ye khri*. According to this text the whole tantra was supposedly divided into two main parts with a total of 197 chapters (*le'u*), each part being composed of two *bam po*: the first two *bam po* are considered as the root tantra (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*), which is represented by the texts entitled *gNas pa gzhi'i bam po* (44 chapters) and *Thams cad la zla ba'i bam po* (49 chapters) respectively. These texts deal with various doctrinal aspects of the Great Perfection. The colophon of the *gNas pa gzhi'i bam po* states that the text was aurally transmitted to sPrul-sku Lung-ston lHa-gnyan by rJe Ri-khrod-pa, alias Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin,

at Yar-lha Sham-po in dBus (no date is given). The colophon of the *Thams cad la zla ba'i bam po* is basically a self-laudatory description by Dran-pa nam-mkha' and does not provide much information. The other two *bam po* would be the *mTshan nyid sgra tshad kyi bam po* (48 chapters) and the *mKha' 'gro rin chen phreng ba'i rgyud gsang sngags phyi snang 'byed pa'i bam po* (56 chapters), which Rig-'dzin Kun-grol grags-pa quotes simply as the *Phyi nang 'byed pa'i bam po*. These are styled the practice tantra (*spyod pa'i rgyud*). The *mTshan nyid sgra tshad kyi bam po* is absent from volume 101. The *mKha' 'gro rin chen phreng ba'i rgyud gsang sngags phyi snang 'byed pa'i bam po* deals with explanations, questions and answers, preliminary practices, invocations. A fifth, auxiliary *bam po* is also supposed to have been transmitted. Rig-'dzin Kun-grol grags-pa quotes it as the *Ma tshang kha bskang gyi bam po*. This text is not contained in volume 101 although it is mentioned as having 15 chapters. Out of the twenty-five *mchong* that according to Rig-'dzin Kun-grol grags-pa belong to this collection, we find only five texts in volume 101 that are clearly styled *mchong*. One of these is the *Lo rgyus chen mo* which is the object of this study.

2. The *sPyi rgyud Ye khri mtha' sel gyi lo rgyus chen mo skos kyi mchong*

This text is the eighth one contained in volume 101 (: 759-815/29 folios) with marginal title *lo rgyus mchong*. It is mentioned by Shar-rdza (1985: 120) as the *Ye khri'i lo rgyus chen mo skong* [sic] *gi 'phyong*. It is written in *dbu med* with many abridged words (*bdsus yig*). The reprint is not a very good one and some words are altogether illegible. The *Lo rgyus chen mo* can be said to be divided into two distinct sections: the first one refers to the lineage proper, the second one to doctrinal explanations about the Ultimate Reality - although there are naturally many points of interrelation between the two. I will now present the text by paraphrasing it in its most salient points.

The beginning of the text does not give the title in the somewhat customary form which relates the name of the work in the Zhang-zhung language, Sanskrit or Tibetan. It begins in a typical *rdzogs chen* fashion with an homage to Kun-tu bzang-po, who in this instance is equated to the Identity of the uncompounded Basis (*ston pa kun tu bzang po gzhi 'dus ma byas pa'i bdag nyid de la phyag 'tshal lo*). Then it proceeds by specifying that the transmission lineage that will be described is twofold: the first is the history of the lineage related to the Compassionate Teacher (*thugs rje can gyi lo rgyus*). I think the latter is to be identified with gShen-lha 'Od-dkar, since this is the way in which he is referred to in other sources connected with the Great Perfection. gShen-lha 'Od-dkar is the symbolic central figure of the Body of Perfection (*rdzogs pa'i sku*). He is also called Kun-tu bzang-po but only insofar as he is an enlightened being whose attributes and qualifications can be described, and who therefore represents the

'expressible' Kun-tu bzang-po (*gdags su yod pa'i Kun-tu bzang-po*). The second is the history of the blessed lineage of the Word and the Tantras (*bka' rgyud byin rlabs can gyi lo rgyus*). The history of the enlightened lineage is expounded in a way that shows a progressive decrease from the mystical to the mundane level in which the Seven Auspicious Conditions (*phun sum tshogs pa bdun*) appear. These are the Location (*gnas phun sum tshogs pa*), the Teacher (*ston pa phun sum tshogs pa*), the Retinue (*'khor phun sum tshogs pa*), the Time (*dus phun sum tshogs pa*), the Teachings imparted (*bstan pa phun sum tshogs pa*), the Collectors of the teachings (*sdud pa po phun sum tshogs pa*), the Material Objects (*rgyu phun sum tshogs pa*).

The first Location where the teaching of the Great Perfection is expounded is, logically enough, the dimension of uncompounded and unobstructed Reality; the Teacher is Kun-tu bzang-po of the uncompounded dimension of the Basis; the Retinue is all the enlightened beings of the Body of Perfection, the unlimited number of Well-gone Ones (*bder gshegs*) of the ten directions; the time is the immutable time of the dimension of Reality; the Teachings are expounded by sNang-srid kun-gsal 'Od-'byed pa'i rgyal-po; the Collector is gSang-sngags kun-'chang rgyal-po; the Material Objects used, various kinds of precious jewels.

The second stage of transmission occurs at the level of the Body of Perfection where the Teacher is gSang-sngags kun-'chang rgyal-po, the Retinue is composed by the gYung-drung Sems-dpa' Primordial gShen, and the Collector is bKa'-rtogs Don-mthong rgyal-po.

Then the teaching is expounded in a continent called Thams-cad 'dul-ba gsal-ba 'od-kyi-gling by the Teacher bKa'-rtogs don-mthong rgyal-po; the Collector is Ye-shes 'od-kyi bla-ma don yongs-su grub pa.

The lineage now reaches Bha-ra mu-khung 'od-kyi tshal in Zhang-zhung, with the Teacher Ye-shes 'od-kyi bla-ma don yongs-su grub pa. The Collector is Kun-gsal 'od-kyi khye'u-chung. From this location the Teacher Kun-gsal 'od-kyi khye'u-chung moves to the West to the Paradise of Supreme Bliss (*rab dga' bde ba can gyi gnas*), at the Time when the Nine Suns clearly shine (that is to say, when the teachings of the Nine Vehicles were flourishing), and when the sounds and letters of the Four Portals and the Tresury of Bon automatically unfolded by themselves. The teachings were collected by "The Three that Know in a Pure and Clear Way." 'Od kyi khye'u chung could possibly be identified with Ta-pi hri-tsa, who is related to the transmission of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* cycle. Up to this point the lineage is called "the compassionate lineage devoid of afflictions (*zag med thugs rje'i rgyud*), which is the heart transmission of the Well-gone Ones.

Then begins the description of the so-called lineage of the compassionate blessing (*thugs rje byin rlabs kyi rgyud*). This is analyzed by way of a Primary Cause (*rgyu*), Circumstantial Causes (*rkyen*) and the Effect (*'bras bu*). The Primary Cause is the merit accumulated by worthy individuals in the past; the Circumstancial one is the compassion of the Well-gone Ones, together with the

prayers of previous Bla-mas and saints; the Effect is the attainment of the insurpassable Enlightenment of the Well-gone Ones.

We then have a description of a former prophecy concerning the *Ye khri mtha' sel*. The treasure text is put into written form in India, from where it is transmitted to a succession of sages. These are listed, together with their personal spiritual accomplishments, as:

1. gShen Man-bha Bi-sha
2. gShen Thugs-rje g-yung-drung grub pa
3. Khro-gsas Pad-ma 'od-zer
4. gShen Blo-rdzogs g-yung-drung seng-ge
5. gShen Bon-khrims Yongs-su dag-pa
6. gShen bDud-rtsi yang-dag grub pa
7. gShen Don-yod bDe-ba gnam-gsas
8. O-rgyan Rab-gsang-ba lHa'i snying-po
9. rTag-gzigs-kyi mKha'-'gro gsum
10. dBang-grub sMan-gyi gshen-rab
11. gYung-drung rgyal-po gshen-rab
12. gSas-grags bDud-rtsi gshen-rab 'bar-ba
13. Bru-sha'i mKhas-pa lnga
14. gShen Pra-ti bha-ra
15. gShen Hol-ril pa-ti
16. gShen Dra-sho zang-he
17. gShen A-mo Sing-he sil-shi
18. gShen Maksha pe-tsa
19. gShen Tshad-med 'od-ldan, who is said to have received instructions from all the teachers in Zhang-zhung, India, Thod-dkar, Bru-sha and so on. He passed his knowledge to
20. dMu-gshen mKhas-pa Dran-pa nam-mkha', who retained the power of long life. Dran-pa nam-mkha' transmitted the teachings to:
21. sPrul-sku Khri-srong sde [sic]-btsan,
22. Be-ro tsa-na, who was impartial as to Bon and Chos,
23. gCo-za Bon-mo, who attained perfect Enlightenment, and to
24. sPrul-sku Ri-khrod chen-po. The latter transmitted the teachings to
25. sPrul-sku lHa-gnyan, who in turn taught them to
26. Lung-sgom 'Khor-lo rgyal-po.

Subsequently, many special treasures of the Word related to this cycle are said to have been handed down and mastered by gNyag-ston lHa-'bar, who passed them on to sPrul-sku lHa-rje-gyer. The latter transmitted them to Gyer Nam-mkha' g-yung-drung, an emanation of Dran-pa nam-mkha'; and now, the text says, they are retained by Gyer-ston mChod-[?], while the teachings related to the *spyi rgyud Ye*

khri mtha' sel proper come directly from rJe Ri-khrod Chen-po. We shall note that Gyer Nam-mkha' g-yung-drung is mentioned by Shar-rdza as being one of the recipients of the Yer-rdzong-ma treasure texts (Karmay 1972: 153). Except for the very well known figures, I was not able to identify the other names.

The lineage, as it is described so far, is called the "compassionate blessing male lineage" (*thugs rje byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa pho rgyud*). Interestingly enough we now have a quite detailed description of the female lineage (*mo rgyud*) of the *Ye khri* cycle, which in itself is a rare occurrence in Tibetan religious literature. The text however does not use the pattern of the Seven Auspicious Conditions in this case.

The female lineage begins as a compassionate blessing from the Mother Kun-tu bzang-mo who abides in the contemplative state beyond afflictions. At the level of the Body of Perfection the lineage unfolds cosmogonically in the form of the Five Wisdoms represented by five queens who purify the main afflictions:

Kun-tu bzang-mo

North
Yum-bskyod las-kyi rgyal-mo (Envy)

Centre
Nam-mkha' dbyings-kyi rgyal-mo (Mental darkness)

West
Yum Ma-chags mdzes-pa'i rgyal-mo
(Desire)

East
Yum Rig-pa 'od-kyi rgyal-mo
(Aversion)

South
Yum 'Byung-ba rlabs-kyi rgyal-mo (Pride)

The lineage is further described as manifesting itself at an external, internal, secret and unsurpassably secret level, where the spacial arrangement is maintained, with each of the five Queens, lHa-mo and mKha'-'gro-ma performing a different taming action and having different attributes. From these the teaching is transmitted to Five gYung-drung sems-ma. These are: Nam-mkha' skyes-gcig-ma, Sems-bskyed g-yung-drung-ma, Chus-bskyed yang-dag 'Phags-ma, 'Od-'gro gsal-'bar-ma and Kun-grol[?] 'od-'bar-ma. The female lineage up to this point is defined as "compassionate transmission devoid of afflictions" (*zag med thugs rje'i brgyud pa*) and occurs only through direct recognition (*rig pa thabs kyis brgyud*).

We now enter the realm of the Body of Emanation where the teaching is transmitted by way of spiritual accomplishment. In a location of Zhang-zhung

called dBal-'gying tsa-ba-can, after miraculous events, a daughter with special attributes is born to Khyung-ne 'od-kyi slags-pa-can and to Tsa-ti-ma gsal-ma sgron-ma-can (no name is given). Then, in India, the mKha'-'gro-ma U-li-shag translates the teachings in Sanskrit. Starting with U-li-shag, the lineage unfolds to twenty-two or twenty-four mKha'-'gro-mas of Spiritual Accomplishment (*grub thob kyi mkha' 'gro ma nyi shu rtsa gnyis sam rtsa bzhi la brgyud*). Here twenty-two are listed, together with their distinctive signs of realization:

1. rGya-gar U-li-shag
2. dBal-mo-za Nam-mkha' 'od-kyi rgyal-mo
3. Rwa-zhags-za gSal-ba'i dbyings-phyug ma
4. Zhang-zhung-za 'Od-kyi bla-ma
5. lDong-?-za 'Khor-mo-skyong
6. rTag-gzigs-za Mang-byed gsal-byed-'od
7. U-rgyan-za Rigs-ngan-ma bDud-rtsi-skyong
8. rGya-gar-gyi Pha-'thing-za mThu-chen-ma
9. rGya-za gSal-ba 'od-sgron-ma
10. 'Khor-po-za Dri-med mdangs-ldan-ma
11. gCo-za 'Od-kyi rdzu-'phrul-ston
12. ?-? sNa-tshogs-ston
13. Lung-brgyan-za sNang-ba brda-ston
14. Mi-nyag-za Thos-'bebs 'od-zer-can
15. U-rgyan-za Nam-mkha' yum[?]-skrags 'phro-ma
16. She-ber-za 'Od-thang ma
17. Kha-che-za rGyan-ldan-ma
18. Gyer-za Brag-chen-rtsal

Now follows the female lineage which received the Four Initiations (*dbang bzhi*) from Dran-pa nam-mkha' and rJe Ri-khrod-pa Chen-po:

19. mKha'-'gro Nyi-ma 'od-'bar-ma
20. mKha'-'gro Nyi-ma stong-khyab-ma
21. mKha'-'gro Ma-ha su-ka si-ti-ma
22. mKha'-'gro gCo-za Bon-mo

As for the above names, I was able to identify only two: we have a short biography of Nyi-ma stong-khyab-ma, alias lHa-lcam Nyi-ma stong-khyab, and one of gCo-za Bon-mo in the *gter ma* discovered by bDe-chen chos-kyi dbang-mo, born in 1868 (Kvaerne 1971: 239), the *mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho' rnam thar gsang ba'i mdzod nyi ma'i snying po mun sel sgron ma* (Rossi 1999). There, Nyi-ma stong-khyab is presented as an Indian princess and as a tantric partner of Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin. gCo-za Bon-mo is associated with Li-shu stag-ring, the eighth-

century master who supposedly translated the cycle of the Three Proclamations (*bsgrags pa skor gsum*) from the Zhang-zhung language into Tibetan, and who also transmitted the cycle of the *Yang rtse klong chen*. gCo-za Bon-mo and Li-shu stag-ring are both quoted in the above *gter ma* where they prophesy the decline of Bon and the hiding of texts at the time of King Khri-srong. gCo-za Bon-mo is also the one who is asked to invite back the banished Bon-po priests from the North in order to save the king's life (Karmay 1972: 100).

After the section that deals with the lineage, the remaining part of the text concentrates on the exposition of the *rdzogs chen* doctrine. Most of the points presented are quite well known from other Bonpo sources of the Great Perfection. Here I would like to mention in particular the description of the Ultimate Reality, given in *Lo rgyus chen mo*, according to the Five Great Principles (*che ba lnga*). It is interesting to see these principles mentioned in this context, and to compare them with those found in the *sGom gyi gnad gsal bar phye ba bsam gtan mig sgron* by gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (Karmay 1988). In this work, the five *che ba* are given as the five qualities of the Great Identity (*bdag nyid chen po*). We shall note that the Great Identity, together with the Condition (*ngang*) and the Nature (*rang bzhin*) constitute the threefold axiom that according to the Bonpo Great Perfection represents the Ultimate Reality. The *Lo rgyus chen mo* lists them as follows:

I. The Great Principle of Enlightenment as the Dimension of the Utimate Reality, given that the Mind-itself is unborn from the origin (*sems nyid gdod ma nas ma skyes pas bon nyid dbyings su sangs rgyas pa'i che ba*).

II. The Great Principle of Enlightenment as really perfected, given that all appearances are the Mind-itself (*snang ba sna tshogs sems nyid yin pas mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa'i che ba*).

III. The Great Principle of Enlightenment as Great Identity, given that no other phenomenon exists outside of the Mind (*sems las ma gtogs pa'i bon gzhan med pas bdag nyid chen por sangs rgyas pa'i che ba*).

IV. The Great Principle of Enlightenment as not being something that can be created, given that the state of Enlightenment of the Mind-itself is beyond effort and action (*sems nyid sangs rgyas kyi g-yo rtsol las 'das pas ma byas par sangs rgyas pa'i che ba*).

V. The Great Principle of there being no Enlightenment since in the Nature of the Mind the realization of Enlightenment is inexpressible (*sems kyi rang bzhin la sangs rgyas kyi rtogs pa mi brjod pas sangs rgyas med pa'i che ba*).

Karmay (1988: 114) mentions the Five Principles contained in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* as follows:

1. *mngon du sangs rgyas pa'i che ba* ("direct enlightenment"). This corresponds to the second Principle of the *Lo rgyus chen mo*.

2. *bdag nyid chen por sangs rgyas pa'i che ba* (the "Great self as the Enlightenment"). This corresponds to the third Principle of the *Lo rgyus chen mo*.
3. *rang rig pa bdag nyid che ba* ("the Self-awareness as the Great self"). Karmay (1988: 114) also quotes the definition given by Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po (ca. eleventh century) in his *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa* which reads: *chos kyi dbyings su sangs rgyas pa'i che ba*. This has a correspondence with the first Principle of the *Lo rgyus chen mo*.
4. *de yin pa'i sangs rgyas pa'i che ba* (the affirmation of the 3rd).
5. *thams cad nas thams cad du sangs rgyas med pa'i che ba* ("Enlightened: at all time").

At a first glance, the way in which the *Lo rgyus chen mo* expounds these five principles with respect to the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, seems to be clearer and more coherent. It certainly conforms to the fundamental tenets of the metaphysical view of the Great Perfection, as we find it expounded in many sources, such as the Three Proclamations, the *Yang rtse klong chen* and the Aural Transmission from Zhang-zhung (Rossi 1999). One wonders whether this may not be another case of textual transformation; the matter requires further comparative analysis.

The present paper represents a very preliminary approach to the study of this huge and hitherto inedited collection of the *Ye khri mtha' sel*. Undoubtedly, both the *Ye khri mtha' sel* cycle and the *Lo rgyus chen mo* can be considered as an interesting source of support, primarily, but not limited to, a better understanding of the Great Perfection as formulated in the Bon religion.

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Authenticity, effortlessness, delusion and spontaneity in *The Authenticity of Open Awareness* and related texts

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Introduction

In its culminating pages, the masterful Dzogchen (*rDzogs chen*) treatise known as the *Authenticity of Open Awareness, A Collection of the Essential Reasonings (gTan tshigs gal mdo rig pa'i tshad ma)*, seamlessly interweaves several of the work's most crucial themes, often by way of poetic citation. From the *Primordially Complete Ceaselessness and Changelessness* (*gYungs drung ye rdzogs),* for example, we read:

> As for mind nature, the essential Dzogchen instruction,
> All is realized as the very essential nature –
> No need, therefore, to meditate on mind-objects
> For here is sameness: no discarding, no upholding:
> Meditative stabilization that never degenerates[1].

By the time this passage occurs, we are well prepared for the text's juxtaposition of essential instructions, *(man ngag)* essential nature *(ngo bo nyid)* and the unchanging character of meditative stabilization *(ting nge 'dzin)*. From its opening pages the *Authenticity* considers how essential instructions, like certain scriptures, are authentic methods for understanding the Dzogchen view.

This paper explores explicit and implicit links among these principles of authenticity, especially the relationship between scriptural authenticity *(lung gyi tshad ma)* and unbounded wholeness *(thig le nyag gcig)* as well as the significance of scripture's own embodiment as the *dharmakāya* Samantabhadra. Within this larger framework, we consider the interrelationship of the Dzogchen principles of effortlessness and spontaneity, as well as the ways in which *Authenticity* connects its discussion of these with iterations of delusion and the non-necessity of meditation. In this we draw not only from the *Authenticity* but also from works closely related to it, beginning with its root text, *The Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture (Man ngag lung gyi tshad ma)*, and then moving to the *Stages of the Vehicles (Theg rim)*[2] and its Commentary *(Theg 'grel)*[3], all attributed to sTon-pa gShen-rab. Attention is also given to the *Three Revealed Cycles (bsGrags pa skor gsum*), which has the same root text as *Authenticity* itself.

Crucial elements of Bon Dzogchen perspectives (many of which are common to Buddhist Dzogchen) are often given their most succinct expression in the many

poetic citations that form the core around which *Authenticity's* many debates constellate. In taking this bird's eye view of how important themes move through the entire text, and because it conveys something of the Dzogchen spirit that prose does not, our discussion of *Authenticity* often follows that poetic voice[4].

1 The scriptural voice of Samantabhadra

A statement early in the *Authenticity* foreshadows connections it later suggests among scriptural authority, open awareness, and the three Buddha dimensions (*sku, kāya*).

> Through blessings of[5] the Victor All-Good Bon dimension, reflexive open awareness, a wholeness[6] which is the heart essence of our ancestor,[7] is understood by the White Shen Deity, protector[8] of beings. That itself, the very essence[9] of mindheart understanding, dawns as open awareness in the mindheart of the emanation dimension gShen-rab. Lyrical speech[10], the musical expression of this [open awareness], is addressed to fortunate ones, the heroically minded Yung Drung Shen-practitioners[11] [Bodhisattvas][12].
> This teaching[13], displayed by his [gShen-rab Mi-bo's] great mindheart {49.2} has three areas of confidence[14] regarding experience, explanation, and essential instructions, and is explained extensively[15] for the wellbeing of those having the karma to meet with it[16].

Here the text introduces a wholeness which is also the ultimate progenitor of authentic scriptures. An unknown annotator of the *Authenticity's* current redaction glosses "ancestor" as "source of confidence" (*yid ches pa'i lung*), with "source" *(lung)* being a term cognate with "scripture," thus implying a profound connection between authentifying scriptures and confident realization[17]. By expanding on the text's unelaborated connections between scripture, the wholeness which is reality, and the primordial Buddha, we can access more fully its view of unbounded wholeness and structure of authentication.

The areas of confidence named in the passage above are analogous to the three authenticities the text then enumerates: scripture *(lung),* essential instructions *(man ngag)* and reflective open awareness *(rang gi rig ba'i tshad ma.)*[18]. According to the *Authenticity*, authentic essential instructions connect the practitioner to authentic scriptures, which themselves facilitate authentic open awareness. These are considered "authenticators of method" *(thabs gyi tshad ma)* insofar as they are methods, or causes, for understanding unbounded wholeness[19].

Thus, the importance of scriptural authority is clear from the outset. Initially it is framed simply as a method for initiating an experience of unbounded wholeness; its virtual identification with the voice of reality in the person of Samantabhadra is an aspect of the narrative which does not fully emerge for another 80 folios. Only gradually does the text reveal how intimately tied is scriptural authority to the

witnessing open awareness' own authenticity and why, nonetheless, even reality's own voice cannot describe it fully.

The *Authenticity* explains essential instructions as the crucial link between authentic scriptures and open awareness. In making this point, the text is challenged to establish that unbounded wholeness and the open awareness which knowingly participates in it do exist and, despite being indescribable by Samantabhadra, and transparent to ordinary dualistic consciousness, can be known.

> Although it [unbounded wholeness] is not an external object, it is manifest for open awareness which *through the mere indication of essential instructions,* knows it clearly, nonconceptually, and thinglessly[20].

Gradually, the reality known as unbounded wholeness becomes amalgamated with scriptural authenticity itself. Let us briefly trace that trajectory in terms of the larger frame of our discussion, and in this way prepare to explore the text's key philosophical underpinnings, especially the triumvirate of perfectedness, effortlessness, and spontaneity.

Having briefly identified the three authenticators, the *Authenticity* cites the *Venerable Bon Awareness of Everything Tantra (Kun rig bon gyi rje rgyud)*:

> I am heart essence of all bon that is ,
> Bon-nature is not an object, is your own mind:
> Your uncontrived mind is the Bon Body
> All arises from me, bon-phenomena lord.
> Know me and the All-Good is there[21].

To identify Samantabhadra, literally "the All-Good," with the nature of reality is common in both Bon and Buddhist Dzogchen. And once reality is personified, however abstractly, it is natural for it to have a voice. Hence, perhaps, the logic of this text's interest in slowly forging a special conflation of this voice, scriptural authenticity, and the structure of reality itself.

The text's next move is to consider ordinary beings' relationship to the "uncontrived mind" of Dzogchen. *Unbounded Wholeness, the Ceaseless, Changeless Essential Heart (gYung drung snying po nyag gcig)* says:

> Enlightenment mind, root of all minds and Bon-phenomena
> The very heart essence *(ngo bo snying po),* mother unbounded wholeness
> Within this wholenesses neither meeting nor separation ever was, is, or will be
> Primordially undeluded, originally perfect[22].

Because the base is eternally undeluded, all beings born from "mother unbounded wholeness" are likewise without error. "Buddhas and sentient beings are temporarily separate, finally inseparable[23]." Thus the case for effortlessness is introduced. Yet, "without essential instructions there is no benefit but continual delusion[24]," for open awareness cannot recognize itself as unbounded wholeness without the intervening method of essential instructions, which necessitates their status as authenticators of such realization. Hence, too, the necessity for the artful

endeavor that the text distinguishes from effort.

Sentient beings need essential instructions to recognize their inborn Buddhahood. Only reflexive open awareness *(rang gi rig pa'i tshad ma)* is capable of such self-recognition, and thus even though the text names three "authenticators", only this actually itself enacts authentification. Only it fully recognizes itself as unbounded wholeness *(thig le nyag gcig)*. Furthermore, since unbounded wholeness includes all of cyclic existence and nirvana[25], no authentifying description, reasoned proof, or subjective perceiver is external to it. This, the self-recognition of reflexive open awareness, is what distinguishes ordinary sentient beings from Buddhas.

The basis of both Buddhas and sentient beings is the great self arisen primordial wisdom, enlightenment mind[26]: therefore, sentient beings cause Buddhas and Buddhas cause sentient beings. Hence one speaks of "The Buddha in which cause and effect are one taste[27]."

> Even though one is primordially a Buddha, one does not realize oneself as that and therefore is deluded. Taking form as a sentient being, one is known conventionally as Buddha who is a sentient being. The very essence of the base *(gzhi yi no bo nyid)*[28] does not change at all[29].

Midway through the *Authenticity*, important connections are made between reasoning, scriptural authenticity and the already perfect completeness of one's own Buddha nature. For example, the *Blissful Wheel (bDe ba'i 'khor lo)* says:

> If one understands the very essence, the essential nature just as it is
> Meditation and its aftermath are indistinguishable.
> Nor does [this nature] depart without meditation
> This is the best knowledge of Buddha[30].

Also, *Scripture of the Blissful Samantabhadra* (*Kun bzang bde ba'i lung*) says:

> If one realizes these essential instructions
> Unsearched for, there is an actual Buddha[31].
> Authentic recognition of unbounded wholeness can never arise through effort.

Toward the *Authenticity*'s conclusion, various poetic voices are put forward in concert to express the uniqueness of this teaching, now more clearly and consistently identified with Samantabhadra and effortlessness. The *Great Sky Beyond Effort* (*Nam mka' rtsol 'das chen po'i rgyud*) says:

> I, great ancestor of all vehicles
> Am primordially without abandonment, inclusion or yearning
> Primordially beyond the illness of effortful accomplishment
> Primordially free from extremes of permanence and annihilation.
> Primordially untouched by the lower vehicles.
> All those desiring me through effortful accomplishment
> Conjoin once more with the disease of thinking.
> They do not see the definitive meaning, the very essence,

Therefore [this teaching] is not for the ordinary everyone[32].

Also, the *Spontaneously Complete Awareness Tantra (Rig pa lhun rdzogs rgyud)*:

E Ma Ho
Marvelous
This great Samantabhadra realm
Being primordially the heart essence, great bliss,
'Tis a pity to make effort now...
The lower vehicles are great contrivances:
A fox, even though making a lion's sound
Will never be an actual lion[33].

Carrying the point further, the *Scripture of the Blissful Samantabhadra* says:

Such teachings are not for the ordinary everyone.
The great Garuda's [way of] flying
Is not common to ordinary birds.
The lion's leaping in snow
Is not common to those with ordinary claws or hoofs[34].

There is an untoward logic here. Buddhas and sentient beings, whom we might assume to be more different than sentient beings are from each other, turn out not to be different in any essential way. Yet, there are sufficient differences among sentient beings themselves to mandate that these teachings be withheld from the majority of them. At the same time, the teachings being referred to, as the text shortly makes clear, are not merely descriptive or reasoned, for mind nature is indescribable and unknowable through reasoning. Consequently, such activities are associated with fruitless effort.

The Scripture of the Blissful Samantabhadra says:

As for persons on the path of effortful accomplishment *(rtsol sgrub)* --
Though silver be melted, iron does not arise.
Though stone be cleansed, there is no jewel
Though coal be beautified, there is no tree.
Though descriptive phrases be written, they are inferior to scripture.
How can the meaning of this great completeness be understood by others[35]?

Also, the *Scriptural Heart of the White Shen Deity (gShen lha dkar po'i thugs kyi lung)* says:

E MA HO
Marvelous
This great completeness, wholeness which is mind-nature --
Lesser [persons] cannot understand it, however much they analyze:
An ocean cannot be consumed by ladling.
You cannot account for or number
A mountains' grains of sand.

Nor grab space with your hands.
Through reversing a river flow you cannot send it back.
Nothing can be proved by destroying with the sounds of reasoning[36].

Thus, essential instructions are implicitly divorced from two of the central characteristics of traditional doctrine – description and reasoning.

"Destroying with the sounds of reasoning" evokes the *via negativa* methods which clear away wrong views, leaving only a pristine absence *(med 'gag)*. This is not the way of Dzogchen – for one thing, reasoning, like any conceptual activity, requires effort; for another, the reality of Dzogchen is itself multivalent, requiring an unbounded subjectivity which is finally inaccessible through reasoning, for reasoning necessarily operates within the confines of oppositionalities and relies on proof statements that, by definition, draw circles of exclusivity around what is proven and what is not. Yet, reasoning does establish the claim that unbounded wholeness is authenticated; unbounded wholeness is what reasoning reveals[37].

Even so, we by no means find here the kind of unmitigated reverence for the reasoning process that we see, for example, in Nāgārjuna or Candrakīrti[38], or, much later, in dGe-lugs use of multiple forms of reasoning in meditative analysis. Such reasonings as are put forth in the *Authenticity* do not constitute part of a meditation session. Rather, the reader is led to speculate about reasonings' form, function, and of course their relationship to scripture.

If scriptures and essential instructions are neither descriptions nor reasoned proofs, what are they? This implicit query signals the beginning of a more open identification of scripture, an identity that comes into focus, however, only toward the very end of the *Authenticity*.

The confluence of Samantabhadra, nature of reality, and definitive scriptures emerges in the *Authenticity's* final section, which interrogates the category of scripture and scriptural origins. The question is raised as to whether the Buddha who spoke what we now call scripture was ever a sentient being or not. Either option raises problems that threaten to undermine scriptural authenticity. A teacher who had never been a sentient being would lack consciousness and awareness. Such a being would have neither an incentive for nor the possibility of realizing mind nature and, therefore, would never give instructions on it. But if Buddhas were once sentient beings, then Samantabhadra too would have had a teacher, and thus by implication could not be identified as the ceaseless, changeless, essential nature that is the very reality from which, as we will see, scripture derives its authority. The text responds to the conundrum this way:

> The heart essence, unadorned either by the faults of cyclic existence or the good qualities of nirvana, beyond either pure or deluded appearances, is the superb Essential Nature Dimension. It, the primordial wisdom of the primordial meaning, belongs neither to Buddhas nor sentient beings. Realized and understood by Samantabhadra[39], that essence arising from the

center of Samantabhadra's mindheart *(thugs)* and explained through the blessings [of Samantabhadra], is the definitive authentic scripture of the teacher[40].

Samantabhadra's teachings, including his scriptures, arise through blessings that emanate from his own mindheart. These express the natural dynamism of reaity; they occur spontaneously, for no effort whatsoever is involved. Unlike the hard-working Creator Deity of Judaism and Christianity, Samantabhadra takes no special rest on the seventh day or any other time. In tandem with being all-good, Samantabhadra is all effortless, all restful.

Moreover, where there is no effort, there is naturally no error. The *Essence of the Precious View Tantra (Rin po che'i lta ba'i snying po'i rgyud)* says:

The errorless, definitively authentic great scripture
Comes prior to either Buddhas or sentient beings.
The Essential Dimension *(ngo bo nyid sku),* the great
ancestor
Wordlessly realizes the meaning in Samantabhadra's heartmind,
Extracts the essence of that heartmind's blessings[41].

After bringing forth several other citations in support of this position, the segment culminates with another quote from the *Scripture of the Blissful Samantabhadra*, the most-cited tantra in the entire text:

Because of the teacher's great compassion
In extracting essence from that heart's center,
Scripture which explains by way of blessings
Is scripture of knowledge, effortless wholeness ---
This is the king of all scriptures:
Powerfully piercing, like the great Garuda
Leaping strongly like the lion
Extending everywhere like the sky.
Moistening everything like the ocean[42].

This, then is the text's response to the issue of scriptural authenticity, which is expressed neither through reasoning nor description, but because scripture "explains by way of blessings." Dynamic display and the blessings of effortless wholeness, are errorlessly realized as one's own open awareness. The scriptures which reveal this are themselves found to originate with the primordial blessings of the Buddha Samantabhadra. It is primarily on account of this etiology that they are known as authentic[43]. Born of and borne through the mother unbounded wholeness, authentic scriptures are one taste with the nature of reality itself.

Indeed, the *Authenticity* has from the start been subtly directing attention to just such an identification of scripture, open awareness, and unbounded wholeness. This becomes clear only in hindsight as the work concludes with numerous poetic and philosophical flourishes that turn on this very identity. Before we touch on that conclusion here, let us look more closely at key principles crucial to it. Juxtaposing

Samantabhadra and the nature of reality with scripture suggests an architecture of authenticity whose elements bear closer analysis. The stated necessity of essential instructions in the face of a boundless and errorless nature invites reflection on how delusion arises and can be liberated. This is a starting point for Dzogchen reflections on spontaneous occurrence, open awareness, and the artful endeavor that dissolves delusion.

2 Delusion, effortlessness, and the spontaneous nature of things

To discuss authentic awareness is also to describe the delusion that interferes with it. But given the premise of primordial wisdom and a ubiquitous Samantabhadra, how can delusion even occur? The *Authenticity's* core position on delusion is set forth early on:

> Even though everything is primordially [Buddha], it is not contradictory for delusions to arise since unbounded wholeness itself has not been understood. For example, even though something is primordially[44] golden, it remains unseen[45] due to being covered by earth[46].
>
> Because of not understanding and not recognizing the natural state of the enlightenment mind, the mind which is the root of samsara and nirvana, there is error whereby we cycle in the three realms and wander among the six types of rebirth. Moreover, through the power of not realizing *(rtogs)*, there is delusion due to an increase *(brtas)* in the consciousness apprehending as that [dualistic] what is not that[47].

Also, the *Collection of Jewels Sutra, 'Dus pa rin po che'i mdo)*:

> Though the base is without fundamental delusion
> Mental delusion modifies the base, and so
> Not seeing the very base due to causes and conditions
> That very base appears as a bon-phenomenon of samsara[48].

In short, delusion arises when one's own primordial mind goes unrecognized[49]. Such delusion inevitably involves wrongful ideation that either exaggerates by placing overlays *(sgro 'dogs, samāropa)* on, or under- estimates by detracting from *(skur 'debs, apavāda)* the actual nature of things. Whether or not one is liberated, the text continues, one's essence *(ngo bo)* is the same; both delusion and non-delusion are empty and spontaneously arise from the same nature; both participate in unbounded wholeness.

This conversation sharpens when the *Authenticity,* in the context of engaging an opponent in debate, states that since both delusion and bon-nature occur adventitiously and simultaneously. The Dzogchen view encapsulated in this statement falls neither to the extreme of permanence by declaring everything is just pure, nor to the extreme of nihilism by declaring everything mere delusion[50]. In this way, the all inclusive nature of unbounded wholeness is affirmed.

Authenticity's root text, the *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture* gives further insight into early Bon Dzogchen epistemologies of delusion. This work takes on a more Indian flavor than *Authenticity* ever does, even citing, without attribution, Dharmakīrti's famous characterization of direct perception as "that which is free from conceptuality and undeluded" (*rtog pa dang bral zhing ma 'khrul ba*), (15.4) a phrase this work never designates as a definition nor in any way explicitly connect with Dharmakīrti, but cites it occurs when the text highlights the non-deluded nature of direct perception as compared with the delusion that attends thought. Still, the root text differs from classic Indic and related Tibetan discussions of authenticity *(tshad ma)* in its characterization of reality, and the associated construal of how delusion *('khrul ba)* arises.

For example, analyses linking the lack of delusion with spontaneous occurrence are virtually unknown in Tibetan sutra-vehicle literature such as that on mind and awareness *(blo rig)*, but in *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture,* and in Dzogchen more generally, non-delusion occurs spontaneously. (15.5) Although, sutra vehicle texts would agree with the *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture*'s statement that delusion itself is illusory, a distinctly Dzogchen thread runs through the latter's discussion. For example, the section just noted opens with a description of all appearances as the primordial Buddha and observes that since these are liberated in their own place, delusion does not actually exist and so, naturally enough, non-delusion, rather than resulting from effort, occurs spontaneously.

Does spontaneous delusion exist in the object or in the mind? "According to me" responds the *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture,*

> ...appearances are primordially Buddha, that very place liberated in its own place. Thus, there is no delusion regarding what is primordially Buddha just as, on an island of gold [there are no stones.]. Where is there delusion or non-delusion? Where there is utterly no thought, that is nonconceptual and therefore nondeluded and free of thought. Hence, through holding the meaning of non-delusion meeting with non-delusion is said to occur spontaneously. Such [ordinary appearances] and what is primordially Buddha are not two, we consider them one. Being nondual, there is no conceptuality; that [conceptuality] is itself a non-deluded state. "That for which an object is clear" is known as direct perception. You are imputing duality where there is none, imputing ultimate and conventional. That is delusion[51].

In a compelling variation on the famous "double moon" example of sensory error, the text here goes on to expand on the meaning of delusion. Pressing your eyes, you may see two moons, If, while gazing upon these moons you are drawn to wonder which is the actual one, the moon on the right or the moon on the left, only confusion results. To perceive delusion and non-delusion as separate is, the text concludes, equally deluded.

Thus, like the *Authenticity,* its root text denies a paradigm in which some

objects are true and others are not. As with the moon, it only breeds confusion to ask which of the two truths is correct, the ultimate or conventional, or who is right, Buddhas or sentient beings. Since everything has the same nature, there is only one truth, not two as classically put forward in sutra systems. This premise is integral to a statement, enclosed in the quote above, that also undergirds the entire premise of the *Authenticity: Once there is no duality, there is no conceptuality;* Dualism itself is only imputed, just as the categories of ultimate and conventional are imputed, just as the existence of two moons is erroneously imputed. There are neither two moons nor two truths, only one. To depart from a presentation of two truths is common enough in Dzogchen, but unknown to the kinds of discussions of conceptual and perceptual error that are grafted onto Dzogchen explication in the *Authenticity* and its root text.

The one truth is that sentient beings and Buddhas are not disparate. The same essential nature, present in Buddhas and nonBuddhas alike, is true and this is what is authenticated[52]. Such truth is known by scripture, open awareness, and essential instructions.

This one, all-inclusive truth, is known as unbounded wholeness. As it already incorporates everything, there is nothing to be done, effort is superfluous, all is already complete. Its completeness however does not connote a static sense of being finished but rather a dynamism capable of catalyzing both liberation and the display of delusion, toward which artful endeavor must be directed.

Even though delusion is fully ingredient in unbounded wholeness, it interferes with self-recognition, the open awareness that is the sole experiential authenticator of such wholeness. For this reason delusion must be dealt with. It is a special feature of Dzogchen to partner this clear call to action with the principles of effortlessness and spontaneous occurrence, two crucial characteristics of open awareness:

3. Artful Endeavor and Effortless Spontaneity

How are we to understand the soteriological and epistemological significance of effortlessness in the *Authenticity* and related materials? And how is this to be construed in the face of a clearly expressed need to correct the non-realization of one's own Buddhahood? Failure of recognition is itself delusion; how will it be overcome without effort? And what is so wrong about effort? Is it simply that, if nothing fundamentally changes at Buddhahood, effort is superfluous? Or are there other reasons why effort is incompatible with open awareness, and thus with reality?

There are, of course, other reasons. For one, the nature of reality discussed in our texts is such that effort is intrinsically at odds with its most salient characteristics, especially that of spontaneity. For this reason we draw on literature

associated with the *Authenticity* in order to call attention to spontaneous occurrence as a crucial philosophical principle in Dzogchen. The apparent tension between the need to do something and the injunction to do nothing is at the heart of the Dzogchen view. The doing that undoes delusion and thereby allows recognition of spontaneous open awareness is given a very particular flavor here.

Dzogchen spontaneity is in the *Authenticity* a way of representing the nature of Buddhahood. The *Venerable Bon Awareness of Everything* (*Kun rig bon gyi rje rgyud*) says:

> Since they appear as the mind's nature
> And because Buddhas and sentient beings have one cause
> Buddhahood is natural and spontaneous[53].

Spontaneous occurrence is also to be understood as the nature of all things, for according to the *Spontaneously Complete Open Awareness Tantra (Rig pa lhun rdzogs rgyud)*:

> From the Conquerors' mandala to the golden mat of cyclic existence
> All samsara and nirvana
> Are just the spontaneous heart essence
> In whose self-appearance, whether pure or erroneous,
> There is not even one iota of movement from that (spontaneous essence)[54].

The *Commentary on the Stages of the Vehicles* (*Theg 'grel*), one of the important background texts of the *Authenticity*, supports this further:

> Realizing just what is, view, meditation, and effect are one.
> Wholly complete from the beginning, there is no effort (*gzod*) [55]

And:

> Within the view, open awareness, there is neither taking up nor putting aside[56].

It must be understood, however, that even without the effort of "taking up or putting aside," enormous perseverance is necessary to realize the Dzogchen view. Sociologically and soteriologically, artfully effective endeavor is central to the Dzogchen (and other) contemplative traditions. Yet Dzogchen itself, unlike what it deems the "lower vehicles" inquires deeply into the ontological implications of effort. On the basis of this inquiry, effort is decried.

In this regard, the *Authenticity's* distinction between artful endeavor (*'bad pa)* and effort (*rtsol ba)* is critical. Effort (*rtsol)* is a great error, but practitioners must definitely employ artful endeavor (*'bad pa).* This distinction, though unanalyzed and unremarked upon, is consistent throughout the text. The need for artful endeavor is defended against an opponent who suggests that, given Dzogchen's emphasis on primordial wisdom, liberation can be attained without it. The necessity for artful endeavor is explicitly related with the etiology of delusion. Delusions are not causeless delusions. There are causes [of delusion], for there are adventitious causes. These can be purified[57]; thus, artful endeavor is meaningful[58].

Something does happen when one practices. Causes of delusion are purified. Still, the injunction to eliminate delusion must be not confused with a call to effort.

> When it comes to the thingless heart essence of Bodhicitta, knowing and not knowing are inseparable; hence, there is no effortful (*rtsol*) search for wisdom through purifying obstructions or abandoning ignorance[59].

The *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture* further clarifies this distinction in the context of a debate with an opponent who suggests that if, as Dzogchen seems to claim, the conditioned and unconditioned go undifferentiated, then liberation would require no effort whatsoever. This point harkens back to the *Authenticity's* central and governing paradigm of truth as an all inclusive whole.

In rhetoric familiar to Indian Buddhism at least since Nāgārjuna, this text asks, as does *Authenticity*: are the conditioned and unconditioned the same or different? If the same, would it not absurdly follow that one is automatically liberated? This is unacceptable, says the *Authenticity,* for without artful endeavor one will simply bypass the truth without recognizing it, like passing a person to whom you have not been introduced and who, for that reason, you cannot actually acknowledge[60]. Thus, artful endeavor is crucial. Does reasoning have a place within it?

The *Authenticity's* interest in reasoning is directly related to its focus on methods establishing authenticity, though the two are by no means co-extensive. The *Authenticity*, in discussing the three "authenticators of method," traces an arc of transmission that culminates in one's own authentic reflexive open awareness *(rang gi rig pa'i tshad ma).* Like its root text, *Authenticity* departs from Indian Buddhist formulations of authenticity (and sounds, at least on the surface, similar to Hindu and Jain ones) in including scriptural authority in its triad of authenticators.

The *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture* offers a further analytical perspective on the question of reasoning and its relationship to the reality of unbounded wholeness. Unlike *Authenticity*[61], this work mentions the three types of relationships possible between unbounded wholeness and its scriptural authenticator, as well as the one type of reason which establishes this. All are imputed by the mind which posits them[62]. Also known to sutra exegesis, these three relationships are those of : (1) being the same in nature *(bdag nyid gcig pa'i 'brel ba)* (2) one arising from the other *(de las byung ba'i 'brel ba)* and (3) arising from causes and conditions *(rgyu dang rkyen gyi 'brel ba)* [63].

Unbounded wholeness is said to be established by reasons one in nature with it. The separative ratiocination that characterizes reasoning more generally is, this section suggests, incapable of bringing the mind toward unbounded wholeness. Moreover, reasoning, like all the dynamic display of samsara, itself arises from unbounded wholeness. Herein lies a complication where the epistemology seems to struggle to hold to the principles of both *rDzogs chen* and *Tshad ma.* We see this in an *Authenticity* debate, cited below, where the text argues that the relationship of all existents (samsara and nirvana) to unbounded wholeness is like that of smoke to

fire. One arises from the other. At the same time, unbounded wholeness can never be called the cause of samsara and nirvana, since it is changeless, ceaseless, and unconditioned. The crucial point is that even "effects" are one in Buddha nature with their causes. In this way, correctly engaged, reasoning does not so much prove unbounded wholeness as participate with it and, to some degree by its mere existence, demonstrate that unbounded wholeness embraces it.

Moreover, once a reason is considered one in nature with what it establishes, the principle of all-inclusivity arguably goes unviolated by it. This same principle makes it possible to argue that open awareness itself, not being different in nature from scriptural and or instructional authenticators, is not caused by them. This matter is also given consideration as *Authenticity* seeks to establish the multiple nature of unbounded wholeness. This multiplicity becomes another factor making unbounded wholeness unascertainable by reasoning.

Since there are many diverse perspectives, argues the *Authenticity*, there is necessarily a wholeness which they constitute. "Since there are many diverse perspectives, it is impossible that there not be a whole, all-suffusing mind nature which is the basis[64]. For example, once there is smoke, it is impossible that there not be fire[65]."

The textual opponent remains unconvinced, and puts forward a counter argument:

> Not so, because fire and smoke have a relationship of one arising from the other[66]. In this case there is no such relationship[67][68].

The *Authenticity* responds that there is in fact a relationship of one arising from the other, because the base which is the mind nature, an all pervasive wholeness, is not constrained in any one direction. This is typical of the text's indirect style; it never argues, as it cannot, that unbounded wholeness is a cause, only that it is "not constrained"; thereby suggesting that nothing is prevented from arising from it. On this basis it states that, because of mutually antithetical sense perceptions *(dbang po mthong snang)* arise, including the perceptions of delusion, many discordant appearances also arise, just as smoke rises from fire[69]. As is its custom, the text supports its point by bringing forward a poetic citation, in this case from *Mirror of Mind-Nature Treasure (Sems nyid me long gi mdzod phug)*:

> Appearances are different, diverse, and so
> Extend all through mind nature[70], samsara and nirvana;
> Because they always self-arise [from] wholeness,
> These things[71] are related with, rise from, reality[72][73].

The issue of the relationship between an authenticator and unbounded wholeness – or between any subject and object – is directly related to the relationship between sources of arising and that which arises from them, or between causes and effects. It also directly pertains to the relationship between effort and enlightenment, ignorance and wisdom. Strictly speaking, from an ultimate perspective, ignorance arises from wisdom, and effort from enlightenment

mind. Logic's linear, chronological movement from cause to effect, or from ignorance to wisdom, is thus disrupted by Dzogchen epistemology. Primordial wisdom is where everything begins and in which everything is resolved.

Whereas Mādhyamika, in many interpretations, maintains that because phenomena are empty their causality is merely a convention, the *Authenticity* goes further, maintaining that there is neither coming together nor separation within unbounded wholeness. In that case, how is causality to be understood? The *Authenticity* takes great care not to level causal relations to the point that any sign might prove any predicate. Just as unbounded wholeness participates in everything, providing a sameness which yet does not vitiate distinctions, a reason can arguably function in relation to phenomena similar in nature to itself without necessarily and fundamentally dichotomizing cause and effect. Reasoning cannot, however, ever completely uncover or articulate the most subtle nature through which it is connected with its object of proof. And reasoning cannot cause wisdom.

For example, a syllogism such as "it follows that the subject, sound, is impermanent, because of being a product like pot" is sensible insofar as product and impermanence are equally characterized by the "momentariness" *(skad gcig ma)* which defines impermanence. This too is a reasoning by way of the nature *(rang bzhin gyi gtan tshigs)*. Product and impermanence have one nature but are different for thought[74]. However, in the *Authenticity's* use of the principle, the unity in nature of reason and proof takes a different turn from more well known Indian-based Tibetan styles of debate. Its point with respect to cause and effect is that all effects occur spontaneously and thus are not sufficiently separate in nature from their causes to justify saying that a fruit or effect is in a dualistic relationship to causes or circumstances that facilitated it. This point, while not elaborated in relation to products in general, is significant in connection with the effortless nonmovement from delusion to wisdom.

3.1 Effort's incompatibility with the Path

Effort cannot be a part of Dzogchen soteriology for three distinct yet related reasons: (1) the structure of the path, (2) the nature of reality and (3) the character of open awareness. Most briefly, effort is extraneous to the path insofar as Dzogchen practice is always complete. In this sense, there are no stages to make effort at traversing. Effort is also untenable because the nature of reality, replete with spontaneous occurrence, pervades everywhere, suffusing effort itself and thus making untenable an effort toward it. Effort itself needs to be understood as an instance of reality's spontaneous dynamic display. This nature, present in everyone, is immutable to change. That which recognizes it is open awareness, a nonconceptual presence which itself is incompatible with effort for two reasons. First, not being a consciousness, it will not arise due to any causal factors that effort might provoke. Second, effort, inevitably associated with purpose, is always conjoined with conceptual thought, which is absent in open awareness. We will

consider each of these incompatibilities, even as we acknowledge that artful activity is crucial for the Dzogchen practitioner.

3.2 Completeness of the Path

A classic Bon discussion of the Dzogchen path's completeness is in *Three Revealed Cycles* (*bsGrags pa skor gsum*), emically regarded as the oldest exposition of Bon Dzogchen and considered a crucial background text for the *Authenticity.* Like the *Authenticity,* this work is regarded as a commentary on the *Authenticity of Essential Instructions and Scripture.*

Three Revealed Cycles is a collection of 47 different texts discovered together with the *Utmost Peak, Great Expanse (Yang rtse klong chen*) behind a Vairocana statue in the temple of Kho-mthing in Lho-brag by gZhod-ston dNgos-grub grags-pa in 1100[75]. Shar-rdza Rinpoche describes gZhod-ston dNgos-grub as a distinguished scholar and an emanation of Li-shu stag-ring and says that these texts were hidden during the waning days of Bon by none other than Li-shu stag-ring. *Three Cycles* frames the completeness of Dzogchen in terms of the five paths, ten grounds, and six perfections. These classic categories of Indian Buddhism are in *Three Cycles* assimilated to Dzogchen this way:

> Because of the absence of grasping and desire, giving is complete. Because neither of the two first truths, suffering nor its causes, are present, ethics are included [presumably a reference to the way in which non-ethical activities cause suffering]. Because this nature has no feeling *(tshor ba, vedanā)* of happiness of suffering, patience is perfected.
>
> Because the natural state has neither laziness nor neutrality, the quality of effort is complete. Because concentration (*bsam gtan, dhyāna)* is unchanging, its qualities are complete. Because there is no risk at all of falling into an abyss [of error], the quality of power is complete. Because there are neither afflictions nor suffering, compassion is complete. Because this nature has neither hope nor doubt, the perfection of prayer is complete. Because the nature is not bound up with any worldly conditions, the perfection of method is complete. Because it has no delusion (*'khrul ba, bhrānti)* the perfection of wisdom is present.

The five paths are also perfected:

> The path of accumulation, because the natural state is unceasing, ongoing, not dependent on causes; the path of union, because the natural state has neither internal nor external portions, it is simply unbounded wholeness[76].
>
> Because it is beyond saying "this is this," a pure seeing without any elaborations, the seeing path is perfected. Because there is no effortful thought of speech, the path of meditation is complete. Because there is neither center nor boundary, the path of liberation *(mthar phyin pa'i lam)* is complete, which means there is no more learning *(mi slob lam, aśāikṣa mārgā)* [77].

Thus, Dzogchen is not so far beyond the paths of sutra that it does not contain them; indeed, here it is presented as complete and perfect *(rdzogs)* precisely because all ten grounds and nine vehicles are included in it[78)]. However, Bon and other Dzogchen texts do not speak of moving step by step through the five paths, for all these find their perfection in the natural state of open awareness. The superfluity of gradual effort is further addressed by the *Authenticity* in its treatment of open awareness. Crucial here is the way open awareness is contrasted with consciousness and virtually identified with the nature of reality.

3.3 Open awareness and consciousness

Though not a ubiquitously held position in either Bon or Buddhist Dzogchen, the difference between open awareness and consciousness is a crucial point for the *Authenticity* and related literature. For example, *Three Revealed Cycles.* just before the passage cited above, states "This great perfection is without consciousness (*shes pa med pa)* but is an excellent superior wisdom *(shes rab)*[79)]." None of the other Nine Vehicles would make put forward such a claim.

It is axiomatic in Indian and Tibetan epistemology that any consciousness must have an object of which it is conscious *(shes bya, jñeya)* that is, an object which it observes *(dmigs pa, ālambana)* and thus on which it is focused. Focusing in turn requires effort, as well as a more narrow scope than the unbounded wholeness toward which open awareness is directed. Because the Dzogchen state of meditative stabilization is not focused or directed at any particular object, no effort is required.

This point is further underscored by those who maintain that whereas the meditative stabilization taught in other vehicles is a consciousness (*shes pa*), the Dzogchen categories of open awareness and unbounded wholeness are not. Moreover, in the *Authenticity*, as for Dzogchen more generally, any appearance associated with subject and object is a conventional truth[80)]. Since conceptual thought, including inference, is necessarily predicated on a subject and an object, these modes of cognition are by definition excluded from having the ultimate as their object. Expressing a view that is also held in the early Perfection of Wisdom (*phar phyin, prajñāpāramitā*) literature, we read, "All signs of conventionalities are conventional truths. The pacification of all signs of elaboration is ultimate truth[81)]."

Thus, open awareness and unbounded wholeness, in addition to being non-conceptual and free of ordinary sensory perception; do not even fall under the rubric of consciousness. Consciousness is an impermanent phenomena *(dngos po)*, whereas open awareness and unbounded wholeness are not. This point harkens back to the *Authenticity*'s discussion of the relationship between cause and effect, effort and realization. As we have seen, whereas a consciousness necessarily arises from causes, the self-arisen wisdom does not. Primordial wisdom is neither a consciousness nor is it related with any cause[82)], nor is it a causeless impermanent

thing because such do not exist. Although this distinction between consciousness and the self-arisen primordial wisdom is not universally held in Dzogchen, it serves well as a way of philosophically protecting the unique Dzogchen epistemology from assimilation into other perspectives. (Those upholding this perspective maintain that to consider wisdom a causeless consciousness is to take up a *Tīrthika* tenet[83].) Distinguishing wisdom and consciousness is also a way of expressing the well known Dzogchen contention that its view is inconceivable and inexpressible.

For Dzogchen, the effortless fruit of practice is an unbounded wholeness *(thig le nyag gcig)* which spontaneously occurs in its own place. In this sense, effort is antithetical to reality itself (although in another sense, less emphasized in our texts, effort must be included within unbounded wholeness.) Spontaneity also is ingredient in authenticity, for the authenticating power of reflexive open awareness (*rang gi rig pa'i tshad ma)* is naturally conjoined with spontaneous meditation[84] and thus, again, is effortless. Such is its manner of Dzogchen authenticity.

According to the *Authenticity* this does not exist in the lower vehicles. Likewise the natural vitality of a meditative stabilization that primordially and spontaneously arises is not discussed in the lower vehicles, whose meditative stabilization comes about through effort.

In a manner entirely consistent with, though not specifically articulated in, the *Authenticity,* Lopön Tenzin Namdak elaborates the epistemological uniqueness of Bon Dzogchen's open awareness in his *Treatise on the Mother Tantra*[85]. He maintains that although open awareness is a type of direct perception, it is not found among the categories of direct perception discussed in sutra vehicle literature, especially that associated with the Sautrāntika and Cittamātra systems *(mdo sems thun mong ba).*

The four direct perceivers described in these systems are well known: sensory direct perception *(dbang po'i mngon sum, indriya-pratyakṣa)* mental direct perception *(yid gyi mngon sum, mānasa-pratyakṣa),* yogic direct perception *(rnal 'byor mngon sum, yogi-pratyakṣa),* and, the category seemingly most compatible with Dzogchen discussions, open awareness direct perception *(rang rig mngon sum, svasaṁvedana-pratyakṣa).* However, in this Bon Dzogchen perspective, its reflexive open awareness is none of these.

This open awareness is neither sensory nor mental direct perception, continues Lopön Tenzin Namdak, because these do not observe their own natural state[86]. Moreover, such perception lacks the meditative stabilization of open awareness, and open awareness is not, like these, induced by an immediately prior condition *(de ma thag rkyen, samanantara-pratyaya),* that is, by a previously existing consciousness.. Nor is the open awareness of Dzogchen the same as the open awareness spoken of in Cittamātra. The latter necessarily has consciousness, rather than unbounded wholeness, as its explicit object *(dngos yul).* Moreover, the consciousness which is the direct object of the open awareness described in Cittamātra is conditioned whereas the ultimate, unbounded wholeness, which is the

direct object of the open awareness as well as its own nature, is described in Dzogchen is unconditioned[87].

Nor is open awareness the equivalent of yogic direct perception as described in sutra literature. In discussing this, Lopön Tenzin Namdak specifically considers the wisdom of meditative equipoise belonging to a Superior of the Perfection Vehicle. After all, dualistic appearances dissolve for such a consciousness, and meditative equipoise experiences the natural condition of emptiness[88]. Whereas the wisdom of meditative equipoise cognizing emptiness is described, for example, in dGe-lugs texts as induced by an inferential consciousness which then itself segues into the wisdom of emptiness, the open awareness of Dzogchen is described as self-settled, and there is no process by which conceptual thought *itself* is transformed into or precipitates wisdom. The open awareness discussed in Dzogchen is not induced by a meditative stabilization that exists prior to it. Primordial wisdom's ontology does not rest with reasoning. Thus, although the construction of conceptual positions has some purpose, noted at the outset of the *Authenticity,* it does not take one to ultimate understanding. Why? Conceptual processes, the *via negativa* alone, cannot make open awareness manifest.

Whereas a consciousness necessarily arises from causes, the self-arisen wisdom does not. Not being a consciousness, it is not related with any cause but is imbued with the quality of spontaneous occurrence. Effortful exertion is antithetical to its very nature, though artful activity *('bad)* is not. This is one theoretical principle which facilitates Dzogchen's extrication from the morass of difficulties associated with an extreme subítist view. To claim that effort is unnecessary is to invoke the core Dzogchen principle that delusion is temporary and nondelusion is always present. Any effort to produce nondelusion is inappropriate because both open awareness and the reality which it gnostically engages are spontaneous occurrences.

Not being a consciousness, there is no need to posit an object for Dzogchen's open awareness. For this reason, effort is seen as an inappropriate gesture toward open awareness partly because, as we have seen, open awareness is neither a consciousness nor an impermanent phenomena and thus cannot be brought about due to any cause and effect process.

Spontaneous occurrence is thus fundamentally related to effortlessness;. to elaborate on this we turn to another text emically associated with the *Authenticity,* the *Stages of the Vehicles (Theg rim)* and its commentary *(Theg 'grel)*. Both works are traditionally attributed to gShen-rab Mi-bo. Vairocana[89] – who by some accounts studied with gShen-rab Mi-bo – is said to have translated *Stages of the Vehicles (Theg rim/theg pa'i rim pa mngon du bshad pa'i mdo rgyud)* from Zhang-zhung language, also identified as the language of Gilgit, and later to have hidden it as *gter* at Yer-ba near Samye.

The root text, *Stages of the Vehicles* and its commentary, *Theg pa'i rim pa mngon du bshad pa'i mdo rgyud kyi 'grel pa (theg 'grel)*[90] are, like the

Authenticity , said to have been discovered by the three Buddhists. These works provide the *Decisive Overview (lTa ba spyi gcod)* of the *Clearing Extremes from the Primordial Mind (Ye khri mtha' gsal)*[91] another work considered associated with the *Authenticity*[92].

The discussion of spontaneous occurrence in *Commentary on the Stages of the Vehicles* is an important element in that text's explication of how Dzogchen differs from and is superior to the other eight vehicles. The *Commentary* opens with sTon-pa gShen-rab exhorting his three main students, known as the "three sharp ones" *(skam gsum)* to listen undistractedly[93]. Referring to himself as the Lion Speaker, he notes that his extensive discussion of the Dzogchen Vehicle will proceed by way of seven central topics:

1) view realized,
2) pledges held,
3) stages of meditation
4) method of accomplishment,
5) good activities engaged
6) effects of accomplishment and
7) that which distinguishes Dzogchen from lower vehicles[94].

These topics are discussed in terms of five categories: view, behavior, fruition, the dynamic display *(rtsal)* of meditative stabilization, and great reasoning[95].

A full synopsis of these issues would take us too far afield, but a synthesis of important areas of confluence (or, less frequently, contrast) with the presentation in *Authenticity* will further illustrate the contours of the latter. Even though we cannot be absolutely sure, as Bon tradition holds, that these works predate the *Authenticity*, they certainly provide an important intellectual context for it.

Unlike *Authenticity*, the *Vehicle Commentary* describes the Dzogchen view in terms of three aspects: (1) primordial purity (*ka tag),* (2) spontaneous occurrence *(lhun grub)* and, (3) the union of these with just-is-ness (*ji bzhin nyid kyi skye mched)*. Primordial purity and spontaneous occurrence are united as the base *(gzhi)* and with each other, for neither one is, by itself, the complete self-arisen primordial wisdom *(rang 'byung ye shes).* Primordial purity signifies that everything whatsoever, in cyclic existence and nirvana, is the self clarity of primordial wisdom *(ye shes rang gsal)*[96]. Nonetheless, delusion does arise. These two claims become compatible by way of the claim that spontaneous occurrence is not the same as causeless occurrence, for, as we have seen delusion indeed has causes.

The union of primordial purity and spontaneous occurrence is possible because primordial purity is not ontologically reified; the *Vehicle Commentary* notes early on that it does not actually *(dngos su)* exist[97]. Likewise, we find the observation that primordial purity and spontaneous occurrence are actually not true *(dngos mi bden)*[98]. They are, however, dynamic:

Since this very base
Has spontaneity in great primordial purity

Play *(rol ba)* itself is its essential nature.[99]

Neither primordial purity nor spontaneous occurrence alone is the complete self arisen primordial wisdom *(rang 'byung ye shes)*. Of the three Dzogchen terms that thematize *Stages,* only spontaneous occurrence is found in the *Authenticity.* The absence of the well known-term *ka dag* in *Authenticity* is curious, not least because the word occurs frequently in both the *Stages of the Vehicles* and its *Commentary.* Perhaps these two works, though now emically considered a source for the *Authenticity*, were in fact written after it; although clearly some kind of Nine Vehicles literature is in the background of Li-shu stag-ring's text. The term *ka tag* frequently occurs in other Bon Dzogchen works, we find it in *Clearing Extremes from the Primordial Mind, Magical Space Treasure* (*Nam mkha'i 'phrul mdzod*) and *Three Revealed Cycles*[100]. Further research here is needed.

However this may be, the principle of primordial purity *(ka dag)* and the associated observation in *Commentary on the Stages of the Vehicles* that all things whatsoever of samsara and nirvana are characterized by the self-clarity of primordial wisdom *(ye shes)* is fundamental to a central conundrum of the *Authenticity*, and of Dzogchen more generally: If all is primordially pure, whence ignorance? If primordial wisdom is already present, why practice? Most, if not all, of the crucial issues of Dzogchen philosophy, especially as introduced in the *Vehicle* literature and elaborated in the *Authenticity*, are related to these questions.

In this literature, spontaneous occurrence, a characteristic of the base, the path, and the fruit, is the antithesis of effortful engagement, for base, path, and fruit are equally effortless, primordially perfect[101]. For Dzogchen, the pedagogical dangers of renouncing effort pale beside the imperative to sustain effortlessness. Without spontaneous occurrence, none of the qualities of enlightenment would occur. This point, part of the description of reality, flows directly into the undesirability of effort.

The unsuitability of effort for accessing an ontologically effortless reality also informs Dzogchen descriptions of meditative stabilization which, unlike that in the lower vehicles, is not characterized as an effect. With this claim, the *Vehicle Commentary* emphasizes that the experience of open awareness never results from conceptual endeavor. Here, as in the *Authenticity*, effort and conceptuality are antithetical to base, path, and fruit. The spontaneous, primordial purity of Dzogchen is discovered only with the absence of effort. Indeed, for the *Authenticity,* effortlessness and non-holding mark the difference between correct and incorrect Dzogchen practice. Any attraction *(zhen)* to internal thoughts or external objects is effortful and therefore must be abandoned before mind nature can be experienced. The lower vehicles however recognize neither primordial purity, spontaneous occurrence nor just-is-ness *(ji bzhin nyid)*. This, most succinctly, is the difference in view between Bon Dzogchen and its other vehicles.

In this context, the *Vehicle Commentary* concludes its thematizing of issues related with primordial purity by reflecting on the ontological status of delusion;

considering, for example, whether it is causeless or not[102]. Like the *Authenticity*, the *Vehicle Commentary* concludes that delusion *('khrul ba)* beginninglessly arises from unawareness *(ma rig pa)*[103]. Failure to recognize one's own self arising primordial wisdom is the source of innate unawareness. Learned unawareness follows from this.

The *Vehicle Commentary's* section on spontaneous occurrence[104] opens by echoing the text's own earlier statement that everything that exists, whether of cyclic existence or nirvana, is spontaneously occurring. There are two systems *(gzhung lugs)* regarding this, the spontaneous occurrence of the nature and of those phenomena which possess nature[105].

What is the relationship between Bon nature and the phenomena through which it manifests? Are they mixed up in such a way that impermanent phenomena take on qualities of the nature or is the nature itself as momentary as impermanent phenomena? The answer is neither. One does not take on the qualities of the other, just as the faces of human, horse, and bird can be simultaneously reflected in water – they do not become mixed, their own shape and their own colors remain clear[106].

This pattern of argumentation persists through much of the *Authenticity*: two elements are named, for example nature and the phenomena which possess it, or primordial wisdom and ignorance appearance and emptiness. The naming of these dyads precipitates debate as to their relationship, analysis that gains its drama because of an apparent irreconciliability with the Dzogchen view. That is, to prove either utter identity or difference between the elements in the dyad will damage the Dzogchen position. In "solving" this matter, the *Authenticity* deflects the direction suggested by its opponents' debate and suggests a new ontological move, pointing toward, for example, a kind of unbounded yet coherent identity that does not entail unwanted philosophical consequences. This repetitive opening of the dialogical space opens in turn to the Dzogchen view.

In the *Authenticity,* the refusal to be limited by the formal strictures of debate is reflected also in its frequent use of the poetic voice; over a hundred ancient, mainly nonextant tantric poetic texts are cited throughout the work. Although the *Vehicle Commentary* does not quote poetry, it too has a multivalent voice. After situating itself solidly within Nine Vehicle categories, and contesting those of the lower vehicles with the type of debate just mentioned, the text takes on the kind of evocative tone more characteristic of Dzogchen in general. The structure of debate is left behind as a steady stream of descriptive ontologies evoke the nature[107].

> Open awareness [has] the nature of clear light, for its essence is untouched by extremes of permanence or annihilation; its nature is nondual, for it neither includes nor excludes *(spong sdud)*; it is uncontaminated by attraction *(zhen)* and thus very blissful in nature. Because nature, unbounded wholeness, is the spontaneously occurring nature, its nature does not arise through other effects. Because it is birthless streams of light, like the sun rising in the sky, its nature never ceases[108].

4 Scripture and reality

Let us now return to the theme of authenticity and the ways in which scripture, essential instructions, and the voice of reality itself converge in the *Authenticity*. How is this articulated?

Samantabhadra is ingredient in the realization of mind nature, in mind nature itself, and in the scriptures explaining the connection between them. Clearly, if authentic scriptures are part of the expression of reality itself, they cannot be products of effort. Nor is this necessary. For the *Authenticity,* the power of those scriptures lies not in their words but in the blessings, literally "waves of giving" *(byin rlabs)* that give rise to them. Authentic scriptures are dynamic in the way that Samantabhadra, reality itself, is dynamic, but their efficacy lies neither in description nor in reasoning, not really in words at all. Conceptual authenticity has no place in actual Dzogchen practice, however important it may be in Dzogchen training[109].

Thus we arrive at the a-logical conclusion toward which the text has been moving all along. Neither bound by the linearity of conventional logic, nor divorcing itself from reason's rigor, the *Authenticity* develops a logic that often follows the form, not of syllogistic reasoning, but of poetic and multidimensional exploration. We have, after all, already been told that neither description nor reasoning are the acme of scriptural performance; early on the *Authenticity* noted that even Samantabhadra cannot demonstrate reality to be "this."[110]. Undecidability as a crucial feature of reality is reiterated much later in the text when we read that "The undwelling, unseen emptiness is difficult to indicate as 'this,' like a stammerer's dream[111]." If it is difficult even for the dharmakāya Samantabhadra to indicate mind nature as "this", gShen-rab has a similar conundrum, stated in the *Scripture of the Blissful Samantabhadra* :

> This is the heart of the Great Completeness:
> One being indefinite, there are many
> Many not occurring, a dwelling as one,
> A non-difference between one and many
> Even nonexistence itself passes beyond nonexistence.
> The convention of saying "beyond"
> Has not been stated even by gShen-rab[112].

Scriptures arise from the heart of effortlessness to express the spontaneous mind-nature, synonymous with the base, that is prior to any division into Buddhas and sentient beings. Authentic scriptures are seen as the direct expression *from*—not *about*—reality itself. In this way the discussion of authentic scriptures teaches the authenticity of open awareness. Furthermore, both scripture and open awareness are characterized by a completeness correlate with effortlessness and

spontaneity. Not inconsequentially, it is through realizing these, which is tantamount to recognizing one's own nature as Samantabhadra, that one is enlightened:

Regarding this point, the *Ceaseless, Changeless Essence which is Wholeness (gYung drung snying po nyag gcig)* says:

> If one realizes the essential instructions dwelling spontaneously during the three intervals
> From then on one's own mind is the Body of Bon
> Hence, at the moment of separating from the body
> One is a Buddha, manifesting the great bliss which itself is
> The excellent Samantabhadra[113].

In this way the text comes full circle, as unbounded wholeness can and must. Poetry has been a natural vehicle for putting forward such a-logical and meta-conceptual lore. At the same time, the philosophical principles at their root are also given rigorous voice in the *Authenticiy*, in much the way that both reasoning and the special, direct engagement with reality unique to open awareness are both part of that text and part of the overall makeup of any given practitioner.

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Notes

1) *sems nyid man ngag rdzogs chen ni / thams cad ngo bo nyid yin rtogs/ des na yid yul sgom mi dgos / spang blang med phyir mnyam pa nyid / ting 'dzin rtag tu nyams pa med /* [120.3-4]
2) *Theg pa'i rim pa mngon du bshad pa'i mdo rgyud* , Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre: Dolanji, India: 369-385; #74 in Samten Karmay , *Catalogue*
3) *Theg pa'i rim pa mngon du bhsad pa'i mdo rgyud kyi 'grel pa (theg 'grel*, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre: Dolanji, India: 387-559; mentioned Karmay, *Catalogue*
4) For a brief consideration of the significance of the *Authenticity's* poetic voice, see Klein, "Bon Dzogchen on Authenticity: Prose and Poetry on the Path" in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Press, fall 2000, (forthcoming).
5) whatever is spoken by [Samantabhadra] Here, as elsewhere, underlined notes indicate translation of the annotation from the *Gal mdo* itself. We do not know whose hand inscribed them or at what date.

6) Which is [a term] that is an explanatory response to [a request for] explanation regarding entityness and such. (*dag* here signifies *la sogs.*)
7) source of faith.
8) if one asks to whom [there is teaching], it is the Sambhogakāya
9) The White Shen [Deity] itself explains
10) associated with the aesthetics of composition
11) [followers of] the [Shen] deity.
12) That is, the practitioners of Bon *(g-yung drung sems dpa' = byang chub sems dpa' =* Bodhisattva).
13) widespread pervasion of Yung Drung[teachings].
14) Confidence in oneself, the Tathāgathas, and one's masters.
The term *gding* carries the connotation of being non-dualistic, signifying the subject's quality of surety, in contrast to trust (*yid ches*) which appears below and connotes a more sutra style understanding of trust as belief in something or someone, hence a dualistic state. (Tenzin Wangyal Rinpoche)
15) for those practitioners having a blessed karmic connection (*las 'phros*) with gShen-rab
16) *yang mes snying po nyag gcig rang rig pa / bon sku rgyal ba kun bzang byin rlabs kyis / 'gro ba'i mgon po gshen lha dkar pos rig / de nyid thugs kyis dgongs pa'i ngo bo nyid / sprul sku gshen rab thugs la rig par shar / de nyid sgra dbyangs gsung don bdud rtsi'i rgyun / skal ldan sems dpa' g-yung drung gshen la bsgrags / de nyid thugs kyis bkrol ba'i bstan pa 'di / nyams myong lung dang man ngag gding gsum ldan /* [48.3-49.2]
17) Similarly, the *Zhang zhung sNyan rgyud* tradition maintains that it is through the blessings of the *dharmakāya* that realization arises in the *sambhogakāya* which in turn brings about the teaching of the *nirmānakāya,* gShen-rab Mi-bo-che. (Tenzin Wangyal Rinpoche)
18) The passage on the three authenticators is examined more thoroughly in Klein, "Bon Dzogchen on Authenticity (*Tshad ma, pramāṇa)* Prose and Poetry on the Path."
19) Gloss by Lopön Tenzin Namdak
20) *phyi'i yul du ma gyur yang rang rig pa'i man ngag bstan btsam gyis / mngon sum du gsal la / rtog pa med cing dngos po med par rig ste /* [55.5-6]
21) *nga ni bon gyi snying po ste / bon nyid yul med rang gi sems /rang sems ma bcos bon gyi sku /snying po kun 'byung nyag gcig de / ma nor ba de nyid /rang rig tu nga las kun 'byung bon gyi rje /nga rtogs kun tu bzang po 'byung /zhes pa dang* [52.4-5]
The "I" and "me" of this poem is Samantabhadra, For this reason, the '*byung* of this line is translated as "is there" instead of, as elsewhere in this text, the more literal translation of *'byung* as "arise." The text here also reflects on whether Samantabhadra, personification of the bon-nature, is a "person." From the viewpont of the base *(gzhi nas)* , Samantabhadra is a principle rather than a person; from the viewpoint of dynamic display*(rtsal du shar),* however, Samantabhadra is a person. Here we translate the name as "All-good" to make clear that this is a principle as well. *Bon sku* is most strongly related with *gzhi* and thus with emptiness; Samantabhadra relates with the dawning of clarity *(gsal shar).*
22) *sems kun gyi rtsa ba byang chub sems / ngo bo'i snying po nyag gcig ma / dus gsum 'du 'bral med de gcig gi ngang / ye nas 'khrul pa mi mnga' ka nas dag* [77.2-3]
23) *sangs rgyas dang ni sems can la / gnas skabs 'brel med mthar thug 'brel pa yod /* [84.4]
24) *man ngag med la mi phan rtag tu 'khrul /* [84.4-5]

25) It follows that the bon subject, all these, samasāra and nirvāna, is the primordial ancestor, the great vehicle, unbounded wholeness; this is the thesis, because there are many diverse perspectives."
'khor ba dang mya ngan las 'das pa 'di dag thams cad bon can / yang mes theg pa chen po thig le nyag gcig yin te dam bca' / mthong stangs mi mthun du ma 'dug pa'i phyir ro / [53.6-54.1]
26) <u>the very essence of the meaning</u> *(don gyi ngo bo nyid)*
27) *sangs rgyas dang sems can gnyis ka'i gzhi snying po byang chub kyi sems rang 'byung gi ye shes chen po yin pas / sangs rgyas kyi rgyu yang sems can yin la / sems can gyi rgyu yang sangs rgyas yin te /des na rgyu 'bras ro gcig pa'i sangs rgyas zhes bya'o /* [84.5-6]
28) <u>from the beginning</u> *(gdod nas)*
29) *ye nas de ltar sangs rgyas yin yang / yin pa la yin par ma rtogs pa'i phyir 'khrul te / sems can du smin pas / de'i tha snyad du sems can gyi rgyu sangs rgyas yin zhes bya ste / gzhi ngo bo nyid la ni 'gyur ba gang yang med do /* [85.6-86.1]
30) *snying po ci bzhin ngo bo nyid shes na / bsam gtan mnyam par gzhag dang langs zhes yod mi mnga' / ma sgom 'bral med sangs rgyas dgongs pa'i mchog* [99.6]
31) *man ngag 'di dag rtogs 'gyur na / btsal ba med par mngon sangs rgyas /* [100.1-2]
32) *theg pa kun gyi mes po nga / spong bsdud zhen gsum ye nas med / rtsol sgrub nad las ye nas 'das / rtag chad mtha' las ye nas grol / dman pa'i theg pas ye ma reg / de kun nga 'dod rtsol sgrub pas / slar la rtog pa'i nad kyis zin / snying po nges don mthong mi srid / des na kun gyi thun mong min /* [107.4-6]
33) *e ma ho /kun bzang spyod yul chen po 'di / ye nas bde chen snying po la / da gzod rtsol bar snying re rje / 'og ma nga ru che bcos pa / wa yi seng ge'i skad sgrogs kyang / seng ge nyid du cang 'gyur ram /* [107.6-108.1]
34) *sder chags* refers to animals with nails or hoofs i. e., not birds.
35) *rtsol sgrub lam la gnas pa'i gang zag rnams / dngul la yang zhun byas kyang lcags mi 'byung / mchong bu byi dor byas kyang rin chen min / sol ba sgeg par byas kyang ljon shing min / mtshon pa'i tshigs su byas kyang lung las nyams /rdzogs chen 'di don gzhan gyis ga la dpog /*[108.5-6]
36) *e ma ho / sems nyid nyag gcig rdzogs pa chen po 'di / 'og mas ci ltar dpyad kyang rtogs mi srid / rgya mtsho skyog gis bcus pas zad mi srid / bye ri grang gis bcad pas chod mi srid / nam mkha' lag gis bsnyabs pas snyob mi srid / chu bo gyen la bzlog pas zlog mi srid / gtan tshigs sgra yis gzhigs pas 'grub mi srid /* [108.6-109.1]
37) Lopön Tenzin Namdak, oral commentary February, 1999
38) i.e., Candrakīrti's Mādhyamakāvatāra VI 116, which states that conceptions of [inherent] existence cease once phenomena have been thoroughly analyzed.
39) <u>The basis of all which is the very essence of the basis</u> *(gzhi'i ngo bo nyid kun gzhi)*
40) *ma yin te 'khor 'das gnyis kyi ma gos pa'i snying po / dag snang 'khrul snang gnyis ka las 'das / ngo bo nyid kyi sku mchog / sangs rgyas sems can gnyis ka ma yin par ye don gyi ye shes de / kun tu bzang pos rtogs shing rig nas / de'i thugs kyi dkyil nas bcud phyung ste / byin gyis rlabs kyis bshad pas / ston pa nges pa'i lung tshad ma'o /* [109.6-110.1]
41) *ma nor nges pa'i tshad ma lung chen ni / sangs rgyas sems can med pa'i snga rol du / yang mes chen po ngo bo nyid sku yis / kun bzang thugs la tshig med don du rtogs / de'i thugs kyi byin rlabs bcud phyung pa'o /* [110.2-3]
42) *ston pa thugs rje che mnga' bas / thugs kyi dkyil nas bcud phyung nas / byin gyis rlabs kyis bshad pa'i lung / rtsol bral nyag gcig dgongs pa'i lung / lung rnams kun gyi rgyal*

po 'di / khyung chen bzhin du rlabs kyis gcod / sing ge bzhin du shugs kyis mchongs / nam mkha' bzhin du yongs la khyab / rgya mtsho'i rlan bzhin kun la bangs / [111.1-3]

43) *Gal mdo,* 111.3-4.
44) the mind-nature which is wholeness *(sems nyid nyag gcig.)*
45) as golden
46) *de ltar ye nas yin kyang 'khrul ba 'byung bar mi 'gal te / thig le nyag gcig de nyid ma rtogs pa'i phyir ro / dper na ye nas gser yin kyang / sas sgrib pa'i phyir ma mthong bzhin no /* [58.3-4]
47) *'khor 'das kyi rtsa ba byang chub kyi sems nyid ma rtogs shing ngo ma shes pas 'khrul te / khams sum du 'khor zhing rgyu drug tu 'khyams pa yin no / de yang ma rtogs pa'i dbang gis de ma yin la der 'dzin gyi shes pa brtas pas 'khrul pa'o /* [77.6-78.1]
48) *gzhi las 'khrul pa gtan med kyang / blo'i 'khrul pas gzhi bcos pas / gzhi nyid ma mthong rgyu rkyen gyis / gzhi nyid 'khor ba'i bon ltar snang /* [81.5]
49) See *Gal mdo* 50.5-6
50) See 78.5-6.
51) *Nga ni snang ba 'di ye nas sangs rgyas te/ rang sa rang sar grol ba yin/ de ltar ye sangs rgyas pa la 'khrul du med de/ dper na rin po che gser gyi gling dang 'dra'o/ de na gar 'khrul te ma 'khrul lo/ gang la yang rtog med de mi rtog ste/ des na rtog pa dang bral zhing ma 'khrul pa'o/ des na ma 'khrul pa'i don bzung bas/ ma 'khrul dang 'phrad pa de la lhun gyis grub pa zer/ ye sangs rgyas pa dang 'di ltar snang ba gnyis su med pa de la gcig bu zer/ gnyis su med pas gang la yang mi rtog ste/ de kho na ma 'khrul bar 'dug pa/ de'i don gsal bar 'dug pa de la mngon sum zer/ khyod gnyis su med pa la gnyis su brtags pa ste don dam dang kun rdzob tu btags pa de nyi/ de 'khrul pa yin te...*[15.3-16.1)
52) Lopön Tenzin Namdak, oral commentary, Kathmandu, February, 1999
53) *sems kyi rang bzhin yin snang du / sems can sangs rgyas rgyu gcig phyir / rang bzhin lhun grub sangs rgyas so /* [85.4-5]
54) *rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor gser gdan bar / 'khor dang mya ngan 'das pa kun / snying po lhun grub nyid yin te / de nyid rang snang dag 'khrul kyang / nyid las g-yos pa rdul tsam med /* [85.5-6]
55) *Ji bzhin ngang du rtogs na lta sgom 'bras bu gcig/ ye nas yongs rdzogs da gzod btsol da med / Theg rim* 382.1-2
56) *lta ba rang rig sgo nas spyod pa blang dor med / Theg rim* 383.3
57) because it can be purified
58) *'khrul pa de rgyu med par las 'khrul pa ma yin te / rgyu yod de / rgyu de rang glo bur ba yin pa'i phyir 'khrul pa sbyang du btub po / des na 'bad pa la don yod do /* [81.1-2]
59) *snying po byang chub kyi don sems nyid dngos med la / ma rig pa rig pa gnyis dbyer med pas / sgrib pa sbyang zhing ma rig pa spang ste / ye shes ched du btsal du med pas /* [94.4-5]
60) *Man ngag lung gyi tshad ma* See for example 13.6-14. 2
61) The *Authenticity* does (105.6ff) discuss the difference between reasons which operate through the power of connection *(brel)* and through opposites *('gal)* and relates this with its discussion of cause and effect. It does not, however, elaborate on the three relationships between reasoning and that which it authenticates.
62) *Man ngag lung gyi tshad ma* 'i *'grel ba,* 17.3 -18.2
63) *Man ngag lung gyi tshad ma* 'i *'grel ba* 16.5-6 .

The typologies of reasoning in relation to *Authenticity* requires further analysis; here we can only begin to introduce the problems involved.

64) Here *gzhi, sems nyid,* and *thig le nyag gcig* are identical *(don gcig)*. However, *gzhi* and *sems nyid* are *mu gsum*. Whatever is *sems nyid* is necessarikly a *gzhi,* but whatever is a *gzhi* is not necessarily a *sems nyid.* For example, *bon nyid* is a *gzhi* but not a *sems nyid;* likewise the emptiness of a table is a basis but not a mind-nature, for a mind-nature must be connected with mind. It is also said that the fortunate meditate on the three, *bon nyid, sems nyid, nam mkha'i dbyings nyid* as one and inseparable.

65) *dper na / du ba 'dug phan chad /me med mi srid bzhin no /*

66) *de las byung ba'i 'brel pa.* [54.6]. This is first instance in this text of a classic phenomenology descriptive term; several centuries later it becomes one of two types of relationship possible between objects.67) <u>between cyclic existence and nirvana and the mind-nature</u>.

68) *de ltar ma yin te / me dang du ba de las byung ba'i 'brel pa yod la / 'di la 'brel pa med 'khor 'das sems* [54.6]

69) 55.1-55.2

70) <u>unbounded wholeness</u>

71) the appearances, i.e, all experienced phenomena

72) <u>from the very essence</u>

73) *snang ba mi mthun sna tshogs phyir / 'khor 'das sems nyid bdal khyab che / nyag gcig kun tu rang byung bas /dngos bo de nyid las byung 'brel /* [55.2]

74) Lopön Tenzin Namdak, in glossing this, uses the well-known sutra term *ngo bo gcig ldog pa tha dad* , a phrase which does not occur in the text

75) Karmay, *Catalogue* p. 102

76) Thus *sbyor lam [prayoga mārga]* does not mean preparation, in the way that the union of calm *(zhi gnas, śamathā)* and special insight *lhag mthong, darśana mārga)* are said in sutra to prepare one for direct perception of emptiness. Here it has to do with the quality of meditative stabilization *(ting nge 'dzin, samādhi).*

77) *bsGrags pa skor gsum* Vol. *ka* in possession of Lopön Tenzin Namdak, 72b.3ff. n.d., n.p.

78) The interest in mapping Dzogchen onto Nine Vehicle structure is a significant feature of the *Authenticity*, although not one we can elaborate here. Suffice it to state that *Three Cycles* also is concerned with the hierarchical structure of its teaching, and thus with the Vehicles. The *Authenticity* is not an isolated instance of this combination.

79) 72b.3 (Copy in possession of Lopon Tenzin Namdak, n. d., n.p.)

80) See 86.4.

81) *tha snyad kyi mtshan ma thams cad snang ba ni kun rdzob bo / spros pa'i mtshan ma thams cad nye bar zhi ba ni don dam pa'o /* [86.4-5]

82) In the context of this discussion, and at this early period in Bon philosophical reflection, the third category of phenomena known as neither form nor consciousness *(ldan min 'du byed, viprayuktasaṃskāra)* did not exist. The shape of this arguement itself, therefore, can be understood to emerge from a relatively early period in Tibetan philosophical thinking.

83) Lopön Tenzin Namdak, (Feb. 1999, 3a) points out that, nevertheless, there are few Dzogchen exponents who explicitly make this distinction; the great Buddhist Dzogchenpa Longchen Rabjam is one. In particular, Longchenpa cites sutras to establish that Buddha taught Dzogchen, and that Madhyamika teacings on emptiness are not the final teachings.

84) *rang gi rig pa'i tshad ma ni / phyi nang gsang ba'i man ngag gis nyams don dang mi 'gal bar gdeng du 'gyur ba ste /dus gsum lhun gyi sgom la mi 'bral bar shes pa'o* [53.4-5].

85) *Ma rgyud* pp. 8-9. Although this text in general is from the viewpoint of the seventh vehicle, its discussion here is the same in the Great Completeness.

86) *Ma rgyud* 9.8ff
87) For example, the open awareness experiencing an eye consciousness observing a table has that eye consciousness as its direct object, whereas the table itself is not a direct object.
88) *Ma rgyud* 35.13 ff
89) *Theg pa'i rim pa mngon du gshad pa'i mdo rgyud (Theg rim) in Bonpo Grub mtha' Material* Reproduced from manuscripts from the bSam-gling Monastery in Dol-po. Published by Lopön Tenzin Namdak, TBMC (Dolanji 1978), 369-385. Samten Karmay in his *Catalogue* lists it as a work attributed to Shen-lha 'od-dkar.

   The great non-sectarian Dzogchenpa rDo-rje gling-pa (1346-1415) considered himself a reincarnation of Vairocana, and Vairocana a reincarnation of gShen-rab's disciple Yid-kyi khye'u-chung and of Buddha's famous cousin-disciple, Ananda (Karmay 1988: 217). 90) These texts occupy a central place in the curriculum of Menri Monastery in exile, at Dolanji.
91) Lopön Tenzin Namdak, August, 1997 notes that this genre combines both *gTer* and *sNyan rgyud* – which is to say it is both a discovered text and part of the oral transmission received by Lung-ston lHa-gnyan. See also the biography written by his son, Lung-sgom 'Khor-lo rgyal-po, *Lung ston lha gnyan gyi rnam thar* in *Sources of a History of Bon,* Compiled and edited by Lopön Tenzin Namdak, TBMC (Dolanji 1972), pp. 276-286
92) For a brief survey of works considered to be sources for or important contexts of the *Authenticity* see Klein, "Sources of Knowing in Early Bon Dzogchen: A Speculative Chronolgy" in the Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies Meeting in Indiana, 1998, forthcoming.
93) 513.4. The names of the three students are given later in the text as lHa'i bon-po lHa-bo lha sras, Li-sha thang-po and lHen-than 'phrul-po-che (389.4)
94) *Theg rim* 513.3-6
95) *Theg rim* 538.5
96) 514.4-5
97) 514.1-3
98) 381.3
99) *gzhi nyid ka dag chen po la / lhun grub ngang ldan gtan tshigs gyis/ rang gzhin rol pa ngo bo nyid* [381.2-3]
100) Samten Karmay suggests that the term *ka dag* originated in 10th century Tibet, sometime during the period between Glang Dar-ma's assasination in 842 and about 950 (Karmay 1985: 277). As Dr. S. Karmay has also astutely observed, the term *ka tag* does not appear in the *Mahāvyutpatti* compiled in 814. This raises the question of when and where it became part of Buddhist Dzogchen usage.

   If the *Authenticity* were written in the 8th century as is emically claimed, we would have a very simple explanation on hand for the absence of this term. However, given its many references to the nine vehicles of Bon, in order to place the *Authenticity* at this early period we would also have to assume the presence of Nine Vehicle literature in Tibet in the eighth or ninth century. And we may be able to do that.

   Based on his study of canonical materials and early doxographical literature, Phillip Stanley has documented the presence, in 8th century Tibet, of translations of all major categories of the Nine Vehicle system (Stanley 1998, *Forms of Buddhism transmitted to Tibet in the eigth to ninth centuries C.E. based on the translation activity and doxographical texts attributed to that period*, paper delivered at the 8th Seminar of the

International Association for Tibetan Studies, Bloomington, Indiana). He has likewise argued convincingly that the Mind Class *(sems sde)* of Buddhist Dzogchen materials likely came to Tibet very soon after their inception in India.

101)Discussion of the nine vehicles occurs for example in some of the early Buddhist Tantras.

102)539.5-6

103)516.6- 518.5

104)515.2

105)518.6)ff.

106)519.1ff.

107)521.6-522.

108)*rang rig 'od sal gyi rang bzhin / ngo bo nyid rtag chad kyi mtha' la ma reg pas gnyis su med pa'i rang bzhin / spong sdud kyis mi 'gyur pas ma slad pas / bde ba chen po'i rang bzhin / bon nyid thig le nyag gcig rang bzhin lhun gyis grub pas / 'bras bu gzhan nas mi 'byung ba'i rang bzhin skye med 'od gsal gyi rlabs nam mkha' la nyi ma shar ba ltar byung bas gar yang mi 'gag pa'i rang bzhin /* [527.1-4]

109)See discussion of the Kusali and Pandita systems of training in Klein, "Bon Dzogchen on Authenticity: Prose and Poetry on the Path" 2000 and in forthcoming translation of and introduction to the *Authenticity* by Klein & Wangyal.

110)*ma nges pa yang yin te 'di kho na'i zhes / kun tu bzang po nyid kyis kyang bstan du med pa'i phyir ro /* [61.62..1]

111)*mi gnas mi mthong stong pa phyod dang 'dra / 'di zhes bstan dka'i dgi ma'i rmi lam 'dra /* [118.4-5]

112)*don gyi nying khu rdzogs chen 'di / gcig tu ma nges mang po yin / du mar mi 'dug gcig tu gnas / gcig dang mang po'i tha dad med / med pa nyid kyang med las 'das / 'das zhes ba'i tha snyad ni / gshen rab kyis kyang ma gsungs so /*[123.5-6]

113)*dus gsum lhun gnas man ngag don rtogs na / da lta nyid nas rang sems bon sku'i phyir / lus bral skad gcig ma la kun tu bzang po'i mchog/ bde chen nyid du mngon par sangs gryas so / zhes pas so /* [122.3-4]

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Myths and Rituals

Mandala visualization and possession

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Introduction

Mandalas are used variously in Tantric rituals and practices. Tantrists often employ a mandala in order to give the initiation rite (*abhiśeka*) to their disciples. Lay followers perform worship services (*pūjā*) to a mandala or the deities depicted in the mandala. Sometimes mandalas are used as a kind of tool for meditation when Tantrists or yogins perform the practice of deity-visualization (*sādhana*). In this case, the mandala meditation or visualization may have a soteriological purpose: the practitioners of visualization, i.e., *sādhaka*, seek to obtain enlightenment through this kind of religious practice.

The Tantric practice of mandala visualization is to be basically carried out through the power of a particular kind of yoga. When a practitioner or Tantrist practices visualization, he intensifies his psychic energy. It is through the strengthened and sharpened psychic energy that the practitioner can succeed in visualizing the form of a deity in front of him as if the deity were real and alive.

Mandala visualization is not done in a moment; it is a religious practice which one should perform following a series of rigid steps in a certain span of time. Usually, the accomplishment of mandala visualization requires a number of years. It is well-known that yogins are to undergo a number of psycho-physiological changes over, several years, at least, until they reach a certain stage of the system of classical yoga. In a similar way, it has been said that various kinds of states accompanied by psycho-physiological changes will be observed until a practitioner succeeds in performing the visualization of a mandala.

What kind of psycho-physiological changes, however, are found in the mind and body of the practitioner who has just succeeded in visualizing the form of a deity? One should remember that the so-called psycho-physiological changes, if any, are not to be confused with the marks of obtaining final enlightenment. As mentioned before, mandala visualization may aim at the soteriological purpose of obtaining final enlightenment. At this point, however we are concerned rather with the preliminary stages of religious practice called "mandala visualization," not with the state of the mind and body of the one who has obtained final spiritual beatitude.

Insofar as one of the most important functions of mandala is to furnish the tool for the practice of visualizing deities, we should not neglect the question of what kind of state occurs in the mind and body of the Tantrist trying to see the form of a deity in front of him. Hitherto the psycho-physiological aspect of the process of

mandala visualization has not been well studied. The function of mandala will be also clearer, if we could succeed in analyzing the process of visualization from the psycho-physiological viewpoint.

1. The Mandala in Bon Religion

1.1 Five Kinds of Bon Mandalas

Little about the theory and practice of Bon mandalas has been known to modern scholars. In 1999, a collection of Bon mandala paintings was completed in Kathmandu under the guidance of Lopön Tenzin Namdak, Tritan Norbutse (Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse) Monastery, in Kathmandu. The collection of Bon mandalas, which is now kept in the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, has been published by the Museum as *Senri Ethnological Report* No. 12, in February 2000.

According to Lopön Tenzin Namdak, Bon mandalas may be classified into the following five groups:

(1) The vehicle of Primordial Bon purifying activities (*bya ba gtsang spyod ye bon gi theg pa*),
(2) the vehicle of miraculous power of many sorts (*rnam pa kun ldan mngon shes kyi theg pa*),
(3) the vehicle of the playfulness of compassion producing real results (*dngos bskyed thugs rje rol pa'i thep pa*),
(4) the vehicle of the completion endowed with supreme profits (*shin tu don ldan kun rdzogs kyi theg pa*), and
(5) supplementary mandalas.

It would be safe to say that each of the first four groups roughly corresponds to each of the four Buddhist Tantras: kriyātantra, caryātantra, yogatantra, and anuttarayogatantra. At this point, however, we do not know how the tradition of Bon mandalas and that of Buddhist mandalas were historically interrelated. The members of Bon pantheon are almost totally different from those of Buddhist pantheon, although Bon deities often possess iconographic features similar to those of Buddhist deities. It is obvious that the tradition of Bon mandalas has inherited a great deal from Buddhist tradition.

1.2 The Mandala Eliminating Bad Destinies

The nineth mandala of the second vehicle (II-10a) [Plate 1, Figure 1] is named "[Mandala] purifying obstacles and removing darkness" (*sGrib sbyong mun sel sgron me*). This mandala is a Bon version of Buddhist Durgatipariśodhana Mandala (Elimination of Bad Destinations [in Transmigration]), which is frequently used on such occasions as funerals and ancestor worship. Accordingly, it is called "Mandala [eliminating] Bad Destinations in Transmigration" (*'Khor ba ngan song*

dkyil 'khor). The mandala is also called Tu tri su after the three letters symbolizing the main three deities appearing in the center of the mandala[1)]. The Tu tri su Mandala is one of the most popular Bon mandalas. For instance, one can find this mandala painted on the ceiling of the entrance hall of the main temple of the Tritan Norbutse Monastery.

The ritual text of the Tu tri su Mandala is entitled "*The Book of Tu tri su Enabling the Elimination of Obstacles: The Lamp Removing the Darkness of the Absence of Knowledge, Uprooting Bad Destinations in Transmigration*" (*Tu tri su'i sgrib sbyong gi sgrub gzhung ma rig mun sel sgron me 'khor ba ngan song dong sprugs*)[2)]. Let us abbreviate the title of the text as *TGB*. The work was composed by Shes-rab dgongs-rgyal, the twenty-second abbot of Menri Monastery (sMan-ri).

The work explains the procedure of mandala visualization in terms of Self-manifestation (*bdag bskyed*) and Manifestation-in-front (*mdun bskyed*). The former is the preliminary step of mandala visualization, in which the deities of the mandala are imposed on each part of the body of the practitioner. In this way, the body of the practitioner is manifested as or transformed into a three-dimensional mandala. The latter is the second and final step of mandala visualization, in which the deities of a mandala are manifested in front of the practitioner. The process comprising of these two steps is well-known as one of the most orthodox ways of mandala visualization in Tibetan Buddhism.

In the Indian tradition of Buddhist mandala visualization, however, one does not find a pair of concepts exactly corresponding to those of Self-manifestation and Manifestation-in-front. In Indian Buddhist Tantric tradition, the practice called *nyāsa* (the imposing of deities on parts of the yogin's body) plays a preliminary role. *Nyāsa* seems to correspond to Self-manifestation in Bon religion and Tibetan Buddhism as well.

After having treated Self-manifestation (the imposing deities on parts of the practitioner), Ses-rab dgongs-rgyal, the author of the *TGB*, goes on to explain the next step, i.e., Manifestation-in-front. The second step starts with meditation on the central part of the mandala. The *TGB* explains the process of Manifestation-in-front as follows:

There is a drop of Svāhā in the center of it [the palace], and the palace is contained in a tent of light. The practitioner should meditate on the majestic and beautiful throne of a lotus flower found on a moon disk, which is in turn on a sun disk contained in the tent of light. Then [he should think that] the letter A is released on the lotus flower on the moon disk which is put on the sun disk. From the letter A light it emitted, which removes obstacles of all people. The light gathers, melts into the letter A, and enters into the light itself.

Then, the practitioner should meditate upon the central deity Kun-tu bzang-po (Skt. Samantabhadra),

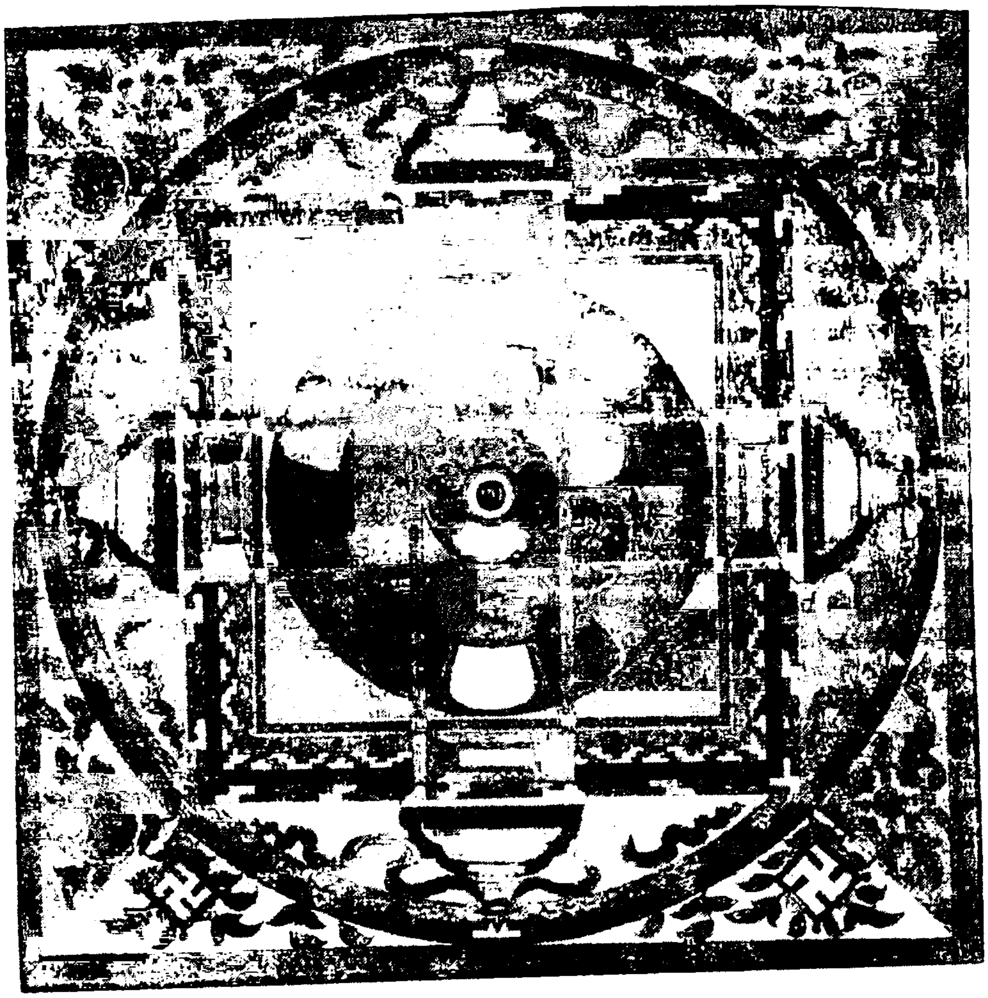


Plate 1 nGan song Mandala

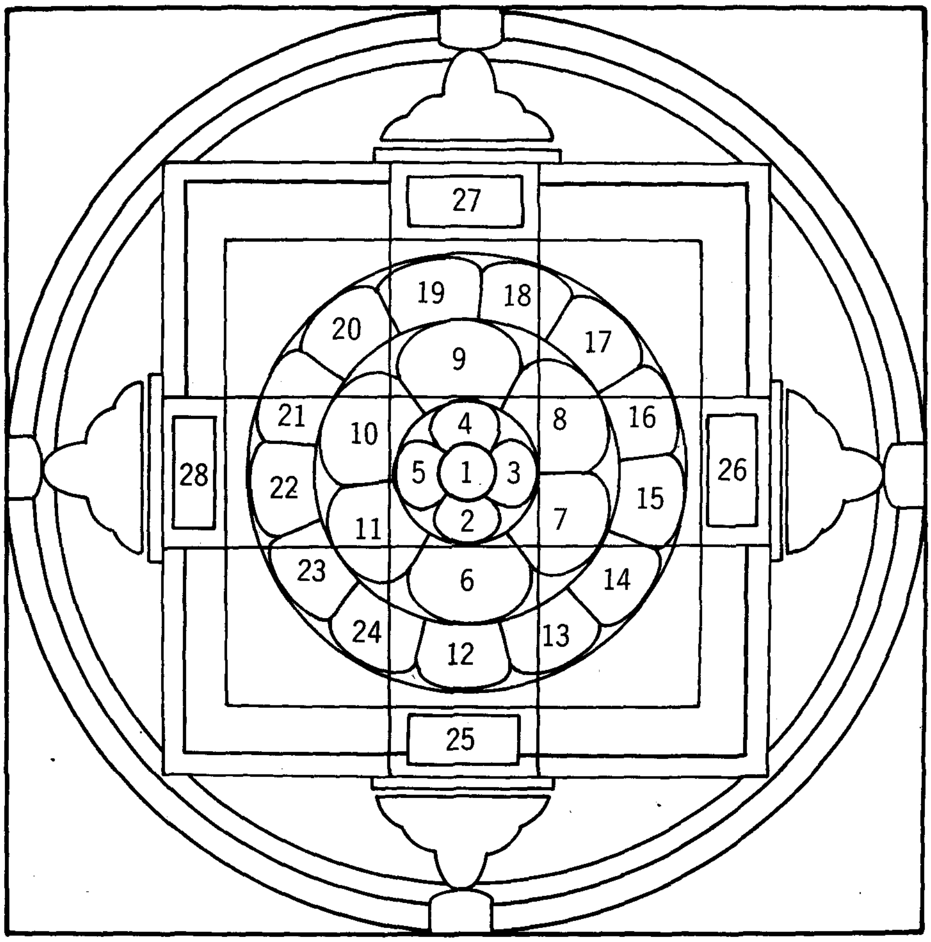


Figure 1 The deities of nGan song Mandala

[1] who is one-faced, two-armed, naked without ornaments, and sitting with legs crossed (*vajraparyaṅka* posture).

Then light, having come out from the heart of the central deity, radiates and reaches each of the four petals situated at the four directions. The radiated light becomes [each of the following deities respectively]:

[2] Yum-chen Sa-trig er-sangs at the east,
[3] lHa-chen gShen-lha 'od-dkar at the north,
[4] Srid-pa sangs-po 'bum-khri at the west, and
[5] sTon-pa gShen-rab Mi-bo at the south.

They have, a mirror, a hook, a flag, and a clipboard emblem respectively. Then, again coming out from the heart of the central deity, light radiates and reaches outside [the above-mentioned four deities]. The light becomes [each of the following deities]:

[6] gSang-ba ngang-ring, whose body is purple, possessing a flag marked with fire and water,
[7] Mu-cho ldem-drug, whose body is white, possessing a pot filled with ambrosia.
[8] Ti-sangs rang-zhi, whose body is green, possessing a jewel and a book,
[9] gSang-ba 'dus-pa, whose body is yellow, possessing a golden drum and a golden bel
[10] lCe-rgyal bar-ti, whose body is blue, possessing a sword,
[11] Ye-gshen gtsug-phud, whose body is white, possessing a vina.

All of these [deities] are in the state of Completed Body (*rdzogs sku*), and the form of each deity is clearly manifested.

Furthermore, coming out from the heart of the central deity, light radiates and reaches further. The light becomes [each of the following deities]:

[12] Ye-gshen Nam-kha'i ba-dan-can whose body is white, possessing a 'sky-banner',
[13] Ye-gshen Khyung-gi ru-mtshon-can, whose body is red, possessing a banner marked with a Garuḍa bird,
[14] Ye-gshen rGod-kyi-'phar 'dab-can, whose body is green, possessing a feather of a bald eagle,
[15] Ye-gshen rMa-bya'i ldem-rgyang-can, whose body is blue, possessing a peacock's feather,
[16] Ye-gshen Zo-bo war-shad-can, whose body is red, possessing a craw,
[17] Ye-gshen dBal-so mdung-rtse-can, whose body is green, possessing the hilt of a sword,
[18] Ye-gshen gSas-mda' dung-g-yug-can, whose body is red, possessing a stick with a conch attached,
[19] Ye-gshen rNga stong-ri chem-pa-can, whose body is yellow, possessing a drum,
[20] Ye-gshen gShang khri-lo gnam-grags-can, whose body is blue,

possessing a bell,

[21] Ye-gshen Dung 'phar-po 'phar-chung-can, whose body is white, possessing a kind of conch,

[22] Ye-gshen Che-rgyal rgod-zhu-can, whose body is blue, possessing the letter A,

[23] Ye-gshen Yang-rgyal 'brug-slag-can, whose body is white, possessing a rosary of pearls, and

[24] Ye-gshen gCod-pa khra-slag-can, whose body is blue, possessing a pot filled with ambrosia.

All of these [deities], being one-faced and two-armed, are found in the state of Completed Body, and they are clearly manifested in each position [to be occupied in the mandala].

Moreover, coming out from the heart of the central deity, light radiates and reaches the four gates. The light becomes [each of the following deities]:

[25] Zo-bo dbu-dgu at the eastern gate,

[26] gZe-ma dbu-dgu at the northern gate,

[27] Ru-cho sde-dgu at the western gate, and

[28] Rum-po rtse-dgu at the southern gate.

All of their bodies are dark blue. They are nine-faced and eighteen-armed, and they possess various symbols.

Outside [these manifested deities] there are protective deities who have virtue and compassion. [Each of] the deities who have been thus manifested is respectively accompanied by his attendants. The deities have neither intrinsic nature nor tangibility. They have bodies made of light and the power of wisdom. One should carry out the visualization [of deities] thus.

From the heart of the [manifested] deities, light arises in immensity and enters into the origin (*dbyings*). The innumerable existences of the origin (*dbyings kyi sems dpa'*) are invoked. Then they [i.e., the innumerable existences of the origin], having been melted into manifested deities (*bskyed pa'i lha tshogs*), become the existence of non-dual act (*gnyis med las kyi sems dpa'*) and do beneficial acts for others[3].

Let us note that the text refers to the two concepts: the existence of the origin and the manifested deities. The two concepts correspond respectively to the existence of wisdom (*jñāna-sattva*) and the existence of promise (*samaya-sattva*) in the mandala meditation of later Buddhist Tantrism. The latter, i.e., the existence of promise, is an image of the deity whom the practitioner has chosen as the object of his visualization. The former, i.e., the existence of wisdom, is considered to have a form similar to the existence of promise and believed actually to exist outside and beyond the practitioner.

At the present time, it is not clear how Bon followers have adopted the method of uniting the existence of origin with manifested deities. Probably Bon religion took over the theoretical system of mandala visualization from Tantric Buddhism.

But at the same time, we should not forget that, from the ancient times, Bon followers have had the techniques of becoming possessed or of entering into a kind of shamanistic trance. Such techniques seem to have been connected with the Bon practice of mandala visualization.

The visualization of deities, however, seems to exceed both the domain of Buddhist Tantrism and that of Bon religion. That is to say, the practice of mandala visualization seems to have been rooted in the ancient psycho-physiological ground on which both Buddhist Tantrism and Bon religion have been based.

2. Mandala Visualization in Tibetan Buddhism of Today

How is mandala visualization practiced in Buddhist Tantrism at present? Since mandala visualization is usually carried out by a single person in a solitary or closed place, it is difficult for outsiders to observe the actual performance of the religious practice. I have never received any traditional training of the mandala visualization performed in Tibetan or Nepalese Buddhist monasteries. However, I have been trained to visualize deities under the guidance of a Japanese quasi-shaman for several years. Hopefully, my experience of these years will help me in understanding the psycho-physiological changes to be found in the process of mandala visualization.

There is a branch of Srad-rgyud Monastery in the north of Bodhnath, Kathmandu. Traditionally, the dGe-lugs School has had three monasteries for advanced studies of Tantrism. Srad-rgyud Monastery is one of them. The other two are rGyud-smad and rGyud-stod. The main Indian branch of Sed rgyud Monastery has been built in Calcutta.

When I visited the Kathmandu branch of Srad-rgyud Monastery in November of 1998, I had a chance to ask about the practice of mandala visualization had been practiced in the monastery. My question was as follows: "When the existence of wisdom (*ye shes sems dpa'*, Skt. *jñāna-sattva*) is united with the existence of promise (*dam tshig sems dpa'*, Skt. *samaya-sattva*), what happens to the practitioner who is trying to visualize the deities found in a mandala? How does he feel at that moment?"

Then I added: "In Japan there has survived a kind of mountain cult, which has a number of practitioners to whom deities descend. Some of those practitioners have been acting as healers in Japanese society. The cult is called Shugendou, which may be considered a synthesized form of Buddhism and Shintoism (indigenous religion in Japan). Shugendou followers do not want to be described as possessed when they are facing descended deities before them. In other words, Shugendou distinguishes possession from the descent of a deity.

There was a reason for I referring to Shugendou. I knew that Tibetan monks have had a strong tendency to distinguish their own visualization (*sgrub thabs*, Skt.

sādhana) from possession. Hence, there was a need to inform that I was aware of the distinction between visualization and possession.

Although Shugendou considers possession to be different from the descent of deities, it is difficult to find an exactly corresponding difference in Tibetan religion, for in Tibet, possession is usually considered as the descent of deities (*lha babs*). Here I cannot treat fully the distinction between so-called possession and the descent of deities. It will suffice to say that I wanted to inform the monks of my awareness of the distinction between possession and mandala visualization.

One of the two monks began by explaining how visualization was practiced in Srad-rgyud Monastery. "It is very rare to have the real unification of the existence of wisdom with the existence of promise. But it does happen on occasion. When the unification of the two existences is obtained, the Tantric monk practicing visualization will feel pain in several parts of his body, and cannot hold his body straight."

Then, I asked, "How long does it take to have such changes of the state of the mind and body of a practitioner?" The monk answered, "Usually it takes about ten minutes, but sometimes it takes a few days." As far as my observation in the Kathmandu Valley goes, about ten minutes is needed for Newari healers to become possessed. In the case of Japanese Shugendou also, it takes about ten to twenty minutes to bring on the descent or manifestation of deities.

The same monk continued: "In our monastery, a monk who was in trance happened to be unable to come back to his own normal state by himself. As soon as his teacher and colleagues saw the dangerous state of the monk, they began to press him strongly on the chest." The fact that such an accident happened implies that the practice of visualization does cause some unusual psycho-physiological changes in the mind and body of a practitioner.

I asked the two monks of Srad-rgyud Monastery whether or not they have ever heard a particular voice or sound coming forth from the throat of those who are practicing the visualization of deities. Then, in order to help the monks understand my question more clearly, I uttered a particular kind of voice, which sounded like a hiccup. For the past four or five years, such a voice has come from my throat whenever I tried to practice the visualization of a deity. That type of voice or sound seems to be rather common among healers or Tantric yogins; I have observed the utterance of such a voice among healers and yogins in Nepal, Taiwan, and Japan. To my question, both of the monks immediately replied, "Yes."

In November 1998, I had a chance to meet Rev. Trichen Chopkye, one of the most reknown leaders of the Sa-skya School at the present time, who was staying in Kathmandu at that time. In the same manner in which I asked the two monks of Srad-rgyud Monastery, I asked the Sa-skya master about the psycho-physiological changes which may be observed in the practice of visualization. Describing the moment when the existence of wisdom is united with the exsitence of promise, he told me that the situation similar to the descent of a deity (*lha babs*)

and that the practitioner of visualization (*sgrub thabs*) feels pain in many parts of the body.

Again in November 1998, at Bodhnath Stupa I met an old Tibetan priest, who was making a pilgrimage to the sacred places of Nepal from the Chamdo area of China. He was carrying out the austerity of body prostration. He was using two iron boards as 'the shoes of his hands'. When I saw him, he was surrounded by a large number of people. He was making predictions to those who asked about their future, business, and other anxieties. Having meditated for several seconds, he shook two dices. Looking at the two dice fallen on his left hand, he began to make a prediction.

I asked him about the practice of visualization. He understood my question immediately. He told me that thirty years ago, he succeeded in visualizing Goddesss dPal-ldan lha-mo, one of the most terrifying female deities of Tibetan Buddhism, and that in the first couple of years he felt pain and unpleasantness in every part of his body. He added that in the course of time his mind and body became accustomed to the state, and that he has now become able to visualize the goddess within several seconds. I then understood that, he shook the dice having visualized the goddess.

Judging from my observation and interviews in Kathmandu, it would be safe to guess that there are some Tibetan monks practicing visualization (*sgrub thabs*) even nowadays. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the way the Tibetan monks of Srad-rgyud Monastery or other monasteries are practicing visualization sounds strikingly similar to the way Shugendou practitioners wait for the descent of a deity. In Japan I have heard that some Shugendou practitioners who had entered trance were unable thereafter to come back to their normal state.

3. Mandala Visualization in Newar Buddhism Today

The tradition of mandala visualization seems almost to have disappeared among Newar Buddhists, who have lived in the Kathmandu Valley for fifteen centuries. I asked a large number of Newar Buddhist priests about the situation of mandala visualization in Kathmandu at present. I have, however, been unsuccessful in obtaining a satisfactory answer.

Several Newar Buddhist priests mentioned the name of Dharmajee, who expired about ten years ago. They said that he was one of those who were able to perform visualization. Mr. Gautam R. Bajracharya, who was born in a traditional house of Newar Tantric scholars, has observed Dharmajee visualizing the Deity Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, who is a terrifying Buddhist male deity. According to Mr. Gautam R. Bajracharya, Dharmajee in trance was terrifying just like Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa.

In April 1998, I met Mrs. Kusumamaya, who was the wife of Dharmajee, and

who expired in the summer of 1998. After the death of her husband, she became a disciple of Mrs. Tejomaya, the famous Dyoma (Newar healer of supernatural power) living at the top of Svayambhunath Hill. Under the guidance of Mrs. Tejomaya, Mrs. Kusumamaya obtained the ability of invoking Goddess Harītī. After that, she acted as a healer. Clients often visited her her house near Svayambhunath Hill. When I visited her, she made a prediction for one of her clients after having been possessed by Goddess Harītī [Plate 2].

I requested Mrs. Kusumamaya to describe the state of the mind and body of Dharmajee when he was in trance. But the answers she gave to me were rather irrelevant to my question. She allowed me to take a copy of the photo showing Dharmajee dancing in trance [Plate 3]. Here I should add that the tradition of Tantric dance called Caryānṛtya has survived among Newar Buddhists. The Caryānṛtya may be considered the ritual dance of a Tantrist who is in trance. Dharmajee seems to have inherited the tradition of the Tantric dance.

Ratnakajee Bajracharya, who expired in October of 1999, was also one of the most important Newar Buddhist scholars (pandit). With him also I raised questions about the practice of visualization. He said, "Visualization is very difficult to practice. One could succeed in performing it only about twice out of five hundred times." To the present I have had no chance to observe the state of a Newar priest who has succeeded in performing visualization.

4. Mandala Visualization Explained in Literature

4.1 Mandala Visualization Explained in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*

One of the most important yogatantras, i.e., the third of the Four Buddhist Tantra groups, is the *Tattvasaṃgraha,* which was probably compiled towards the end of the seventh century. This Tantra explains the process of the visualization of the Vajradhātu Mandala, which is one of the most basic Buddhist mandalas. Here, because of lack of space, it is impossible to deal with the full procedure of visualizing all the deities appearing in the Vajradhātu Mandala. Let us consider only the case of visualizing the deity named Vajrarāja, who is one of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas surrounding the Five Buddhas found in the Vajradhātu Mandala.

In the mandala visualization explained in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* the symbol of each deity plays a crucial role. The symbol of Bodhisattva Vajrarāja is a hook (*aṅkuśa*). According to the beginning part of the first chapter of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the procedure of meditating upon Vajrarāja is as follows:

First, all the hooks in the world gather in the heart of Tathagata Vairocana, who is nothing but the sanctified form of the practitioner [Figure 2]. Then, those hooks, having reached the heart of Vairocana, are transformed into one large hook [Figure 3]. Next, the image of the hook becomes so dense that the practitioner should feel that the hook in his hand is a real solid substance. Then, the practitioner



Plate 2 Mrs. Kusumamaya in trance. April, 1998.



Plate 3 Rev. Dharmajee dancing in trance.

Meditation of Deities described in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*

(A hook is the symbol of Dharmarāja)



Figure 2 All the hooks are coming to the heart of Vairocana, i.e., a yogin.



Figure 3 Those hooks become a large hook in the heart of the yogin.



Figure 4 The yogin condenses his psychic energy to the extent that the hook in his hand is real.

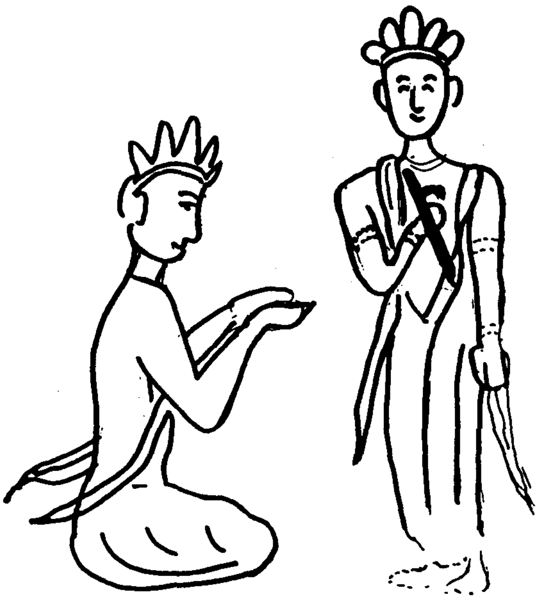


Figure 5 The yogin offers the hook to Sarvatathāgatas, then the deity whose symbol is a hook, i.e., Dharmarāja, appears in front of the yogin, and has his seat in the Vajradhātu Mandala.

holds the hook in his hand [Figure 4]. Finally, he offers it to Sarvatathagātas (i.e., the four Buddhas such as Akṣobhya) standing in front of him. The practitioner sees that Vajrarāja holding the symbol of a hook in his hand stands in front of him [Figure 5][4].

We should not forget that the unification of the existence of wisdom with the existence of promise is missing not only in the above-mentioned part but also in the other parts of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. This is probably because the procedure of mandala visualization explained in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* belongs to a form of mandala visualization ealier than that of the unification of the two kinds of existences.

There is little difficulty in understanding the literal meaning of the above-mentioned explanation given in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. Yet my question remains unsolved. The Tantra says that the practitioner should consider the imagined hook as a real one (Horiuchi 1984: 41). There must have been a particular kind of technique used to imagine the symbol of each deity in such a way. At present we do not know what kind of technique was used at that time. Furthermore, how was it possible to verify whether or not the practitioner was successful in consolidating the image of the symbol of each deity? At least, it appears safe to say that the procedure of mandala visualization explained in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* shows little in common with possession.

4.2 Visualization Explained in the *Sādhanamālā*

Sometimes Sanskrit texts of visualization (*sādhana*) refer to psycho-physiological changes in the practitioner. There is a collection of Sanskrit texts for visualization entitled the *Sādhanamālā*, which seems to have been compiled from the eleventh to twelfth century. Text No. 36 of the *Sādhanamālā*, which is a manual for Avalokiteśvara visualization, states:

> A yogin roars like an elephant and 'plays with five kinds of colors' (i.e., feels dizzy?) like a man intoxicated with liquor....If he does not 'play with five kinds of colors', there will be no shaking, trembling, possession and the like in his body[5].

The text has been ascribed to Saraha, who was a famous Indian Buddhist yogin in the tenth or eleventh century. Let us note that the term "possession" (*āveśana*) has been employed here in the text. Text No. 35 of the *Sādhanamālā* also refers to the shaking or trembling of the body of a practitioner[6].

Indeed, it is rare that the *Sādhanamālā* refers to psycho-physiological changes, but this does not mean that unusual psycho-physiological states are exceptional. Here, let us remember that visualization in late Indian Tantric Buddhism was somehow connected with the phenomenon of possession.

4.3 Tsong-kha-pa's Visualization as explained in the *Shel gyi me long*

In 1801, Thu'u-bkwan BLo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737-1802), a scholar belonging to the dGe-lugs School, wrote an introduction to the history and doctrines of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism entitled *Shel gyi me long* (*Crystal Mirror*). The first half of the dGe-lugs pa chapter of the work is a biography of Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the dGe-lugs School. In that chapter Thu'u-bkwan has quoted a number of passages from the two biographies of Tsong-kha-pa written by his disciple mKhas-grub dGe-legs dpal-bzang-po[7)].

Among a large number of teachers of Tsong-kha-pa, Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa was one of the most important teachers who taught Tsong-kha-pa Tantric practices and theories. This teacher was famous for his ability of seeing Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in front of himself.

With a focus on the special ability of Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa, the author of the *Shel gyi me long* has written as follows:

> Later [Tsong-kha-pa], having met Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa again at Rong Monastery, listened to the teachings of Mañjuśrī. While Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa was translating (*lo tsā mdzad nas*) [what Mañjuśrī had told], Tsong-kha-pa raised a number of questions about the teachings of Mañjuśrī. At that time Mañjuśrī recommended to Tsong-kha-pa that he perform the practice of visualization. Therefore, having listened to Tantric doctrines and performed preliminary rites of purification, [Tsong-kha-pa] made up his mind to practice visualization[8)].

Let us note the passage, "While Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa was translating [what Mañjuśrī told]." What does the term "translated" mean? One may conjecture that Bla ma dBu-ma-pa was in a kind of trance, and that he was communicating with the deity in a special way to which Tsong-kha-pa had no access. Probably Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa was in a state similar to possession. The same kind of translation may be observed in Shugendou. In Shugendou also, only the practitioner to whom a deity has manifested himself is able and allowed to communicate with the deity; his clients sitting near the practitioner have him translate their questions, which are originally directed to the deity. The Shugendou practitioner thus acts as a medium.

Thu'u-bkwan's *Shel gyi me long* continues:

> At that time, Tsong-kha-pa inclined toward founding a new school. He was anxious about which disciples should be taken with him in the case of the foundation of the new school. When [Tsong-kha-pa] asked Mañjuśrī about the disciples to be taken, Mañjuśrī told him that the so-called Eight Pure Disciples should accompany him. Up to that time, Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa translated Tsong-kha-pa's questions, which has been originally directed to Mañjuśrī, while Tsong-kha-pa could not meet Mañjuśrī directly. At that moment, however, Great Master [Tsong-kha-pa], having obtained direct accomplishment, saw Arapacana Mañjuśrī in the center of the ring of a rainbow. From then on

[Tsong-kha-pa] could see [or visualize] Mañjuśrī whenever wished[9].

Thu'u-bkwan thus paid much attention to Tsong-kha-pa's practice of visualization. We should be careful in defining the psycho-physiological state of Tsong-kha-pa at the time he was practicing visualization. Are we allowed to call it possession? If it is not possession, then what is it? At the present stage of our analysis, it must suffice to say that Tsong-kha-pa practiced visualization with the result that he believed himself able to communicate with Mañjuśrī in some unusual way.

The biography of Tsong-kha-pa written by Blo-bzang tshul-khrims (1740~1810), entitled the *bDe legs kun gyi 'byung gnas*, also tells us that Tsong-kha-pa was deeply concerned with the practice of visualization (Kaschewsky 1971: 102). According to the biographical work, he often visualized not only Mañjuśrī but also Sarasvatī, Mahākāla, Vaiśravaṇa and other deities, especially for several years immediately after the foundation of the dGe-lugs School.

Tibet has been known as a country of mystery where priests and ascetics possessing supernatural power have played an active part. For the past several centuries, the sGe-lugs School has been the most dominant among Tibetan Buddhist Schools. Tsong-kha-pa, who founded the dGe-lugs School, was deeply concerned with the visualization of deities, although the mandala visualization of Tsong-kha-pa or other dGe-lugs masters has been rather neglected by modern scholars.

4.4 Dark Retreat in Bon Religion

There has been published a book entitled *"The Instructions of Shardza Rinpoche from the Practice of Vision and the Dark Retreat,"* which has been taken from the *rDzogs chen sku gsum rang shar* and commented on by Lopön Tenzin Namdak[10]. It gives an explicit explanation of the visualization developed in the tradition of Bon religion.

According to the book, four stages are usually counted in the development of vision (*snang ba*). The four stages are as follows:

(1) The visible manifestation of Reality (*bon nyid mngon sum*). That is to say, the appearance of drops (*thig le*, i.e., the core out of which vision develops), the chains of awareness, and so on.

(2) The developing of experiences (*nyams gong 'phel*). Inside those drops the practitioner sees the faces or the upper halves of the bodies of deities.

(3) The increasing in the measure of awareness (*rig pa tshad phebs*). At this stage the practitioner visualizes the complete forms of the deities inside the drops, and

(4) The consummation of Reality (*bon nyid zad pa*). At this stage all visions are exhausted and dissolve into the natural state of Bon (ibid., p.18).

The four stages may acutually be considered three: the first two, the third, and the fourth, as commented on by Lopön Tenzin Namdak in the book (ibid., p.18). The procedure of the three stages shows the same kind of development as found in the Three Meditations (trisamādhi) of Buddhist Tantrism (Beyer 1978: 117-118).

The book, which is a manual of Dark Retreat (*mun mtshams*), gives examples of the visions which the practitioners would have during seven weeks, i.e. the period of retreat. The book states:

In the practice of the Dark Retreat, the signs will also appear. For example, we may see signs like smoke or like lightning. Or suddenly, the dark room becomes very clear to our vision, as if the full moon were shining, and we can see everything in the room.... We may have such visions as an arrow flying or a bird flying in the sky. Bees may come and go to the flowers, taking the nectar. There may be visions of chains, lightning, birds flying in the sky, animals leaping about on the mountain like a musk deer, and so on[11].

We should not forget that the practice called Dark Retreat is a part of the practice of Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*). According to Lopön Tenzin Namdak, the purpose of the practice of Great Perfection is to obtain enlightenment that is nothing but Emptiness (*stong pa nyid*), and that of the invocation of deities is rather to have attain secular power. Indeed, the practice of invoking or visualizing deities does not lead directly to the obtainment of enlightenment, but it has often been incorporated into the practice system of Bon religion or Buddhist Tantrism as preliminary means for obtaining the final soteriological purpose. Dark Retreat is an example of it.

Conclusion

Yoga is usually controlled by the free will of a yogin. But in a few cases, such as the state named Encounter with Extinction (*nirodha-samāpatti*), the yogin or practitioner cannot control his mental state after he has entered into a trance. It has been said that the yogin who has entered into Encounter with Extinction needs some physical stimuli, such as massage, in order to come back to his normal original state. Such a psycho-physiological change may be found also in non-Tantric yoga.

Generally speaking, there are two types of yoga: classical and Tantric. In the former, the mental activities of the yogin cease (*nivṛtti*); in the latter, they should be more activated (*pravṛtti*).

Possession is also of two types: controlled and uncontrolled (Rex 1976: 4-5). In the former, the practitioner is able to control his own psycho-physiological states and usually has self-consciousness. In the latter, however, in almost all cases the practitioner has no self-consciousness.

The tradition of mandala vizualization has a history of more than one thousand

years. Obviously, in different periods its procedure and method have changed a great deal. At the present it is not clear what kind of psycho-physiological changes occur in a practitioner of mandala visualization. But one may safely conjecture that possession is a clue to the understanding of mandala visualization in the later development of Tantrism, although the two kinds of practices should be clearly distinguished (Samuel 1993: 238-239).

It seems there has been a tendency to have more elements of possession with the passage of time. For example, the *Vairocana Sūtra* compiled in the seventh century is almost totally free of possession. The *Tattvasaṃgraha*, which was compiled shorty after the *Vairocana Sūtra*, does not contain a large number of elements of possession, but such elements are found in it to a slight degree. The anuttarayoga-tantras, i.e., the fourth and last group of the Four Buddhist Tantras, such as the *Hevajra* and the *Samvarodaya*, include many elements of possession.

The practice and theory of mandala visualization is still not clear to us. The mechanism of possession is not clear, either. We have seen that the practice of mandala visualization is not a simple act. Similarly, possession is not a simple phenomenon: it has a number of varieties. However, I would hypothesize that mandala visualization was connected with the technique of possession at some point of the histories of Bon religion and Buddhism.

Notes

1) Tu is the symbol letter of the deity No. 2 indicated in Figure 1; Tri, of the deity No. 3; and Su, of the deity No. 4.
2) I would like to express my gratitude to Lopön Tenzin Namdak who allowed me to take a copy of the text and answered to my questions. I also wish to thank Lopön Tenpa Yundung, Tritan Norbutse Monastery, Kathmandu, who helped me translate the text.
3) *TGB* (*Tu dri su'i sgrib sbyong gi sgrub gzhung ma rig mun sel sgron me 'khor ba ngan song dong sprug*), pp.23-28: [23] *de'i dbus su g-yun drung thig le 'od gur khang nang / nang du nyi zla padma'i gdan brjid cing mdzes par bsam/ yang bdag gi thugs las a dkar po cig nyi zla padma'i gdan thog tu 'phros/ a de las 'od zer phar 'phros sems can thams cad kyi sgrib pa sbyangs/ 'od zer rnams tshur 'dus a la thim ste 'od du zhu ba las /*
   [1] *kun tu bzang po rgyan med gcer bu zhal gcig phyag gnyis mnyam bzhag skyil krung tu bzhugs pa zhig tu gyur par bsam/ gtso bo'i thugs las 'od zer phyogs bzhir 'dab bzhi'i steng du 'phros pas*
   [2] *shar du yum chen sa trig er sangs/*
   [3] *byang du lha chen gshen lha 'od dkar/*
   [4] *nub tu srid pa sangs po 'bum khri/*
   [5] *lho ru ston* [24] *pa gshen rab mi bo/ phyag mtshan me long lcags kyu rgyal mtshan chag shing bsnams pa/ zhi rgyan bcu gsum gyis brgyan pa re re gsal bar gyur/yang gtso bo'i thugs las 'od zer de'i phyi rim du 'phros pas/*
   [6] *gsang ba ngang ring sku mdog sngo dmar me chu'i gyal mtshan bsnams pa/*

[7] *mu cho ldem drug sku mdog dkar po phyag mtshan bdud brtsi'i rkyal bu bsna[m]s pa/*
[8] *ti sangs rang zhi sku mdog ljang khu rin chen glegs bam bsnams/*
[9] *gsang ba 'dus pa sku mdog ser po gser gyi rnga gshang bsnams pa/*
[10] *lce rgyal bar ti sku mdog sngon po dbal gyi shang lang bsnams pa/*
[11] *ye gshen gtsug phud sku mdog dkar po pi wang po ti snams pa/ kun kyang rdzogs sku'i cha* [25] *lugs can du bzhengs pa re rer gsal bar gyur/ yan gtso bo'i thugs las 'od zer de'i phyi rim du 'phros pas/*
[12] *ye gshen nam mkha'i ba dan chen sku mdog dkar po nam mkha'i ba dan 'dzin pa/*
[13] *ye gshen khyung gi ru mtshon sku mdog dmar po kyung gi ru mtshon 'dzin pa/*
[14] *ye gshen rgod kyi 'phar 'dab can sku mdog ljang khu rgod kyi 'phar 'dab 'dzin pa/*
[15] *ye gshen rma bya'i ldem rgyang can sku mdog sngon po rma bya'i ldem rgyang 'dzin pa/*
[16] *ye gshen zo bo war shad can sku mdog dmar po zo bo war shad 'dzin pa/*
[17] *ye gshen dbal so mdung rce can sku mdog ljang khu dbal so mdung rce 'dzin pa/*
[18] *ye gshen gsas mda' dung g-yug can sku mdog dmar po dung g-yug 'dzin pa/*
[19] *ye gshen rnga strong ri chem [26] pa can sku mdog ser po rnga strong ri chem pa 'dzin pa/*
[20] *ye gshen gshang khri lo gnam grags can sku mdog sngon po khri lo gnam grags 'dzin pa/*
[21] *ye gshen dung 'phar po 'phar chung can sku mdog dkar (mss.dgor)po 'phar po 'phar chung 'dzin pa/*
[22] *ye gshen che rgyal rgod zhu can sku mdog sngon po yi ge a dkar 'dzin pa/*
[23] *ye gshen yang rgyal 'brug slag can sku mdog dkar po mu tig bgrang phreng 'dzin pa/*
[24] *ye gshen gcod pa khra slag can sku mdog sngon po bdud rtsi'i bum pa 'dzin pa/ de dag thams cad zhal gcig phyag gnyis rdzogs sku'i cha lugs can bzhengs te bzhugs pa re rer gsal bar gyur/ yang gtso bo'i thugs las 'od zer sgo bzhi ru 'phros pas/*
[25] *shar sgo ru zo bo dbu dgu/*
[26] *byang sgo* [27] *la gze ma dbu dgu/*
[27] *nub sgo ru ru co sde dgu/*
[28] *lho sgo la rum po rce dgu/ kun kyang sku mdog mthing nag dbu dgu phyag bco brgyad pa/ phyag mtshan mtshon cha sna tshogs bsnams pa/ phyi rol yon tan lan chags snying rje'i mgron rigs rnams gnas pa/ de ltar bskyed pa'i lha tshogs rang rang 'khor dang bcas pa de rnams kyang snang la rang bzhin med pa/ sgrib med 'od snang gi sku ru gsal ba/ mkhyen brtse ye shes kyi stobs dang ldan pa ru gyur par bsam/ de nams gyi thugs las 'od zer (mss. re) grangs med pa ru dbyings su yar 'phros pa dbyings kyi sems dpa' grangs med pa spyan drangs nas bskyed pa'i lha tshogs rnams la thim pas/ gnyis med las kyi sems dpa' ru gyur nas 'gro don rgya* [28] *lag phyad par gyur//*

4) Cf. Horiuchi 1984: 30-42, and Tachikawa 1997: 319-336.
5) *Sādhanamālā* (ed. by B. Bhattacharya), Part 1, G.O.S., vol.26, 1968, p.30. I would like to thank Miss Ruriko Sakuma who informed me of the existence of the passage in the

Sādhanamālā.

6) Ibid., p.31.
7) The two biographies are the *Dad pa'i 'jug ngogs* (Tohoku Catalogue No. 5259) and the *gSang ba'i rnam thar* (Tohoku Catologue No. 5260).
8) *Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'* (1984), p.262: *phyis su rong chos lung du slar yang dbu ma pa dang mjal nas 'jam dbyangs chos skor gsan/ bla ma dbu ma pas lo tsā mdzad nas rje btsun 'jam dbyangs la 'og nas 'byung ba ltar gyi chos kyi dri ba mang du zhus/ de dus 'jam dbyangs kyis sgrub pa la bskul bar brten/ sngags kyi gsan sbyong tshar nas sgrub pa la 'byon par thugs thag bcad/*
9) Ibid., pp.262-263: *'khor ba ji ltar khrid zhus pa la dag pa rnam brgyad du grags pa rnams khrid gsungs/ 'di yan chad du rje bla mas 'jam dbyangs dang dngos su ma mjal ba'i tshul gyis bla ma dbu ma pas lo tsa byas nas dri ba sogs zhu bar mdzad la/ 'di dus rje rang gis 'jam dbyangs kyi brnyen sgrub mdzad par brten/ 'ja' gur gyi dbus na bzhugs pa'i 'jam dbyangs a ra pa tsa'i zhal dngos su gzigs/ de nas bzung ste nam 'dod du gzigs nas mdo .../*
10) Translated and edited by Vajranatha, Bonpo Translation Project, Freehold and Amsterdam, 1992.
11) *The Instructions of Shardza Rinpche for the Practice of Vision and the Dark Retreat*, p.20.

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The *mKha' klong gsang mdos*: some questions on ritual structure and cosmology

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Introduction

In the Tibetan Buddhist world – Tibet itself and the Himalayan areas from Ladakh to Bhutan – *mdos* rituals are very common and often practised. They are performed either as private exorcisms, when problems occur in a family, or as public ceremonies held annually (sometimes only once every twelve years) for the protection of the ruler, if there is one, and of the whole community. Thanks to their popularity, these rituals are well documented, both in the literature and ethnographic data.

This does not appear to be the case in the Bonpo tradition. The literature provides some names of *mdos* rituals, but at present few of these rituals are known in written form. In fact, I would say that, to my knowledge, collections of *mdos*, gathered together in volumes, do not exist, such as those published among the Buddhists. (On the other hand, there are collections of *gto* – *gTo phran*, cited in Karmay 1998, no. 20: 343-347 and 372-374 – but, further on in this paper, we shall see the ambiguity that remains for me in the definition of the terms *gto/mdos*.) One finds the same scarcity when it comes to the performance of *mdos*, although I cannot say, at present, if this is due to a lack of observations in the field, or because these rituals do not really play an important role in the Bonpo tradition. Nevertheless, for many Buddhist, as well as Bonpo, scholars, the origin of *mdos* rituals must be sought in Bon, although they are unable to cite a convincing source in support of their assertion. This assertion, moreover, is apparently contradicted by the *mdos* whose first performance is attributed to the Buddha Śākyamuni, to Nāgārjuna, etc. – in the same way that sTon-pa gShen-rab and other Bonpo masters are credited with the first performance of the Bonpo *mdos* that I am aware of up to now.

These latter rituals amount to three. Two of them (*Shwa ba ru rgyas*, studied by Blondeau and Karmay 1988, and *Srid pa'i spyi mdos* presented in d'ell Angelo 1986; see also Namkhai Norbu 1981, Karmay 1998, no. 20: 346-347) are short texts, characterised by an archaic poetic style and very developed mythical narratives. In fact, both were discovered in the 11th century by the same *gter ston*, gNyan-'theng re-ngan alias gNyan-ston Shes-rab rdo-rje (see Karmay 1972: 313). The third ritual is the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* which was the subject, under this title, of a publication gathering together a huge collection of thirty-five texts

(Karmay 1977: no. 30). Compared to the two rituals of gNyan-'theng re-ngan, it is obviously more developed, but above all, it lies within a very different, elaborate doctrinal framework, with extensive developments concerning doctrine, cosmology, meditation, etc. On the other hand, it presents only short fragments of myths. If one can apply to the Bonpo *mdos* the same typology as their Buddhist counterparts, I would say that the two *gter ma* of gNyan-'theng re-ngan are probably intended to be performed for private purposes, while the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* has a social function, as it is celebrated by the monastic community in the assembly hall (*'du khang*) of the monastery.

Indeed, one of the interesting things about this ritual is that it is regularly performed by the New sMan-ri in Dolanji (India). Unfortunately, I was unable to do the fieldwork I intended to do in 1999, and this article, therefore, will be limited to textual analysis; moreover, this analysis lacks explanations that I would have been able to obtain if I had been among scholars and performers of the ritual, at the monastery. However, thanks to the generosity of Yoshiro Imaeda, who attended the Dolanji ritual in 1976 and 1978, I will illustrate my article with a few photographs that he took then. We can also find a few pieces of ethnographic information in Krystyna Cech's unpublished thesis (1987: 238-240). K. Cech confirms that the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* is performed every year by the monks for the well-being of the village lay people, in the fifth month of the Tibetan calendar (June-July). The ceremony lasts three days, following two days of preparations. The villagers participate in the preparations but they attend only the third day of the ritual itself, when it is concluded outside the assembly hall. The expenses for the ritual are paid by a tax levied on the villagers by the Bonpo Foundation, which sponsors the ritual. K. Cech emphasises that this is the only occasion of the year where the Bonpo Foundation plays this role, which clearly shows the importance of this celebration for the community. Unfortunately, she does not describe the ritual or provide any more information, as this was not the main topic of her work, except for the following: *mKha' klong gsang mdos* is a collective name for the performance of four rituals, *Khro bo gtso mchog*, the *mdos* of the same deity (the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* itself?), *rNam par [rNam rgyal] stong mchod* and *gDugs dkar stong zlog (pa)*. It must be noted that these titles do not appear in the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* Collection. But for the time being, I must leave aside the question of which texts of this Collection are actually used for the performance of the ritual, and that of the date of its performance in the fifth month (and not at the end of the year, as one could expect, from comparison with other examples among the Buddhists, and among the Bonpos, at Lubra: see Charles Ramble's contribution in this volume). Is this celebration linked in some way with another lay festival, held in the fifth month: that is, the changing of the ceremonial arrows at the shrines of the protective deities (*Glang bzhi rgya pa [rgyal]*, Cech 1987: 214-215)? I can only add that the performance of this ritual in Dolanji is not an innovation of exile: S. Karmay remembers that it was performed in Amdo. The late *dpon slob* of sMan-ri,

Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin, confirms the annual performance of the ritual in a brief note of instructions that he drew up for the performance of the ritual; these instructions appear as the first text of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* Collection (*mKha' klong gsang ba'i mdos kyi bca' thabs gsal ba'i sgron ma*: 3). Nowadays, it is still performed occasionally in Tibet if disasters occur (information provided by Mona Schrempf during this Symposium).

I now come to the subject set out in the title of this article, and I will examine the following: first, the place of the *mdos* in the doctrinal system of Bon; then the ritual structure of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos,* as it appears in the texts of the Collection; finally, the underlying cosmology behind the symbolic construction of the *mdos*. It is perhaps useful at this point to remind ourselves of one of the principal differences between the *mdos* and the *glud*, "ransom ritual": the *mdos* is a small-scale replica of the universe, filled with all the sentient beings and everything else (mineral, vegetable, etc.) that it contains; the *mdos* is then mentally transposed into a real universe to serve first as an offering to the deities, then as ransom given to the harmful entities. (Regarding the *glud*, see Karmay 1998, no. 20; for a preliminary study of the *mdos*, see Blondeau 1990b).

1. The place of *mdos* rituals in the doctrinal system of Bon

In spite of the overabundance of apotropaic rituals in Tibetan religion, it is rare to find a systematic presentation and, for the Bonpos, the only one I know of is that of the *gZi brjid* which I will use here through the extracts published by D.L. Snellgrove (1967). According to the *gZi brjid*, the *mdos* rituals belong to the second Way, *sNang gshen theg pa* ("The way of the gShen of the visual world"). This Way is divided into four types of practice, linked to the four "Portals" (in the doctrinal classification of *Bon sgo bzhi mdzod lnga*). The third of these types is "the 'Phan-yul portal of ransom" (*'Phan yul glud kyi sgo*), which concerns, as one can deduce from its name, rites of ransom, defined as follows: performing the equivalence exorcism (? *mtshung gto*) of exchanging two equal things (*mnyam gnyis brje ba'i mtshung gto*; this notion of parity between the "ransomed" and the ransom has been clearly brought to light in Karmay 1998, no. 20).

Here, we immediately come up against the problem of terminology when we try to define the *mdos*, because in the first Way (*Phya gshen theg pa*, "The way of the gShen of prediction") to which the *gto* belong, we find virtually the same category: "the 'Exchange' Rite of transposing two equal things" (*mnyam gnyis bsor ba'i brje gto*, Snellgrove 1967: 24-25). Explained further along in the text (Snellgrove 1967: 36-37), this *gto* is shown to be a *mdos*. Moreover, among the four types of *gto*, the second is called *mdos cha rten 'brel brdeg gto*, translated by Snellgrove (1967: 25) as "the 'Striking' Rite using a combination of devices" ("devices" being his usual translation of *mdos*). I must confess that I do not

understand what this *gto* is about, but my aim here is to show how uncertain and, probably, artificial the classifications are.

Let us return to the *glud* of the second Way. They are said to be of three kinds: for men, women and children (*pho glud, mo glud, chung glud*). For each, ten *mdos* are listed, followed by various others; summed up, the *mdos* number 360 (a figure probably linked to the number of days in the year). As for the *mdos* themselves, they are also of three kinds: outer, inner and secret. In fact, all three seem necessary for the performance of the ritual, since the outer *mdos* is the collection of objects gathered or made for the ritual (thread-crosses, arrows, etc.: *phyi mdos sog khrig lag len rdzas*); the inner *mdos* is made up of the ransom, the incantation (*gyer*) and the archetypal narrative (*smrang*); the secret "consists of meditation and the things of thought" (*gsang mdos ting 'dzin dgongs pa'i rdzas*, Snellgrove 1967: 84-85. I understand : "consists of *samādhi*, the item of thought"). Later, we find a confirmation of the definition of the *mdos* that I have given above: when one performs the ritual, one must take as the model the universe and everything it contains, living beings and inanimate things; and all these components of the *mdos* must be more beautiful than their model in reality (Snellgrove 1967: 86-87). One initial observation: as far as the conception of the *mdos* is concerned, there is no difference between the Buddhists and the Bonpos.

According to the *gZi brjid* typology, the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* belongs to the third type mentioned, "secret", which fits with the omnipresent instructions that one finds there on the meditation; it must be noted, however, that its name does not appear in the *gZi brjid*. For its part, the basic text in the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* Collection (text no. 7, see below) indicates that although it was said that this ritual belonged to the *sNang gshen theg pa*, in the secret sense (*gsang don*) it belongs to the *A dkar theg pa* (regarding which, see Kvaerne 1973).

2. The ritual structure of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos*

The *mKha' klong gsang mdos* Collection has been carefully described by S.G. Karmay (1977, no. 30) and there is no need to go back over his analysis here. In his *Catalogue*, S.G. Karmay classifies this ritual in the *sgrub thabs* (*sādhana*) section, and not among the "worldly rituals" as one could expect. No doubt this is because it is one of the nine ritual acts linked to the sPyi-spungs tantric cycle (cf. the title itself, the Preface, the *bCa' thabs* written by Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (p. 2), and the first lines of the *gZhung chen*). Thus, from the outset, we are directed to Dran-pa nam-mkha', who was prominent in the transmission of this cycle, and to the first *gter ston* in the lineage of rMa, rMa-ston Srol-'dzin (or Srid-'dzin, born in 1092 according to Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin's Chronology; see, among others, Karmay 1972: 45 n. 2; regarding the lineage of rMa, Blondeau 1990a). It is, therefore, not surprising to see that the basic text of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* (*gZhung chen*,

text no. 7) is a *gter ma* discovered by the grandson of Srol-'dzin, rMa Shes-rab seng-ge (late 12th - early 13th century), complemented by the discoveries of his disciple 'Or-sgom phug-pa (texts nos. 25-35). In fact, these latter texts seem to complete the missing parts of the *gZhung chen*, set out in the list of contents of the work (*gZhung chen*: 119); they detail parts of the ritual and are not of great interest from the perspective of this article. Instead, I will use text no. 3: "The section on the category of *mdos* in general" (*mDos rigs spyi'i mchong Rin chen 'phreng ba*), which is very clear and detailed concerning the ritual structure.

The very brief colophon gives another title: "The section on the general *mdos* of the created world [with] the four continents" (*Gling bzhi srid pa'i spyi mdos kyi cha lag*). Initially, this title casts doubt on the text's belonging to the *mKha' klong gsang mdos*, though its relationship with the basic text of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* is evident. Be that as it may, although the wording is not particularly clear, it seems that this title applies only to the second section of the text (*smad mchong*), while it is the first section that is called *mDos mchong rin chen 'phreng ba* (the title given to the whole of the text by the compiler of the Collection); the colophon points out that this first part is common to all *mdos* and can be performed following any basic text (*mdos gzhung*), while the second part (*Gling bzhi....*) is used for special occasions (which are not specified). The first interesting thing about this text, therefore, is that it provides a general "manual" for the performance of Bonpo *mdos*. It includes neither the author's name nor that of the *gter ston*, but S.G. Karmay (1977: 37) thinks that it is a *gter ma* of rMa Sher-seng or of 'Or-sgom phug-pa, which reinforces its significance.

Analysis

The text begins with prostrations before the *nirmāṇakāya* Khro-rgyal who subdues all the arrogant *lha srin*. Instructions then follow, recommending each practitioner to use the basic text that he is used to, for the performance of the general preliminaries: delimiting the ritual area, taking Refuge, producing the Thought of Enlightenment, offerings and praise to the *yi dam*, exhorting the protective deities, entrusting to them the tasks to be carried out, scattering the first offering (*phud*). Then the main body of the text, divided into two sections (*mchong*), begins.

I. First section (*stod mchong*)

It consists of twelve parts:

I. 1. Mentally creating the door of the *mdos* (*mdos sgo bskye[d] pa*)

Above the five elements, symbolised by the syllables A, YAṂ, RAṂ, MAṂ, KHAṂ, one visualises the syllable BRUṂ. This merges into light, which

transforms to become the base of the *mdos*. On it, one imagines the *mdos*: the Excellent Mountain (Ri-rab, Sumeru) at the centre, surrounded by the four continents with eight small continents and, at the borders, a copper wall[1]. It is made of all sorts of precious materials. The seven gold mountain ranges gleam with light; they are separated by seven "tasty" oceans (*rol ba'i mtsho*). Sun, moon and stars emit their rays, which fill the whole universe. Gathered together are harvests and fruit from three incalculable *kalpa*, all kinds of favourable circumstances (*rkyen*) that exist in the three worlds, all the elixir-beings (*bcud*) created in the space; the five-colour tree symbols (*rgyang bu*), sparkling with rainbow rays, the male images (*pho tong*) dressed as warriors, the female images (*mo tong*) with cheerful attitudes, dressed as brides: the ransoms of the body standing like the Counsellors of the maternal clan (*zhang blon*) drawn up in ranks; the multicoloured arrow and the multicoloured spindle, beautiful and delightful; the plumage of birds with beautiful wings, and balls of wool, voluminous as banks of southern clouds; species of birds with beautiful wings that glide through space; the carnivores with multicoloured coats of fur, that walk at the corners of the *mdos*; the wild animals (*ri dwags*) with beautiful faces, that stand on the sides, and the domestic animals with glossy coats in their place. The eight auspicious signs shine with light, the seven precious jewels emit rays.

In all the cardinal and intermediate directions of this Excellent Mountain (Ri-rab), young boys and girls, divine children, present in their hands all kinds of offerings (in sets of three): gold, silver and copper; turquoise, coral and pearls; tea, silk and brocade; helmet, armour and weapons; dye, molasses and *lkag* (?); horse, cattle and sheep; the three white foods and the three sweet foods; flesh, blood and bone; territory, field and house (? *yul zhing bang khang*); medicinal plants, grains and flowers, etc.

All the shapes, all the sounds, the smells, the tastes, the sensations of touch, adornments of the *mdos*, one offers them in transforming them mentally: in inconceivable number, they fill the three chiliocosms. One offers (*phul ba*) them to the male and female *gdon bgegs* who pursue their debtors for vengeance (*lan chags*). Then, their harmful spirit is appeased and they no longer think of doing harm. Also, the beings that wish to receive the ransom (*glud yas*) obtain all the treasures they desire: they stop doing evil and do good. This is what one imagines.

I. 2. Consecration of the *mdos* (*mdos byin gyi[s] brlab pa*)

The officiant identifies himself with the *yi dam* (Khro-chen) and proclaims:

> "*bso!* I am the divine body of the Wisdom plane! I am the wrathful Thought of the Three Bodies. My immortal Wisdom blazes. From my flaming body emanate rays of light, whence come the syllables RAṂ, YAṂ, MAṂ, GAṂ; these emit fire, air (*rlung*), water of the Wisdom plane, which purifies [the offerings] by burning them, dispersing them, washing them. All the

> impurities, faults and blemishes are purified and become perfection, beauty, rapture, adornment."

From the rays that come from the heart of Khro-chen emanate six syllables: these are the seed-syllables of the five elements and of Ri-rab; they are consecrated as the seed-syllables of the Heroes (*dpa' bo*).

> "A is the element space: may the *nam mkha', rgyang bu* (tree symbols), *shing ris* (small painted boards), arrows, spindles, silk hangings, effigies, white ransoms for the body be consecrated as the element space!"

The other elements are dealt with similarly, only changing the syllable and the colour: YAṂ, air, green; RAṂ, fire, red; MAṂ, water, blue; KHAṂ, earth, yellow.

> "BRUṂ is Ri-rab, the palace of Bon: may this *mdos*, perfection of desirable objects and wealth, *mdos* of the five Wisdoms, become all that one desires!"

I. 3. Pouring a libation, requesting the deities to act as arbiters and witnesses (*gser skyems gtor zhing gzu' dpang gsol ba*)

The officiant invokes Gang[s]-chen srid-rje 'Brang-dkar, Ma-ha phywa-rje Ring-dkar, and bsKos-pa bskos-rje Grang-dkar (three lords of the *phywa srid skos gsum* deities: Karmay 1975: 192. Below, they appear to belong to the bsKos category, regarding which, see Karmay 1998, no. 17). This sequence is very short, but serves to summon these deities, who will play a role later on in the ritual (part I. 10).

I. 4. Asking the deities to listen (*'o snyan byas te*)

The peaceful and wrathful *yi dam*, the Protectors of Bon (*bon skyong srung ma*), the powerful Eight categories of gods and demons (*lha srin sde brgyad*), are requested not to be absent-minded, but attentive, and to listen. Even if the offerings made to them are small, the benediction of the *yi dam* is not.

I. 5. Binding the *bgegs* under oath (*dam bgegs te*)

The officiant speaks to the harmful entities and reminds them of previous occasions when Masters, in the past, subdued them and bound them under oath:

> "In the time of the first *kalpa*, the great gShen gSang-ba 'dus-pa bound the nine *g-yen lha 'dre* under oath in the nine places of secret realisation. Since they gave him their life essence (mantra) and made promises, may they not break them, and may they undertake [the actions that the officiant orders them to do].
>
> The powerful protector sTag-la me-'bar bound the arrogant *bgegs srin* under oath at dBal-gyi brag-phug rin [= rong]-chen. Since they gave him their . . .
>
> At Do-ring of gNam-mtsho phyug-mo, sTong-rgyung mthu-chen of Zhang-zhung bound the *lha srin sde brgyad* under oath. Since they gave him their . . .

At Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar, that excellent place, Bla-chen Dran-pa nam-mkha' bound the harmful *bgegs* under oath. Since they gave him their . . ."

The officiant continues, proclaiming that he belongs to the oral lineage of these Masters, while the present cohort of very harmful *'dre, gdon, 'byung po* are of the same line as those of the past. They have been bound under oath to the commands of these Masters: may they not break their oath; may they take this great *mdos* with the assembled things and the ransom; may they obey and may they protect the beings in accordance with their promise.

I. 6. Explaining the origin of the *mdos* (*mdos kyi byung khung bshad ste*)

The officiant starts to sing:

"Oh! first, there was nothing;
At the very beginning of the created world
The five elements appeared one after another.
As elixir-beings (*bcud*), the three: gods, men and *gshen* were created;
The domain of existence (*yod khams*) spread the happiness of the created world.
The domain of non-existence (*med khams*) engendered harmful thoughts of unhappiness,
The three: *'dre, srin* and *byur* demonstrated their covetousness (? *za kha*),
The era of sickness, famines and weapons was bred.
To defeat them by appropriate means,
In the primeval times there was the order given by the *Sugata*,
In the median times, there was the order given by the lineage of the *Vidyādhara*,
At present, there is the order that I, the *mantrin* (*sngags 'chang*), that I give.
That is why I am going to explain the origin of the *mdos*."

Then follows the evocation, in a few lines, of four mythical precedents, introduced by the same refrain: "The appearance of the *mdos*, from where did it appear? (*mdos byung gang nas byung*)". First, the *gdon* did king Mi-rab ru-cho harm, and he was about to die; (the text is incomplete, as it does not indicate who healed him, nor the *mdos* that was made). Then, king Mu-khri btsan-po was seized by a serious illness; the great gShen Nam-mkha' snang-mdog arranged the great *mKha' klong gsang ba'i mdos*: the king was saved. Next, a disease was sent by the *sa bdag klu* (and?) *gnyan* to king gNam-ri blon-btsan (*sic*: slon-btsan); he called for sTong-rgyung mthu-chen, who performed the *Srid pa spyi'i bzlog mdos*: the king was saved. Then, the disturbed *yul lha* put up obstacles against king Khri-srung sde-btsan (Khri-srong lde-btsan); he sent for Bla-chen Dran-pa (nam-mkha'), who made the great *mdos sNang srid zhi bde*: the king was saved.

Similarly now, the *mantrin* has been invited by the rich patron and he has arranged the *mdos*, filled with all the desirable things: may all the owners (those

designated as the final recipients) of the *mdos* (*mdos bdag*) consider these desirable things and ward off catastrophes and terrifying situations.

I. 7. Invocation of the Truth (*bden pa bdar ste*)

The truth of the following is called to witness: the Word of the *Sugata* of the three times, the benediction of the peaceful and wrathful *yi dam*, the magic power of the Protectors of Bon, the three kinds of mantras (outer, inner and secret), the lineage of the *Vidyādhara dpon gsas*. There is no one who does not obey the Word of Truth, in the same way that there is no one who does not drink water, no one who is not terrified by deadly weapons, nothing that stops the proclamation of the true archetypal narrative (*smrang*). May all categories of beings, from the summit of the created world to the hells, who pursue their debtors for vengeance (*lan chags*), gather at the *mdos* and not disobey the order of the *yi dam* gods.

I. 8. Being, oneself, identified with dBal-gsas and filled with his divine pride, one oppresses [the gods and demons of this world] (*bdag nyid dbal gsas nga rgyal gyis [b]skyed zil gyis gnon pa*)

Here we have the classic process of mental evocation of the deity (*bskyed rim*): one evokes dBal-gsas rNgam-pa Khro-rgyal mkha'-'gying-kha, who resides in the palace of the sphere of the "quick" (?) Reality (*Bon nyid myur gyi dbyings kyi gzhal yas khang*). He is of human height, he has nine heads and eighteen arms, his body is dark blue. His heads on the right side are white, those on the left are red and the heads in the middle are dark blue and black; on the right, a tiger head, on the left a leopard head, at the centre a lion head. His chignon is adorned with a dragon of turquoise, *chu srin* and *khyung*. His red-yellow hair stands on end. From his eyes lightning flashes, from his ears, the roll of thunder, from his nose, whirlwinds, from his mouth, streams of blood. His tongue shoots red flashes of lightning and sparks of fire. At the top of his head glides the great *khyung* of the created world (description of the attributes he holds in his eighteen hands). He is accompanied by hundreds of thousands of wrathful deities who let out frightening screams (one can compare this description with the one in Kvaerne 1990).

The officiant offers prostrations and praise to the Wisdom-Body: he beseeches it to crush, with its magnificence, the *lha 'dre* of the created world; may it place them under its power and force them to obey. The sequence ends with a mantra (*bso ōṃ a thun nye lo yo thun spungso thad do thun/ a ma ma ha la raṃ ja thun bhyo thun bhyo*) and the offering of the first offering.

I. 9. Offering [the first offering] of the *mdos* to those who are not its owners, one asks them to leave (*mdos la mi dbang pa mchod cing gshegs su gsol*)

One arranges yak, white sheep, the human effigy (*ngar mi*), *bshos bu*, the multicoloured arrow to which are attached balls of silk and balls of wool, and offers the first offering and a libation to the minor entities who are not to be the recipients of the *mdos*: the mass of slaves (*bran*), serfs (*g-yog*) and subjects (*'bangs*). The officiant tells them in detail what he is offering them: gold, silver, turquoise, grain, *ngar mi* ... ; he praises these offerings: nothing is better or whiter than the silver, nothing is more expensive than the gold, nothing is brighter than the turquoise ... He orders them to return, each to his own home, not to hang around the *mdos*, not to damage it.

I. 10. Installation (?) of the bsKos deities (*bskos btab ste*)

The three bsKos deities to whom a libation has been offered (I. 3.) are invoked. The text adds a few pieces of information about these little-known deities to that provided in the article by S.G. Karmay (1998, no. 17): they are the "jurists" (*khrims bdag*) who distinguish the true from the false, the arbiters (*gzu bo*) who distinguish the underhanded from the upright, the *dam can* who protect the doctrine; they have been established as the "chosen ones" (*skos*) of the *phya* (gods?) of the created world (*srid pa phywa*); from the title of I. 3., we can infer that they go to arbitrate the exchange of the ransom against the "ransomed" and to be guarantors of parity in this exchange. They are invited to take the first offering that has been offered to them and so obtain their share of the ransoms and of the objects of the offering (*yas*). May they issue their orders and may there be none of the *lha srin sde brgyad* who do not listen to them and do not obey them.

One presents them with all the objects assembled on the *mdos*, classified as male, corresponding to Means (*thabs*), on the right, and female, corresponding to Knowledge (*shes rab*), on the left:

– male, on the right: birds, carnivores, wild and domestic animals, aquatic animals, small painted boards (*shing ris*); those things whose nature is Means: the thread-crosses (*nam mkha'*), the small boards painted with male images (*pho tong* = *pho gtong/gdong*), the multicoloured arrow, the *gtor ma*, the *amṛta*, the *bha ling* (? *bali*?);

– female, on the left: the tree symbols (*rgyang bu*), the multicoloured spindle, the small boards painted with female images (*mo tong*), blood (*rakta*), the *ting lo* and *theb kyu*, whose nature is Knowledge.

All these objects being offered to them without making a distinction between them, may they take them all equally, without differentiation in either taking or leaving. The invocation ends with the usual exhortation not to disobey the orders of Che-mchog Khro-bo, to satisfy themselves each according to his desires and to ward off grievous events and obstacles.

I. 11. Entry into the central part (of the ritual: *gzhung la 'jug(s)*): offering each of the ransom objects (*yas glud*), praising it and explaining its qualities in

elaborate terms (*rgyas pa yon tan dang sbyar la yas glud rnams so sor bstod cing 'bul ba*)

The officiant begins to sing a song of archaic poetic style. He addresses the entities who are the owners of the *mdos*, and all the cohorts of *lha srin sde brgyad* whom he has invited: may they listen, and look at the *mdos* with all the objects of offering that have been assembled there. He begins by praising the *mdos* in general: first, it has cost the efforts of the donor-patron and the *gshen* priest; then, it has been consecrated and arranged in a pure way; great quantities of objects and produce have been amassed as objects of offering. He details again the universe-*mdos*, as he did at the beginning of the ritual, and he concludes: "I offer you as ransom this great *mdos* of the created world, with its adornments".

Next, he offers, one by one, the following things, explaining their origin, sometimes their etymology, and praising them: *nam mkha'*, *rgyang bu,* small painted boards (*shing ris*), *pho tong, mo tong,* arrow, spindle, winged beings, beasts of prey, wild animals, domestic animals, aquatic animals, precious things.

I. 12. Transposition of the effigy, ransom for the man (*ngar mi bsngo ste*)

The officiant describes and praises the effigy, declaring it more beautiful than the man for whom it will serve as ransom:

> "Oh! Upon this great beautiful *mdos*, endowed with ornaments,
> Of more beautiful appearance than the man, it is the object of offering *par excellence*.
> Man made of five kinds of cereals,
> He has teeth of cowrie shell and a coral tongue,
> His eyes are made of *lang thang* (a medicinal plant), his nose made of a stick of incense (?),
> His hair ... (? *zer mang skra la mu tig glud*).
> Praise to his royal radiance of white mustard! (?)
> His clothes are made of precious brocade,
> His right arm is made of gold, his left arm of turquoise,
> His right leg of iron, his left leg of copper.
> He is made in the likeness of the donor-patron (*yon bdag 'dra ba'i gzugs su byas*).
> The five senses, he has all of them,
> The twelve *ayatana* (*skye mched*) of the sensory system, he has all of them,
> Consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*), he has it;
> Body and limbs, he has them.
> For a physique more beautiful than the man, nothing is better than his body!
> More expert at walking than the man, nothing is more beautiful than his gait!
> Such a *ngar mi* ransom of the body, which combines perfectly all the wealth and things that satisfy the senses,
> I offer it as an ornament of the *mdos* of the created world,

I offer it as ransom for this rich patron.
May the resentment due to unpaid debts be appeased!"

At the end of this song, the text only adds:

"As one goes along, he installs each thing in its place. End of the first section of the general *mdos*".

II. Second section (*smad mchong*)

This section is composed of ten parts, which, in fact, concern the actions that bring the ritual to an end.

II. 1. Opening the doors (*sgo dbye [ba]*)

The four guardian-goddesses of the doors (*sgo ma*) – which face the four cardinal directions – of the Ri-rab *mdos* (Sumeru-*mdos*) are invoked so that they open the doors with their magic keys:

– to the east, at the door of the earth, solid earth, sNang-gsal-sgron;
– to the north, at the door of the air, *li mun*, 'Deb-byed-ma;
– to the west, at the door of fire, *tshang[s] stang*, 'Od-du-gsal;
– to the south, at the door of water, *ting ngam* (= *nam*), bDud-rtsi-sgrubs.

(For these synonyms, or epithets, of the elements, see Karmay 1972: Glossary.)

They are requested, after having opened the doors, to facilitate the passage into the defiles and to guide the *mdos*.

II. 2. Turning the *mdos* round and showing the ransom-*mdos* [to the numina] (*mdos zhal phyir sgyur la/ mdos glud ngo(s) bstan [pa]*)

The *lha srin sde brgyad* are summoned and invoked: may they take this *mdos* (another listing of what it comprises) without the officiant committing an error in the giving or they in the taking. May they obey the orders of Che-mchog dBal-gsas. The world is impermanent, it has no substance (? *rgyu*): may they take their own bodies as an example (of impermanence). May they do no harm to others. May they ward off great misfortune and fright. May they leave in the state of what is useful, of happiness and love. Saying this, one shows them "the face" of the *mdos*.

II. 3. Giving [the *mdos*], as provisions for the journey, sprinkling it with grain and libations (*rdzongs btab ste 'bru dang gser skyems bran [pa]*)

The officiant announces that he gives this ransom-*mdos* as provisions for the journey to the different categories of *bgegs* (each part of the *mdos* and what it contains are again detailed). In return, may the *bgegs* push back all evil spells, accidents and catastrophes.

II. 4. Keeping the "good fortune" of the wealth (*longs spyod kyi g-yang len pa*)

The officiant lists all that he has not sent with the *mdos*, so as to keep the *g-yang*: the *g-yang* of longevity (*tshe g-yang*), which resides in the supports (images or *gtor ma*?) of the gods; the permanent objects of offering (? *rtan rdzas*; misspelling of *rten rdzas*, support-objects of the gods?); the support objects of offering of the commitment (*dam rdzas*) of the Protectors (*srung ma*); the five weapons (*'khor ba'i go mtshon*: sword, spear . . .) of the warrior gods (*sgra bla*); the domestic livestock (a list of which is provided); the three white foods, the three sweet..., which belong to the *gter g-yang* ("good fortune" of the treasures); the *g-yang* of the heroism (*dpa' g-yang*) of the "Black headed" (Tibetans); the *rma g-yang* (?) which condenses them all.

The officiant concludes:

> "I wave the white ritual arrow (*mda' dar*); I offer the first offering of the turquoise libation. I request you to reside here, without absent-mindedness. *phya khum ye bruṃ 'du*".

Saying these words, he waves the *mda' dar* and offers the first offering. (We recognise here the elements of the rite of calling "good fortune", *g-yang 'gug*.)

II. 5. Clearing the way for the *mdos* (*mdos lam bsal ba*)

Now, the *mdos* is given, the ransom shared out: may the guardian-goddesses of the doors open them and clear the way in the narrow defiles. May the entities that reside on the path take the libation offered and draw aside. The numina similarly exhorted are: gNam-sman dkar-mo and the small gods (*lha bran*) [at the centre] of space; the male and female *dri za* (Skr. *gandharva*) to the east; the *grul bum* (Skr. *kuṃbhaṇḍa*), males, females and children, to the south; the powerful *klu*, males, females and children, to the west; the *gnod sbyin* (Skr. *yakṣa*), males, females and children, to the north. If they do not comply, their children will be threatened with hell.

II. 6. Explanation of the way while moving the *mdos* (*mdos spyod [= bskyod] cing lam bshad pa*)

The officiant proclaims that he moves the *mdos* in the four directions: in each, he loads it on a different wild animal (*ri dwags*), charged with carrying it:

– to the east, he loads it on a big *rog po* (?) which takes the *mdos* to the land of the *dri za*;

– to the north, on a White-mouth *skyes* (= *rkyang*?), which takes it to the land of the *gnod sbyin*;

– to the west, on a wild yak (*'brong*), which takes it to the land of the *klu*;

– to the south, on a *rgya go ra* (?), which takes it to the land of the *gshin rje* (and not of the *grul bum* in accordance with the list of II. 5.).

May they carry the *mdos* without deviating from their route, nor turning back, and may they bring it to its destination.

This part ends with a gloss: "Then, one turns the *mdos* towards the path".

II. 7. Moving the *mdos* towards its destination and showing the way for its ingestion (? *gnas su spyod [= bskyod] cing za lam bstan pa*)

This part consists of a long poetic song which presents difficulties of comprehension and vocabulary. It first presents four new entities charged with showing the way for the *mdos* in the four directions:

– towards the east, the large *g-yu bun* (?) of glaciers that sits astride a black iron bird and is surrounded by one hundred thousand *byang sman* (*sman mo* goddesses of the north?);

– towards the south, the indigo *g-yu bun* (? *mthing gi g-yu bun*) that sits astride an indigo bird and is surrounded by one hundred thousand *spang sman* (goddesses of the pasture?);

– towards the west, the copper *g-yu bun* that sits astride a black bird made of *bse* and is surrounded by one hundred thousand *klu sman*;

– towards the north, the *byang sman* (an error, meant to be *g-yu bun*?) that sits astride a gold bird and is surrounded by one hundred thousand *byang sman*.

Then follow imprecations against demons (*dam sri, bgegs, sri*) and against the hateful *lha srin sde brgyad*: may they not remain there any longer and return to their own residence.

Next, a new description of the Ri-rab-*mdos* comes up, emphasized by onomatopoeic or descriptive words, then, in the same style, the description of how the *mdos*, the *yas, yas thag, 'dre* and *gdon*, and the ransom for the body (*sku glud*) move off.

The places where the *mdos* will actually be carried and left at the conclusion of the ritual, seem to be described by the following passage:

"*mdos* and ransom, to go, they go to the summit of Ri-rab.
Very solid, not very solid, the mountain is solid:
This is why they are taken to the summit of Ri-rab (i.e., a mountain).
And also, *mdos* and ransom, to go, they go to the junction of three valleys.
Walking much, walking little, one passes there:
This is why they are taken to the junction of [three] deserted roads.
And also, *mdos* and ransom, to go, they go into the plain of a large river.
Drinking much, drinking little, one drinks water:
This is why they are taken into the plain of a large river."

The song ends on some new imprecations against the *bgegs* and the order given to the *lha srin sde brgyad* to take, without fighting over them, all the amassed offerings and to let go of their resentment against the donor-patron.

II. 8. Offering the *mdos* to those who take it away (*mdos len ma 'bul ba*)

This, in fact, is the offering of the *mdos* to its recipients, those who are the owners (*mdos bdag*) designated in II. 6., through the medium of a girl representative of each category: to the east, the *dri za* and their entourage (the text

is probably incorrect); to the north, the *gnod sbyin* daughter "With the beautiful complexion"; to the west, the *klu* daughter "With the beautiful finery"; to the south, the *gshin rje* daughter "With the beautiful radiance". It is also offered to the categories of *bgegs* who damage the holy mountain-places (*gnas ri*).

For each, the same refrain is taken up: "You, *bgegs* who do harm in such direction, I offer you this *mdos* and these objects of offering from the created world. Cancel the debt and end your resentment, calm your harmful spirit and stop the evil that you do. Please leave contented."

II. 9. Showing the way for the *mdos* (*mdos lam bstan pa*)

This part could seem to be a repeat of II. 6. In fact, it points out those who appear to be the ultimate recipients of the *mdos* and who, surprisingly, are the great Hindu gods (to which is added a Tibetan god?), presented here as the rulers of the four continents – called "paradise" (*zhing khams*) – and of Sumeru. The text gives no explanation for the inclusion of these gods in the ritual. Are we to assume that they are treated separately, as superior gods, in the *lha* category of the *lha srin sde brgyad*? We find these same gods among the recipients of the *mdos* in one of the Buddhist *Gling bzhi spyi mdos* (see the fourth text below), but reigning, in a manner that is much more vague, over "half the sky" in each direction. The question of possible contacts between Tibet and Hindu India crops up more and more frequently, and would merit thorough research. Coming back to our text, it describes these gods in this way:

"Oh! Now, I pray you to show the way for the *mdos*!
Show the way to the east of Ri-rab;
[There], in the Lus-'phag-po paradise,
lHa-chen Mahādeva
Exercises his power over one hundred thousand *kṣatriya* (*rgyal rigs*),
He takes pleasure with the daughters of the *kṣatriya*.
Towards him, who is the god of nine hundred *log 'dren* (Skr. *gaṇapati*, masters of wealth),
I pray you to show the way for the *mdos*!
And also, to show the way for the *mdos*, show it to the north;
[There], in the sGra-mi-snyan paradise,
The king of the gods, Khyab-'jug (Viṣṇu)
Exercises his power over an entourage of Brahmans,
He takes pleasure with the daughters of the Brahmans.
Towards him, who is the god of eight large planets,
I pray you to show the way for the *mdos*!
And also, to show the way for the *mdos*, show it to the west;
[There], in the Ba-glang-spyod paradise,
The king of the gods, Tshangs-pa (Brahmā)
Exercises his power over one hundred thousand *śūdra* (*dmangs rigs*),

He takes pleasure with the daughters of the *śūdra*.
As he is the god of almost the whole world,
Towards him, show the way for the *mdos*!
And also, to show the way for the *mdos*, show it to the south;
[There], in the Jambudvīpa world,
The king of the gods, Thang-sprin
Exercises his power over the seigniorial caste (*rje rigs*),
He takes pleasure with the girls of the seigniorial caste.
Towards him, who is the god of lightning and hail,
I pray you to show the way for the *mdos*!
And also, I pray you to show the way for the *mdos* to the centre, Ri-rab:
At the summit of Ri-rab lhun-po,
The Chief (*mi po*) dBang-phyug chen-po (Maheśvara)
Exercises his power over the six categories of beings.
Since he is the Chief of the world,
Towards him, show the way for the *mdos*!
And also, to show the way for the *mdos*, where is it shown to?
Beyond the three chiliocosms,
Towards the unlimited borders of the universe,
Show the way for the *mdos*, go there!"

After one last exhortation to the *bgegs* to satisfy themselves and to go back home, one imagines that all leave. Then one takes the *mdos* on the path.

II. 10. Explaining the impermanence of the *mdos* (*mdos la mi rtag pa bshad [pa]*)

This song begins with statements on the impermanent nature of all things: one must not, therefore, feel either fear or desire. The *mdos* is impermanent in its totality. There then follows a long list of impermanent things, combined in pairs (blood and water, flesh and earth, breath and air, humid heat and fire, hair and wood, bone and stone... man and animal): although it is not said, one could think that these are the elements of the universe-*mdos*, as the song ends by again taking up the same wording as for the impermanence of the *mdos*.
(End of the second section and colophon.)

I underlined, at the outset, the considerable difference between the two *mdos* rituals discovered by gNyan-'theng re-ngan (although one of them bears the same title of *Srid pa'i spyi mdos*) and the one I have analysed here. This one, indeed, presents several striking features: first of all, the universe of which the *mdos* is a reproduction does not belong to the Bonpo cosmology – touched upon only in one short mythical narrative – but to the Buddhist/Hindu cosmology. I will come back to this later. Secondly, its structure does not differ from that of a Buddhist *mdos*. Thirdly, the omnipresence of the *lha srin sde brgyad* classification clearly points to

a Buddhist influence. This obviously raises the recurrent question of the borrowing from one tradition by another. This is why it has seemed interesting to me to try to find out if, in the Buddhist tradition, there are any *mdos* rituals that have one of the titles provided by the Bonpo ritual: *mDos mchong rin chen phreng ba*, or *Gling bzhi srid pa'i spyi mdos*, in order to compare them.

No ritual by either of these names is found in the various collections of Buddhist *mdos* published to date, although they contain a good number of rituals for pacifying the *sde brgyad*. On the other hand, we find in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol. phi, no. 67) four short texts (the longest being twelve folios, the shortest being one folio) which include *Gling bzhi spyi mdos* in their title, plus one which is a development of a *Gling bzhi srid pa spyi mdos*.

The first, *mKha' 'gro gling bzhi srid pa'i spyi mdos* (phi, text 1, 12 f), is taken from the *Thugs sgrub yang snying 'dus pa* cycle, a *gter ma* discovered by Ratna gling-pa (14th century). The *yi dam* is dBang-chen (Maheśvara) and the *mdos* is addressed to the *mkha' 'gro ma* of the mundane plane. As for the detail of its performance, it is quite different from the Bonpo ritual.

The second (phi, text 2, 4 f) consists of a few notes (*zin bris*), written by Rāga-a-sya, on the *Gling bzhi spyi mdos* discovered by Ratna gling-pa, which is said to be, itself, an abstract of the same ritual discovered by Ra-shag gter-son[2]. These notes provide some precise information about the preparations for the ritual and about its performance.

The third (phi, text 6, 13 f) bears the title: *gTsug lag snang srid spyi skong gi mdos chog*. The author, unnamed, says that in a dream, he received some explanations and complementary instructions on a *Gling bzhi srid pa spyi mdos*. Although inserted into a Buddhist framework, the text bears some evidence of Bonpo influence; for instance, the Truth is called to witness in these words: *'gyur med g-yung drung phywa'i bden pa*. . . Nevertheless, the ritual is very different from that of the Bonpos.

The fourth, *Gling bzhi spyi mdos* (phi, text 8, 7 f), is taken from the *bDe gshegs yongs 'dus* cycle, a *gter ma* discovered by Klong-gsal snying-po (17th century). The *yi dam* is Che-mchog He-ru-ka; the main entities for whom the *mdos* is intended are the *ma mo*, then the lords of various categories of numina, including the Hindu gods as mentioned above. This ritual is supplemented by the fifth text (phi, text 9, 1 f), which summarises the process of the ritual acts (*las 'grigs*) as explained orally by dBon-po O-rgyan rnam-grol of Kaḥ-thog.

Although these rituals have very little in common with the Bonpo ritual, other than their title, they keep some of the Bonpo flavour and, in this respect, it is interesting to note that Kong-sprul places them with other *mdos* discovered by some *gter ston* well known for their "ambivalence".

Finally, the best parallel can be found in the *gTer chos* of mChog-gyur gling-pa (1829-1870), where there is a *Srid pa'i spyi mdos* (14 f) written by mChog-gyur

gling-pa as auxiliary text to his *gter ma* cycle, the *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel.* I will briefly compare this ritual with the Bonpo ritual.

The difference in length between the two texts is obvious at first glance. As is common with the Buddhist *mdos* texts, the ritual of mChog-gyur gling-pa is a simple aide-mémoire; that is to say, it contains only general descriptions, with little detail, and no mythical narrative, which characterises the Bonpo ritual. Moreover, the initiator of the ritual is obviously different: for mChog-gyur gling-pa, as written in his preamble to the ritual, it is Padmasambhava in his Thod-phreng-rtsal form who performed this *mdos* for the first time, and said to perform it to appease the *lha srin sde brgyad.*

After this very short preamble, the ritual itself is classically divided into three parts: the preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*), the central part (*dngos gzhi*) and the final ritual acts (*rjes kyi bya ba*), followed by a statement on the usefulness and the benefits of this ritual.

The preliminaries break down into:
– the making of the *mdos*. This amounts to reproducing the universe in dough: one builds a platform with four stepped levels; around it are arranged the mountain ranges, the oceans, the continents, etc. Each category of the *lha srin sde brgyad* is represented by a *gtor ma* placed on the first step or terrace of Sumeru, each in the direction that corresponds to it. The description continues with the list of representations of living beings, the usual objects and ingredients, and the human effigy.
– propitiation of the *yi dam*. One can make his *sādhana* in a way that is elaborate, average or small, but it must always be complete.
– consecration of the *mdos*. With the syllables RAṂ, YAṂ, KHAṂ, one purifies all things by burning and dispersing them (the Bonpo used the five elements): they become the Void. From the syllable BHRUṂ, appearing from the Void, a perfectly made palace of jewels forms. From SVĀ HĀ all the wealth and desirable things appear. One consecrates them with OṂ Ā HŪṂ. Other mantras follow, accompanied by *mudrā* which transform the objects into inexhaustible wealth, into *amṛta*, etc.

The central part (dngos gzhi) consists of:
– the invitation to the *lha srin sde brgyad.* May they not break their previous promises, may they obey and come.
– putting the *lha srin* under oath. The officiant imagines that he places the *vajra* of divine pride on their head, that he pours the *amṛta* into their mouth and that he drives into their heart the *vajra* commitments that are difficult to contravene. A mantra follows.
– satisfying the gods and the *lha srin* with the offering of the *mdos*. The *mdos* is offered successively to the following: the Lama, the *yi dam,* the *Triratna,* the *dPa'*

bo, ḍākinī and *chos skyong,* the *gnod sbyin,* the gods of wealth and the masters of the treasures; then to each category of the *lha srin sde brgyad.* The officiant first praises the Sumeru-*mdos* and what it contains, then he briefly describes each of the *lha srin,* his residence. . . ; he ends by asking him to be satisfied with what he has been given.

– the transposition of the ransom for the man. The officiant speaks to the *sde brgyad* and praises the effigy; he describes what it is composed of, transposing each element into precious material; it is more beautiful and rich than the real man. May the *sde brgyad* subdue their resentment, may they be appeased and produce the Thought of Enlightenment; may they perform only propitious actions and may they not break their promises.

Final ritual acts are four in number:

– clearing the way. There is only one short indication: "clearing the way by offering a libation".

– showing the way. Each of the objects of the *mdos* and the offerings are offered after having been consecrated by the six mantras and the six *mudrā.* In the officiant's recitation, he repeats that he is showing the way, but no precise destination is indicated: he shows the way in the four cardinal directions and the intermediate directions, there where the *'byung po* are gathered. Now it is time to leave; may they not remain here and no longer do harm. "Otherwise, I, Thod-phreng-rtsal (says the officiant), I will reduce you to ashes."

– turning the *mdos*. The text describes in a very concise way what one does with the *mdos*, according to which of the four ritual acts (appeasement, augmentation....) one has performed.

– final rites. Listing of a series of protection rites when one comes back after having left the *mdos*.

This brief analysis allows us to state that the structure of the ritual is identical in the two *mdos*, the Bonpo and the Buddhist, and that the erection of the universe-*mdos* also originates in the *sādhana* techniques. However, some striking differences in the developments of this structure do not, perhaps, stand out very clearly: these are, in the Buddhist ritual, the prevalence of the mantras accompanied by the description of the *mudrā*, the very stereotyped nature of the celebrant's invocation and the difference in attitude towards the *sde brgyad.* Regarding the latter, the officiant, identified with the *yi dam*, exercises the same authority over them, but the Buddhist treats them as inferior demons, in an aloof manner, roughly, with threats; for the Bonpo, they seem to be part of a family circle, with formidable power, that he treats more like gods than like demons (though, sometimes, he threatens them). Even the creation of the universe, which is based, obviously, on the same cosmology, presents the same basic and stereotyped

character in the Buddhist ritual. By contrast, the Bonpo ritual appears lavish and dynamic.

As recalled at the beginning of this article, the real origin of the *mdos* is not known. The least that one can say at this point is that whatever their origin might be – Buddhist or Bonpo – as far as these rituals and their performance are concerned, there are not two distinct traditions. I will go further in the concluding questions and hypothesis, but I come now to the question of cosmology.

3. The underlying cosmology of the symbolic construction of the *mdos*

We have already noted in the preceding text that the cosmology is Indo-Buddhist. Here, for a more detailed examination, I will use the basic text of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* Collection, the *gter ma* found by rMa-ston Shes-rab seng-ge: the *mKha' klong mdos bskang[s] kyi gzhung chen*. According to the table of contents provided at the beginning (119), the text is composed of twelve parts; the last two are missing but the text is apparently completed by the discoveries of 'Or-sgom phug-pa (see Karmay 1977, no. 30: texts 26-28 and 32). The colophon clearly attributes the discovery to rMa Sher-seng and gives the lineage of transmission, starting with 'Or-sgom phug-pa (I have not been able to identify the four other disciples who then successively received the transmission; the last, Khams-sgom drang-srong, is undoubtedly the final editor because the colophon ends with: And I, Khams-sgom drang-srong, I have asked for [the transmission] with the good of the beings in mind. . . ").

The greater part of the *gZhung chen* concerns the ritual performance of the *mdos*, but the text begins with a cosmogony that is very interesting because it combines Bonpo and Buddhist (or Indian) theories.

The first part sets out the characteristics of Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo. Here, unlike the common tradition (according to the *mDzod phug*, see Karmay 1975: 191-196, 200), Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo is the primordial deity: she is identified with the primordial state (the *Bon sku*?), luminous, without form or colour, or activity; she remains, from the beginnings, in the Great Expanse that covers everything (*khyab brdal*), in the state of great equanimity; she has taken form from the Great Expanse (*khyab brdal srid pa'i rgyal mo'i sku ru grub*).

The second part explains the process of the creation of the universe: the receptacle-world and the beings that are its elixir (*snod bcud*). This creation proceeds from five luminous rays emanating from Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo, without her leaving the undifferentiated state of the Sphere [of the Absolute]. From the diffusion and retraction of the luminous white ray, empty space (*nam mkha' stong ldan*) appears. From the diffusion and retraction of the light blue ray, the circle of wind appears, etc. To better bring out how closely this process of creation follows the one described in the *Abhidharmakośa*, I compare, in the table below, the data

provided by the two texts (for the *Abhidharmakośa*, I use the translation by La Vallée Poussin: basic text and commentary, and extracts from the *Lokaprajñāptiśāstra*). It should be noted as well that the Bonpo text is often incorrect, as is the set of manuscripts that make up the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* Collection.

mKha' klong gsang mdos	*Abhidharmakośa*
From the white ray: empty space	
From the light blue ray: the circle of wind supported by the double [diamond?] *vajra*. Its thickness is 1,600,000 [*yojana*], its width, immeasurable.	The circle of wind, supported by space. Ditto
From the red ray: a red, octagonal mountain of fire. Its height is 920,000 *yojana*, its width, 1,220,000.	(Missing)
From the blue ray: an expanse of water. Its depth is 620,000 *yojana*; (its dimensions of width are missing).	The circle of water. 1,120,000 *yojana*; then 800,000, the rest [320,000] becoming the golden earth.
From the yellow ray: the golden earth. The thickness is 1,120,000 plus 320,000 (? the calculation is uncertain). (No dimensions of width)	Circle of water and golden earth; each has a width of 1,203,450 *yojana*.
Above, the precious Ri-rab appears. It measures 2 times 80,000 *yojana*: 80,000 to the bottom of the water, where it touches the golden earth; 80,000 above, rising in four steps. Its vital axis (*srog shing*) totally pierces the earth.	Ditto
Its side to the east is made of conch; to the north, gold; to the west, copper; to the south, turquoise.	Gold, silver, lapis lazuli and crystal.

Its summit is made of the five precious materials, its base is gold and square; square, it looks like dice stacked up.	(Details missing)
On the exterior, in succession, 7 mountains:	Ditto (and in the same order).
gNya'-shing-'dzin (Yugaṃdhāra),	Like Sumeru, they rest on the golden
bShol-mda'-'dzin (Īṣādhara), Seng-ldeng-'dzin	earth. Nimiṁdhara is the outside ring
(Khadiraka), (b)lTa(r)-na-sdug (Sudarśana),	of this circle of 7 mountain-walls.
rTa-na-[can] (Aśva-karṇa), rNam-'dud	They are made of gold, and Cakravāḍa is
(Vinataka), Mu-khyud-'dzin (Nimiṁdhara).	made of iron.
Between the 7 mountain ranges, 7 oceans	Inside the mountains, the Sita, whose
(*mtsho*): Klu-rgyal ro[l]-mtsho, Glang-po rab-	water is endowed with 8 qualities...
'bog, bDud-rtsi-ro, rDul-med-gangs, Ko-rang-	(The size of the oceans is given, but not
gsal, sByor-nyos byed-chang, Ro[l]-mo lnga-ldan.	their names.)
[The continents: 4 large and 8 small]:	(Begin with the Jambudvīpa)
to the east, Lus-'phags (Pūrva-videha), in the shape of a half-moon;	Ditto
the small continent to its right: Lus-'dra (Lus,	Deha (Lus) and Videha (Lus-'phags).
Deha), to its left: Khrus-'phags, both of the	(For each, shape and dimensions; not the colour.
same colour and shape as the large continent.	Whether on the left or the right is not specified. The same for the other continents.)
[to the north], sGra-mi-snyan (Uttarakuru), square, green;	Ditto
small continent to its right: sGra-mi-snyan	

(Kuru), to its left: sGra-mi-zla (Kaurava), of the same colour and shape as the large continent.	Kaurava (sGra-mi-snyan-gyi zla-ba).
[to the west], Ba-lang-spyod (Apara-godānīya), round, red; small continent to the right: Lam-mchog-'gro [ba] (Uttaramantriṇa) to the left: Srin-po-tshal (?), of the same colour and shape. . .	Ditto Śāṭha (gYo-ldan) and Uttaramantriṇa (Lam-mchog-'gro).
[to the south], 'Dzam-bu-gling (Jambudvīpa), in the shape of a shoulder blade, blue; small continent to the right: gYo-ldan (Śāṭha), to the left: sNgan-pa-bzhan (rNga-yab-gzhan, Avara-cāmara), in the shape of a shoulder blade and the colour turquoise.	Ditto Cāmara (rNga-yab) and Avara-cāmara (rNga-yab-can).

The Bonpo *gZhung chen* continues, listing the stars, the vegetables, etc., all issuing from Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo. Then it goes on to the creation of the elixir-beings, also issuing from the emanation-retraction of the rays emitted by Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo:
– the white ray produces the gods: gods without form and luminous gods, gods of the domain of forms, gods of the domain of desire, the lHa-rabs then-dgu of the created world, the nine gods that reside in the median space, the nine that live on the earth. These gods originated from the Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo state;
– the green ray produces the *lha srin sde brgyad* of the *g-yen khams*: the upper *g-yen*, the *g-yen* of the middle, the *g-yen* of the earth (cf. Snellgrove 1967: *g-yen/dbyen = lha ma yin*);
– the yellow ray produces the men, men of the four continents and men of the small continents: the inconceivable number of human races and the three, man, *smra* (?) and *gshen*;
– the blue ray produces the kingdom of the four classes of animals: birds that fly in the sky, beasts of prey that roam in the middle, wild animals that live in the mountains, and all the kinds of livestock for the men, plus all the kinds of animals;
– the red ray produces all the kinds of *yi dwags* (*preta*): *yi dwags* that have an outer and inner shadow (?), those that have the shadow of those that have a shadow, those that have a circle of fiery tongues, etc.;
– the black ray produces the hells: the sixteen hells, hot and cold, Nyi-tshe, Nye-'khor, etc.

In this way, all the elixir-beings came from the Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo state and filled the universe.
Then the text comes back to Bonpo concepts: some beings liked existence, they wanted growth and development. It was like the rising of the sun at dawn. They naturally liked happiness, stability and increasing virtue. Lacking negative and terrifying character, they did not like suppressing. They venerated the (pure) white gods and the Phy[w]a, Srid and sKos deities. As for the doctrine of the three – man, *smra*, *rgyal* (*gshen*, above) – it spread widely. Other beings did not like existence, liked suppressing, did not like growth, liked making [the world] deserted (empty). They liked the twilight, creating obstacles and they did not like increasing virtue. They liked non-existence, terror, passions and blemishes. They did not have the doctrine that teaches the fundamental causes of the created world and liked to destroy.

It is in such a world that the Masters (*ston pa*) appeared successively. The Doctrine was progressively preached and assembled. The beings were happy in their misfortune; their longevity and their time was determined by their karma.

It is in this way that all the phenomena and the totality of the receptacle-world and of the elixir-beings were produced by the Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo state.

We find ourselves, therefore, faced with a combination, or juxtaposition, of Buddhist and Bonpo cosmologies. For those elements that are in parallel with the *Abhidharmakośa*, we must take note of some details in the Bonpo text that are intriguing because they are not found in the *Abhidharmakośa*, nor in the extracts from the *Lokaprajñāptiśāstra* translated by La Vallée Poussin; for example, these texts do not give the names of the oceans that surround Sumeru, the various classes of *yi dwags*. . . Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has been kind enough to point out to me (personal communication of 20 April 1999) that in the *Lokaprajñāptiśāstra* in Tibetan (Tohoku 4086), the seven mountains that surround Sumeru cut the ocean into seven seas which take the name of the mountain that delimits it: the Īṣādhara sea (gShol-mda' 'dzin-gyi rol-mtsho), etc. We note that the Bonpo *gZhung chen* appears to follow, here, another tradition which remains to be found.

The contributions of D. Martin and K. Mimaki in this volume offer a much more systematic study of the Bonpo cosmology and I do not want to pursue this subject further. In conclusion, I would just like to raise a few questions and present a hypothesis.

The relationship between the Bonpo and Buddhist *mdos* rituals seems obvious; when we consider to what extent the process of construction and of the offering of the *mdos* are similar to the offering of the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍal phul ba*), I wonder if these rituals are not the product of a Buddhist elaboration and appropriation of the ancient ransom rites, well documented in the Dunhuang manuscripts. If this is the case, we must conclude that the Bonpos have borrowed them from the Buddhists. Of course, this hypothesis does not account for the numerous mythical narratives

that fill the Bonpo *mdos* and which are very limited in the Buddhist *mdos*. We must bear in mind, however, the imprecision of the terms defining the categories of rituals, notably *mdos, glud* and *gto*, because, if we find apparently few *mdos* rituals among the Bonpos, there is, on the other hand, an abundance of *gto*, of which many are rites of ransom (*glud*), themselves inheritors, undoubtedly, of the same pre-Buddhist ransom rites; and we know that the Bonpo ritual literature has preserved the origin myths and the archaic style of their telling much better than the Buddhist ritual literature.

Be that as it may, if I pursue this hypothesis, and for as much as the scarcity of Bonpo *mdos* may be confirmed, attention must be drawn to the personality of the discoverers of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos*: in fact, they belong to this lineage of rMa and to this ambivalent (Bonpo and Buddhist) tradition known as *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* by the Buddhists (Blondeau 1990a). Even gNyan-'theng re-ngan, who does not belong to this lineage, must be linked, in one way or another, to the Buddhists, since it is said that he died of leprosy contracted for having transformed some of his *gter ma* into Buddhist texts (Karmay 1972: 312). Would these *gter ston* have been able to adapt the Buddhist *mdos* to the Bonpo tradition? If this was the case, we must also ask ourselves about the role that they could have played in the adoption of the theories of the *Abhidharma* by the Bonpos. They are linked principally to the tradition of transmission of the teachings of Dran-pa nam-mkha'. In particular, it is the son of rMa-ston Srol-'dzin, rMa lCam-me, who discovered the Commentary of the *mDzod phug* attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha'. Even if the *mDzod phug* already contains passages borrowed from the *Abhidharmakośa* (see D. Martin), it presents a tradition foreign to Buddhism which we can regard as a Bonpo cosmology; a tradition that seems to me erased in the Commentary attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha', in favour of comments entirely in keeping with the Buddhist *Abhidharma*.

Acknowledgment

This article was originally written in French, and has been translated by Howard Solverson. I would like to thank him for his work and his scrupulous attention in making a style that is sometimes heavy, readable in English.

Notes

1) According to Indian cosmology, the outer mountain circle, *cakravāda,* is made of iron. It is worthy to note that in Zhang-zhung language, *zangs* means "iron" (Haarh 1968); however in other parts of the text, we find *lcags* for "iron" and *zangs* for "copper", so that it seems unlikely to retain the Zhang-zhung terminology in this unique occurrence.
2) Himself an "ambivalent" *gter ston*, specialist of *mdos* rituals, he discovered among his Buddhist *gter ma* the *Ma mo gling bzhi'i mdos,* and among his Bonpo *gter ma*, more

than one hundred thousand *mdos* of the created world (? *srid pa'i 'bum dgu mdos*), according to Kong-sprul's *gTer ston brgya rtsa*: 128.

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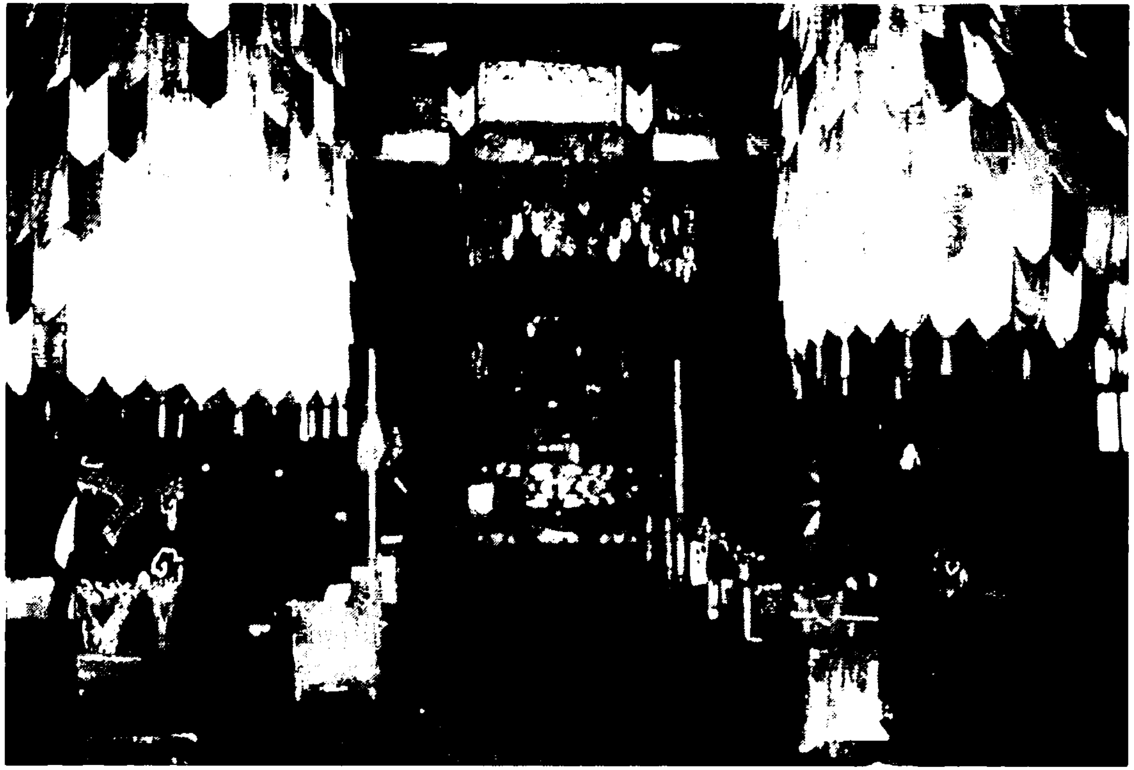


Plate 1 The assembly hall of the New sMan ri (Dolanji, India), where the *mdos* will be erected. (Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)



Plate 2 Construction of the *mdos*: wooden frame serving as a structure for Ri rab. (Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)



Plate 3 The complete *mdos*. (Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)



Plate 4 Basis of the *mdos*. (Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)

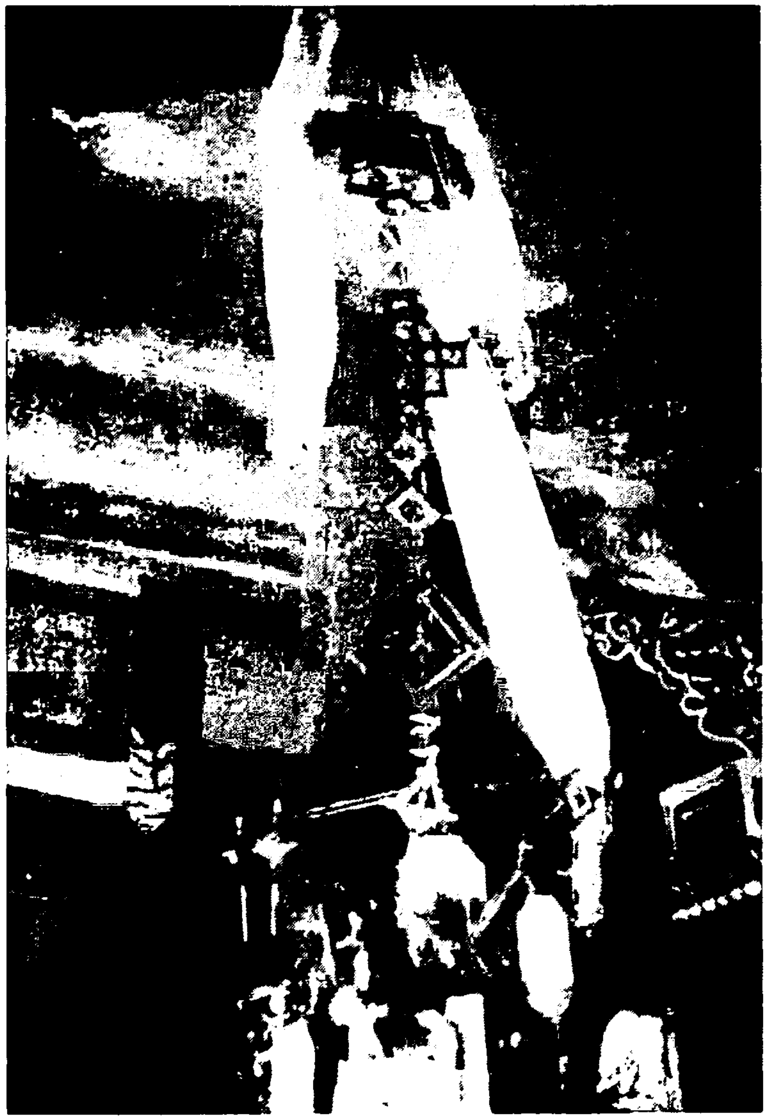


Plate 5 Summit of the *mdos*, with tri-dimensional *nam mkha'*.

(Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)



Plate 6 Details of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos*: *nam mkha'* and *shing ris*.

(Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)



Plate 7 Details of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos*: *nam mkha'* and *shing ris*.

(Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)

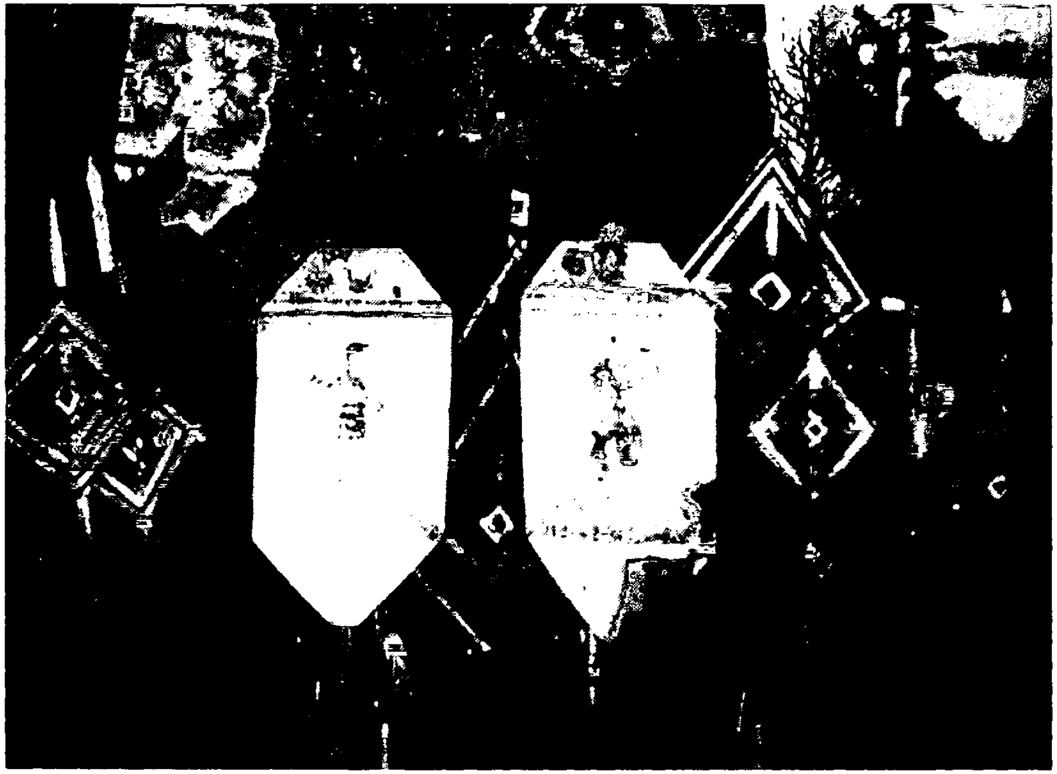


Plate 8 Details of the *mKha' klong gsang mdos*: *nam mkha'*, *pho tong* and *mo tong*.

(Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)

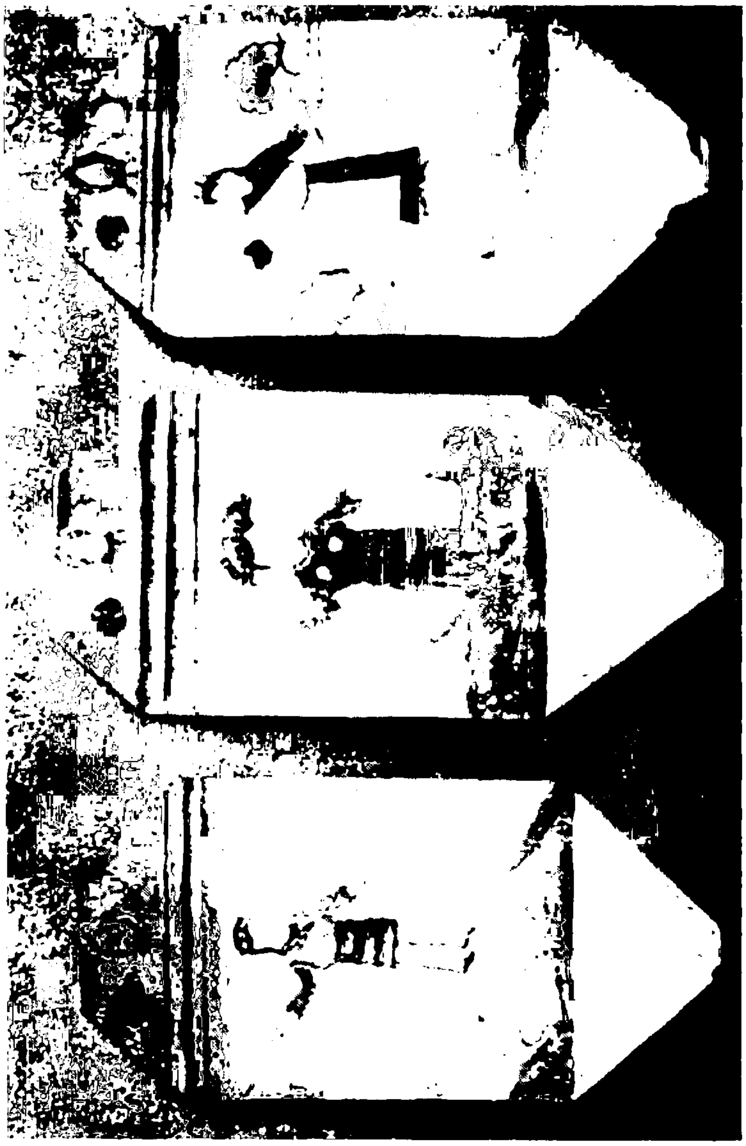


Plate 9 Various *mo tong*. (Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)

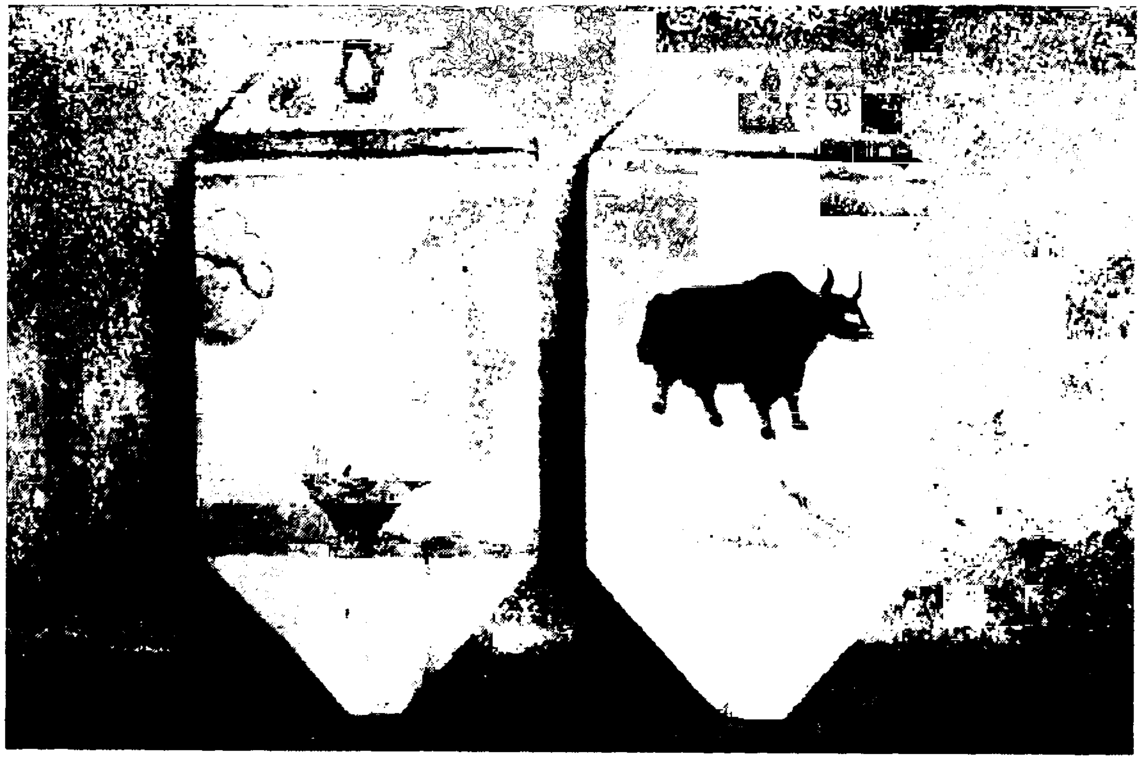


Plate 10 *shing ris* symbolizing offerings of yak and sheep. (Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)

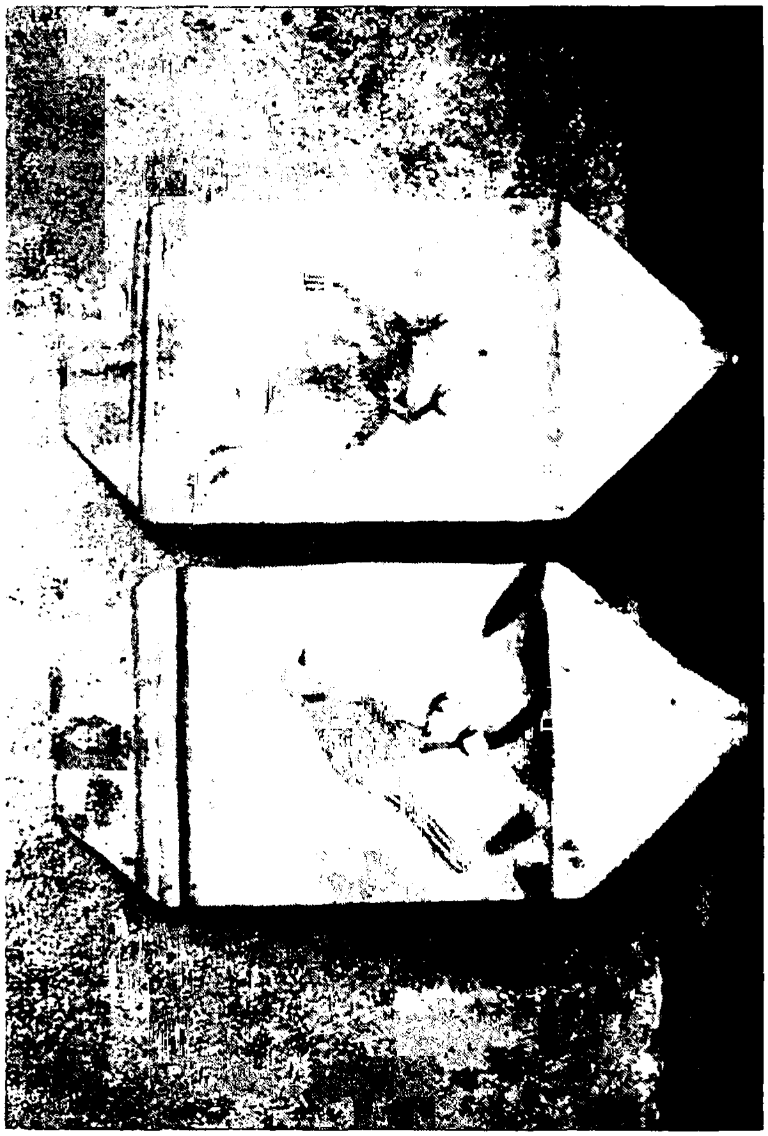


Plate 11 *shing ris* symbolizing offerings of the species of birds.

(Photographed by Y. Imaeda, 1976/1978)

The secular surroundings of a Bonpo ceremony: Games, popular rituals and economic structures in the *mDos rgyab* of Klu-brag monastery (Nepal)

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Introduction

An aspect of Tibetan civilisation that has arguably received more scholarly attention than any other is that of religion and ritual. There are several approaches to the subject, and they are all necessarily partial. For example, many studies of rituals are based either exclusively on the examination of texts, or have a textual focus supplemented by the observation of the rites being performed by specialists. The description of this approach as "partial" should not be understood as a criticism: in a number of cases the rituals in question are obsolete, and are preserved only in literary form; in other cases, it is clear that the author's interest is limited to the text and the prescribed performance. The approach is likely to be misleading only when ceremonies in this isolated form are generalised to represent "Tibetan religion".

Certain anthropological treatments of Tibetan religion are more problematic, inasmuch as they limit their attention to textually-prescribed practices but reinterpret these in terms that are extraneous to Buddhist or Bon doctrine. In this approach, too, the details of the apparently peripheral activity going on around Lamaist rituals are the first casualty. Whatever else it may be, ritual is a matter of formalised action and speech, and a proper investigation of village religion must be prepared to take seriously, as an integral part of the overall ceremony, those activities that would ordinarily be ignored as incidental to the liturgical performance.

The present article, too, cannot claim to be anything more than a partial treatment of a complex subject. The focus of the investigation is an end-of-year exorcism in Lubra (Klu-brag), a Bonpo community in Nepal's Mustang district, involving a *mdos* ritual. Ideally, the enquiry would give equal weight to the textually prescribed aspects of the ritual and to the social circumstances in which it is embedded. Here, however, I shall have very little to say about the former component, partly because such an ambitious undertaking would require a great deal of space, and partly also because I wish to give special emphasis to the social and economic dimension of the ceremony, including the games, "meta-rituals" and

dramatisations of historical episodes that have become closely associated with it in the course of time.

The relationship between a corps of sacerdotal specialists and the lay community may assume a number of different forms. In the more extreme forms of the *mchod yon* dyad, the specialists perform the rites and take care of the spiritual well-being of their patrons, while the latter in turn provide material - and often political - support to their chaplains. The actual ritual activity of the patrons is minimal, and the interaction between the two groups is restricted to these formalised exchanges of services.

The case I wish to examine here represents the opposite extreme: the actual benefactors of the ceremony are all long dead, and it is the priests and the families themselves who must play the role of the laity. Under these circumstances, the relationship between the village and the temple becomes a very complex one.

Before turning to the internal social and religious organisation of Lubra, a few words may be said about the establishment of the settlement as a priestly community.

1. A short history of Lubra

Lubra is one of the nineteen settlements that form the old political enclave known as Baragaon (Tib. Yul-kha bcu-gnyis). It is about two hours' walk north of Jomsom, the headquarters of Mustang District, on the southern bank of the Panda Khola, an eastern tributary of the Kali Gandaki.

The early history of Lubra can be derived from three main sources in the Tibetan language. The texts are as follows.

1. The first is entitled: *Kun gyi [gyis] nang nas dbang po'i mdangs ['dang] ma mig ltar mngon [sngon] du byung ['byung] ba gshen ya ngal bka' rgyud kyi [kyis] gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba* (more simply, the *Ya ngal gdung rabs*). A manuscript of this book, consisting of fifty-four pages written in Tibetan script, is kept in the village of Lubra. It has also been published in India. The lineage history occupies approximately one half of the text, while the first part comprises a Bonpo cosmogony.

2. The second source is entitled *Dong mang gur gsum gyi rnam thar*. This is a short piece containing brief biographies of several lamas from the Ya-ngal clan. It has been published in India in a collection entitled *Sources for a History of Bon* (1972).

3. The third work is the *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar*: "The biographies of the lamas of the

> rDzogs-chen zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud lineage". It contains the life stories of over a hundred Bonpo lamas. It has been published in India under the title of *History and Doctrine of Bonpo Nispanna-Yoga* (1968).

The *Ya ngal gdung rabs* begins with the divine origin of the Ya-ngal lineage at the time of gNya'-khri btsan-po. Ya-ngal is said to have been one of his three court priests. The list of descendants, which is too long to discuss here, runs for seventeen generations from the heads of three main branches, called the Three Gu-rib, who lived in the early eleventh century.

The main history begins in the life of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, who was born in 1077 in the village of Taktse Jiri in Upper Tsang, in Tibet, where the Ya-ngal clan had lived for many generations.

> He had four different names: since he was born thirteen days after the death of his father he was known as Tshab-ma-grags ("the One Called the Replacement"); his clan was Ya-ngal, and so he was known as Yang-ston chen-po; according to a prophesy he was an incarnation of sPang-la nam-gshen, and his given name was Sherab Gyaltsen (*History and Doctrine*: 60).

One of his teachers, 'Or-sgom kun-'dul, initiated Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan into the lower transmission (*Nyams brgyud*) of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud.* He then instructed him to go to sTod mNga'-ris, where he would have two sons and would receive many disciples. About this time there lived in the village of Bonkhor (the extensive ruins of which are just north of the city of Lo Monthang) a lama named Rong rTog-med zhig-po, who had many patrons in the area. The story of their meeting is related in *History and Doctrine.* The night before their encounter,

> a woman came to Rong rTog-med zhig-po in a dream. "The incarnation of sPang-la nam-gshen is coming as your student. Give him an audience and instruct him thoroughly in the *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud*", she commanded. In the second half of the night, a man came for an audience carrying the equipment of a Bonpo tantrist...
>
> The next morning, a servant said, "a Bonpo who has come from the village of Dongkya, over there, is asking for an audience". Rong rTog-med zhig-po asked what he looked like and was told that his dress and tantric equipment were such and such, and he said, "The one who appeared in my dream last night is here."

It should be added, for reasons that will become apparent below, that the description of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan's tantric garb – omitted in this translation – includes the mention of a *phur pa* thrust through his waistband. Shes-rab

rgyal-mtshan received from Rong rTog-med zhig-po the upper transmission of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud.*

bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan, the younger son of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, is generally known by the title of 'Gro-mgon Klu-brag-pa, "the Protector of Living Beings, the Man of Lubra", because he was the founder of Lubra village. Before he could settle in the valley, however, he was obliged to subdue a man-eating demon called sKye-rang skrag-med, who is now revered as Lubra's territorial god (*yul sa*). The Ya-ngal clan was later joined by other priestly lineages. Two of the most prominent were the Ja-ra-sgang and the Glo-bo chos-tsong, which established their own residential temples on the territory. The priests and their families lived mainly thanks to the support of private patrons in the surrounding settlements. The structure of the community gradually changed. The Ya-ngal clan itself died out in the nineteenth century and was replaced by an adopted, unnamed lineage, while the other clans ceased to have their own private patrons. Farming and trading became the main economic activities.

2. Households, trade, and the organisation of rituals

As in so many other communities of Mustang and Tibet, a clan-based social structure was replaced by a residential model in which estates (*grong pa*), rather than lineages, are the basic unit of economic and political organisation. There are now nine-and-a-half[1)] estates which are subdivided into lesser households. All estates have equal rights (such as entitlement to irrigation water) and obligations (for example, the provision of incumbents to occupy rotating official positions). Moreover, all heads of households are nominally "monks" (*grwa pa*), though all are married and several are not literate.

In accordance with this development, the importance of the individual clan chapels came to be eclipsed by the community temple. This building, gYung-drung phun-tshogs-gling, was constructed in the nineteenth century by Ka-ru Grub-dbang bsTan-'dzin rin-chen (author of, among other things, the *dMar khrid dug lnga rang grol* cycle and the *Gangs Ti se dkar chag*).

There are currently more than twenty ceremonies that are performed annually in the village temple. The way in which these are organised is, to a great extent, a translation into spiritual terms of the fundamental economic principles underlying the priests' trading activities. The Bon religion has declined in the area over the centuries and there is insufficient interest among the laity to ensure regular sponsorship of ceremonies. The Lubragpas (Klu-brag-pa) have therefore devised a system whereby they can be seen to function as priests without depending on an uninterested laity. In brief, they operate as professional "merit-brokers": the community of Lubra collects investments from patrons on the understanding that the capital will never be returned. The sum is invested in trade by the priests, and

ten per cent of the principal is put towards the performance of a given ceremony. This sum is understood as the value of the merit that the patron can expect to receive annually and in perpetuity, while any interest beyond this ten per cent is kept by the priests themselves.

These investments and the interest that must be paid by each of the estates are recorded in a register of temple contributions referred to as the *ma yig,* the "mother document" which constitutes the basis on which memoranda for current use are drawn up. The documents in question are in the form of sheets of coarse paper measuring 9.5 inches by 8.5 inches sewn together along the centre and folded horizontally to make a booklet. The two booklets are not, however, the original documents, but were copied from an earlier scroll by an educated lama from Mustang who lived in Lubra for a short time at the request of the villagers. Households listed in the text are identified by the heads of each, and the names in the register refer to men who occupied this position in the last generation. The copies are therefore compratively recent, and the fact that they have been updated unfortunately makes it impossible to draw many inferences about the village as it would have been during the time of the document's original composition. The type of patronage revealed by the register is not based on a private relationship between a lama and a lay householder, but embraces any number of people who wish to confer their patronage on the Lubra temple and its community of lamas. This system itself has two sightly varying forms. The first of these is apparently an earlier method and operates as follows.

If someone from a neighbouring village loses a close relative, he or she may wish to bestow a certain amount of money on a religious institution in order that prayers be said and lamps lit to generate merit for the deceased. Such donations are known as *sbyar chog*[2] and are collected until the total is sufficient for the establishment of a ritual. Originally the money used to be divided up into eight equal portions and each portion given to one of the estates. This sum was used by that estate as capital with which to trade, and interest to the value of ten per cent of the capital was contributed towards purchasing the foodstuffs necessary for the ceremony. Sometimes the sum given to each householder was not the same, and the form in which the interest was to be paid frequently differed, but these variations are all recorded in the register and must still be paid as they are entered. The names and perhaps the motives (usually the death of the named relative) were probably recorded in the original register, but the more recent booklets contain only details of the original contributions required of each household, and make provision for the new ninth *grong pa.* The half-estate that was created a few years ago is of course not included in these documents. Rituals that are financed by this method are referred to as the 'old ceremonies' (*mchod pa rnying pa*), and these are contained in the first of the two *ma yig* booklets.

Whereas the recipients of the patronage used to be the estate, the money is now distributed among the 'monks' (*grwa pa*) and nuns (*jo mo*). 'Monks' in this

case still refers to village priests and the money continues to be invested in household trade, but a household with two priests (for example, an extended household occupied by a father and his eldest son) or with a resident nun will be given a proportionately larger share of the capital. The system may be represented by a simple diagram. Let us suppose that at a certain point in time there are five priests or nuns in Lubra's religious community (in fact there are now fifteen), each represented in order of age by a letter. To simplify matters, it may be assumed that the sum of money collected as *sbyar chog* is fifty rupees, and each person is consequently required to pay commodities to the value of one rupee per year as interest. The amount payable is represented by a number following each letter:

A1 B1 C1 D1 E1

When a monk or a nun dies his or her payment of the interest ceases. But the terms of receiving *sbyar chog* from patrons are that the ritual be perpetuated on as grand a scale as the capital permits, and the onus of the deceased's temple contributions is transferred to the two youngest members of the community. The capital that has been allotted to the deceased is given in equal portions to the two youngest, but in view of the depreciation of money the sum comes to a good deal less even than the interest which they are required to pay in the form of foodstuffs. The bracketed letter represents the deceased.

(A1) B1 C1 $D1^1/_2$ $E1^1/_2$

If a new priest or nun, F, joins the community he or she then receives the obligations of the deceased priest which had been allotted to the two who until now had been the youngest. Everyone is again paying the same amount of interest:

B1 C1 D1 E1 F1

If another young priest then joins he receives half the interest-obligations of each of the two oldest:

$B^1/_2$ $C^1/_2$ $D^1/_2$ $E^1/_2$ F1 G1 H1

If the oldest then died, not the youngest member but the youngest member paying half a share would receive the obligations:

(B) $C^1/_2$ $D^1/_2$ E1 F1 G1 H1

Finally, to conclude the possibiltities, the premature death of a young priest or nun would affect the two who are paying half a share each:

C1 D1 E1 F1 (G) H1

In this way no one pays less than half a share or more than one and a half.

It is not clear why this system was introduced in preference to the older one which was based on estates. It may be that *grong pa* were fragmenting into separate households at that time, and since each house must have a resident lama, this was regarded as a fairer system. The theory would be that the combined wealth of the two households forming a split *grong pa* would be greater than that if the *grong pa* was still a unit. However, this is not necessarily the case, and it does not explain why nuns and junior lamas in a house should have to pay, since they do not necessarily strengthen the economic situation of that house. The rituals that are financed by this method are known as the 'new ceremonies' (*mchod pa gsar pa*).

3. The *mDos rgyab* ceremony in the register

Although the second volume of the register is primarily concerned with the "new ceremonies", the first entry, item XIII, is actually classified as being an "old ceremony". This is the *mDos rgyab,* which is undoubtedly the most important ritual in the calendrical cycle of Lubra's temple. The occasion, which is primarily an end-of-year exorcism for the benefit of the community, coincides with the birthday of gShen-rab Mi-bo. It may be mentioned that the Bonpo Monastic Foundation in Dolanji, India, differs from Lubra inasmuch as it follows an alternative tradition, prevalent at sMan-ri in Tibet, which celebrates the occasion exactly a month later, on the fifteenth day of the first month.

Before turning to the performance itself, let us see what the register has to say about the material organisation of the occasion[3)].

> *bdud [bdun] srin bran du bkol [bren su bskor] ba'i mchog sprul / bkra shis rgyal mtshan zhes bya ba'i gdan [sden] sa / yongs dgongs bsam gtan [rten] gling gis dgu gtor [stor] chen mo bzhugs so // hor zla bcu gnyis pa'i gshen rab 'khrungs mchod //*

> Contained here is the great *dgu gtor* ceremony of Yongs-dgongs bSam-gtan-gling, the dwelling-place of that excellent incarnation named bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan, who enslaved the demons and goblins. The birthday ceremony of gShen-rab in the twelfth month.

The translation of the next passage may be most conveniently represented in tabular form. The names represent the heads of the respective households when the register was recopied four generations ago, and the numbers signify the position of the estate in question on the village roster. The cash figures denote the sum that each household received as principal when the total investment of the patrons was divided up, and the volumetric measures show the corresponding sum of grain that could be bought for ten per cent of the cash sum at the time of the investment. It is this quantity of grain that must be paid now, every year, by the descendants of these householders[4)].

gshen rab 'khrungs ['khrung] mchod kyi [kyis] rgyu rten la / thog mar pad ma dbang 'dus la / tram bco lnga dang pe sa bco brgyad la zo ba bco lnga dang gru drag phyed gnyis / gtso mchog skyabs dang bstan [rten] pa tshul khrims gnyis phyogs [phyog] nas yin / tram sum bcu so gcig [cig] dang pe sa bco brgyad la zo ba sum bcu [bco] so gcig [cig] dang dru grags phyed gnyis / ke mi'i[5)] *rdo rje la / tram nyer gnyis dang pe sa drug la zo nyi shu rtsa gnyis dang dru grags phyed / tshe dbang chos 'phel la / tram bco lnga dang pe sa bco brgyad la zo ba bco lnga dang dru grags phyed gnyis / tshe ring bstan [rten] 'dzin la / tram bco lnga dang spe sa bco brgyad la / zo ba bco lnga dang dru grags phyed gnyis / kun bzang bkra shis la / tram bco lnga dang pe sa bco brgyad la / zo ba bco lnga dang dru grags phyed gnyis / dpal skyid bstan [rten] 'dzin la / tram bco lnga dang spe sa bco brgyad la / zo ba bco lnga dang dru grags phyed gnyis / yang skyar [yangs kyir] pad ma dbang 'dus la / dngul cig dang a na dgu la zo ba gnyis dang gru drags gsum / tshe dbang chos 'phel la / tram lnga dang a na sum la zo ba lnga dang dru grags cig / mgon skyabs tshe dbang la / tram cig dang a na gsum la / zo ba cig dang dru grags cig / kun bzang bkra shis la / tram cig dang a na gsum la / zo ba gang dang dru grags gang / tshe ring bstan [rten] 'dzin la / tram gnyis dang a na dgu la / zo ba gnyis dang dru grags gsum / dpal skyid bstan [rten] 'dzin la / dngul bzhi [bzhis] la zo ba brgyad / tshe ring bkra shis la / dngul cig dang a na dgu la zo ba gnyis dang dru grags gsum / ci kag gsal ma 'debs [gdab] rgyu chod //*

As the material base for gShen-rab's birthday ceremony:

1. Padma dbang-'dus	15 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	15 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*
3. gTso-mchog-skyabs and 8. bsTan-pa tshul-khrims	31 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	31 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*
2. Kami rdo-rje	22 *ṭam*	6 *paise*	22 *zo ba*	0.5 *drudra*
4. Tshe-dbang chos-'phel	15 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	15 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*
5. dGon-skyabs tshe-dbang	15 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	15 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*
6. Tshe-ring bstan-'dzin	15 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	15 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*
7. Kun-bzang bkra-shis	15 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	15 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*
9. dPal-skyid bstan-'dzin	15 *ṭam*	18 *paise*	15 *zo ba*	1.5 *drudra*

In addition to this:

1. Padma dbang-'dus	R 1	9 *anna*	2 *zo ba*	3 *drudra*
2. Kami rdo-rje	5 *ṭam*	3 *anna*	5 *zo ba*	1 *drudra*
5. dGon-skyabs tshe-dbang	1 *ṭam*	3 *anna*	1 *zo ba*	1 *drudra*
7. Kun-bzang bkra-shis	1 *ṭam*	3 *anna*	1 *zo ba*	1 *drudra*
6. Tshe-ring bstan-'dzin	2 *ṭam*	9 *anna*	3 *zo ba*	3 *drudra*
9. dPal-skyid bstan-'dzin	Rs 4		8 *zo ba*	
4. Tshe-ring bkra-shis	R 1	9 *anna*	2 *zo ba*	3 *drudra*

Husked two-row barley shall be given.

No reason is given for the existence of a second list concerning household contributions of two-row barley. However, it is probable that investments from new patrons were accepted after the establishment of the ceremony, and the second list is the outcome of the distribution of the capital. There is evidence of such subsequent investment later in the text. The last person in this list, Tshe-ring bkra-shis, belonged to a dependency of estate no. 7 but later bought half of estate no. 4 after acquiring independent means. The fact that Tshe-ring bkra-shis and not Tshe-dbang chos-'phel is named here as the representative of the estate probably indicates that the latter had recently died and that his daughter was still unmarried.

> *(XIIIb) gsol ma'i [mi] rgyu rten la / thog mar padma dbang 'dus la / dngul gnyis dang a na gsum la / rgya bra [rgyab ras][6)] zo ba bzhi dang dru grags cig / gtso mchog skyabs dang bstan [rten] pa tshul khrims gnyis la / dngul gnyis la zo ba bzhi / gnyis phyogs [phyog] la yin / ke mi'i rdo rje la tram gnyis la zo ba gnyis / tshe dbang chos 'phel la / tram phyed bzhi la zo ba phyed bzhi / mgon skyabs tshe dbang la / tram cig la zo ba gang / tshe ring bstan [rten] 'dzin la / dngul cig dang a na dgu la / zo ba chong sdong gsum / kun bzang bkra shis la tram gsum la zo ba gsum / dpal skyid bstan [rten] 'dzin la / tram cig dang a na dgu la zo ba chong sdong gnyis / 'di rnams rgya bra [rnam rgyab ras] yin / phyug mtsho [tshu] tshe dbang gis sbyar chog [byar phyog] grwa tshogs la tram lnga lnga yod / skyed zo ba lnga lnga 'debs [gdab] rgyu chod / nas btab [gdab] na 'un 'dzin yin / 'bras btab [gdab] na do [dos] re yin / tshe las [la] 'das na dngul 'gag [bkog] rgyu chod //*

(XIIIb) The material base for the food:

1. Padma dbang-'dus	Rs 2	3 *anna*	4 *zo ba*	1 *drudra* of buckwheat
3. gTso-mchog-skyabs and 8. bsTan-pa tshul-khrims	Rs 2		4 *zo ba*	
2. Kami rdo-rje	2 *ṭam*		2 *zo ba*	
4. Tshe-dbang chos-'phel	3.5 *ṭam*		3.5 *zo ba*	
5. dGon-skyabs tshe-dbang	1 *ṭam*		1 *zo ba changdong*	
6. Tshe-ring bstan-'dzin	R 1	9 *anna*	3 *zo ba changdong*	
7. Kun-bzang bkra-shis	3 *ṭam*		3 *zo ba changdong*	
9. dPal-skyid bstan-'dzin	1 *ṭam*	9 *anna*	2 *zo ba changdong*	

> These payments shall be in buckwheat. For the patronage bestowed by Tshe-dbang of Phyug-mtsho [in southern Dolpo], as many monks as there are shall receive 5 *ṭam* each, and shall pay 5 *zo ba* each as interest. If six-row barley is paid, the ratio shall be 2:3, and if rice is paid it shall be 1:2. If anyone dies his contributions shall cease.

It is interesting to note that at this time the value of buckwheat is the same as that of two-row barley, while in the later entries and at the present day, it has almost doubled to equal that of rice.

The following section deals with additional contributions based on the dated investment of a patron identified as rNal-sang su-pha. The date, Earth Sheep year (1919) helps us to identify the donor as Narjang Subba, a wealthy Gurung who held the lucrative customs contract on the salt trade - and with it the title of *subba* - in the Kali Gandaki Valley from 1918 to 1920.

> *(XIIIc) sa mo lug lo la // rnal sang su pha'i sbyar chog [byar phyogs] la / dngul nyi shu rtsa lnga yang {skyar [skyir]} tram lnga mchod me la song [sung] / dngul nyi shu phyed rtsa gsum gsol ma'i [mi] rgyu la grong pa re re tram lnga lnga rang cha [chag] la yod / skyed la 'bras dru grags lnga lnga 'debs [gdab] rgyu chod / mar gyi [kyi] rgyu la grong pa dgu la tram phyed gsum gsum la / ci kags dru grags re re ling mar dgar rgyu yin / spyi ba gnyis la mar gyi [gis] dngul drug la nas gsal [sal] ma dru grags gsum ling dgar [gar] rgyu chod / spyi ba gnyis phyogs [phyog] la yin / sgom [rgom] phug dbyar ston [stong] la dngul bzhi / spyi ba spos rlabs [pogs lab]*[7] *dngul bzhi sdom [rdom] par dngul bcu bzhi lag sprod la yod / dang rdzong*[8] *tshe 'das pad ma'i don du [tu] dngul bcu sbyar chog [byar phyog] 'bul ba mdos rgyab [gtor rgyags] rgyu rten [brten] la song [sung] / gshen [shes] rab 'khrungs [khrum] mchod rgyu rten la klu brag yul nas gro zo ba sum bcu / chang gi rgyu la gtong [btangs] rgyu chod pa yin / gshen [shes] rab 'khrungs [khrum] mchod kyi [gis] sbyin bdag rnams la chang*

(Further regulations, dealing with the prohibition of recently-widowed women and low-caste people from attending the festivities are then listed, but these do not concern us here.)

The contributions listed in the register by no means account for all the payments required of the estates: other obligations are either listed separately or are not stipulated in writing at all. Thus, for example, each estate must also provide a quantity of mustard oil: four *phulu,* a small wooden flask that is kept expressly for this purpose; each household must also give a few handfuls of bitter buckwheat flour, garlic and chilli that are needed for the construction of the *mdos* and the smaller *glud* effigy that accompanies it.

One of the ancient privileges of the Lubragpas, as a priestly community, is the entitlement to collect grain offerings (called *me tog,* literally "flower") in many of the villages of Mustang. This collection is made each year by the two headmen who go from door to door in each of the villages concerned to receive these donations. The total quantity of grain (six-row barley or wheat) collected in this way usually amounts to some 250 *zo ba* (roughly 125 litres - see fn. 4). About 100 *zo ba* are roasted and used a part of the *tshogs,* while the remaining 150 *zo ba* or so are transformed into beer for the festivities.

4. The ceremony in outline

The liturgical aspect of the *mDos rgyab* will not, as stated earlier, concern us here. However, a brief outline of the main features of the ceremony may be given. The two principal tutelary divinities on this occasion are Khro-bo ("the Wrathful") gTso-mchog mkha'-'gying and Zhi-ba ("the Benign") Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa, represented by two spectacularly-decorated *gtor ma* on the highest stage of the altar. Below them stands the more modest *gtor ma* of a third *yi dam,* sTag-la me-'bar. Most of the reading that takes place in the temple during the ceremony involves the liturgies of these three gods. *'Cham* dances are performed in the temple on the nights of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th. The cast of dancers mainly features gTso-mchog mkha'-'gying himself and members of his entourage, though other figures (see below) do appear as the ceremony progresses. On the afternoon of the 19th day a public performance of *'cham,* with several more masked characters, is held in the courtyard of the temple in public view.

On the 17th day the *mdos* itself is made. This is not the place for a general discussion of the history and character of *mdos* rituals; the most substantive work on the subject has been carried out by Anne-Marie Blondeau, and the reader is referred to her studies (1990; in this volume). *mDos,* in brief, may have at once the character of both offerings of model universes and agents of expulsion (see Ramble 1992-93 for an example), and the present example conforms to this complex. It is significant that, while the occasion is popularly referred to as a *mdos rgyab,*

"casting out a *mdos*", the available local documents avoid this expression, in apparent acknowledgement of the principle that a *mdos* is something that is offered, not expelled. The register refers to the ceremony as the *dgu gtor,* the "casting-out on the nineteenth [lit. ninth] day", the usual Tibetan expression for such rituals. The manual for the construction of the effigy does not refer to it as a *mdos* either, but as a *zlog bcas* (presumably for *zlog chas*), "equipment for repulsion". The effigy is constructed according to a set of instructions contained in a compendium of *mdos* rituals in the private possession of one of the priests. Here is a translation of the relevant passage.

> Three levels must be built up from a base of black clay. This base must be square. On top of this set a triangular base... and put a *ling ga* [blockprint] inside the triangle. Place eight dough *ling ga* in a circle on top: these are what are known as the eight great planets. On top of this, set a three-faced *gtor ma* one cubit tall. This is the tutelary divinity gTso-mchog [mkha'-gying] with three heads and six hands. Place a *khyung* at the apex of the *gtor ma.*
>
> On the level below this place, on the perimeter square, place four [effigies of] mothers and fathers in a circle around the triangle; and on the level below this one, place sixteen fathers and mothers...
>
> Then place in the entourage in front of it, in the sky, a single triangular *gtor ma* as a parasol (?). On the level below it place the twenty-seven *dbal mo* in a circle; they should be [represented by] triangular [*gtor ma*]. On the *g-yang ta* there should be ten warriors and ten generals, twenty in all, and these should be triangular. Twelve bejewelled tormas should be disposed in a circle to represent the twelve *brtan ma*. There should be a ring of cups of blood corresponding in number to the years.
>
> Four square tormas should be placed in the four directions to represent the four Kings, and each should have a turban wound around its apex. Images of four men should also be placed in the four directions...

The completed construction is placed in the temple, beside the altar. On the 19th day, the blacksmith collects wood and prepares a triangular (*drag po*, fierce) pyre in the courtyard. Following a "public" *'cham*, a fire-ritual (*sbyin sreg*) is performed. The villagers all purify themselves by rubbing with bitter buckwheat dough and performing an ablution, with the waste being thrown into a basket containing an effigy, the *lam ston* ("guide"). This is carried outside the village, followed by the *mdos* itself, and hacked to pieces by sword-bearing young men called "Chinese soldiers" (*rgya dmag pa*). Magical "bombs" (*zor*) are hurled, another *ling ga* destroyed, and the *mdos* incinerated.

This is obviously a highly abbreviated summary of a complex and very spectacular ceremony. Let us leave it to once side and examine more closely some of the more inconspicuous activities that are going on at the same time.

Much of the "secular" ritual that runs through the *mDos rgyab* revolves around the catering. This is due in part to the interaction of social categories that are either specially created for the occasion or else give dramatic expression to a pre-existing corporate character. The main offices and categories with which we are concerned here may be outlined briefly.

As stated above, the head of every household (estate or sub-estate) is referred to as a "monk" (*grwa pa*). In order to avoid confusion with the more familiar application of the term *grwa pa* to mean "celibate renouncer", I shall designate these householders as "priests". All priests undergo an initiation that includes a token "hair-cutting" (*skra bcad*), and some will receive a formal religious education, either from an older male relative or a fellow-villager, or from a visiting lama who has taken up long-term residence in the village.

The close interlocking of religious and secular institutions is revealed also in the political structure of the village. All villages in Mustang have one or more headmen who serve for varying periods of time, but usually one year. The term for headman is *rgan pa*. Lubra, too, has two headmen, and their everyday secular role is similar to that of corresponding officials in any neighbouring settlement (collection of taxes and fines, supervision of crops and irrigation, mediation in disputes etc, reception of visiting government officials and so forth). In Lubra however, the headmen are called not *rgan pa* but *spyi pa*, "Steward". The name relates to the fact that their main role is regarded as being ceremonial. Each of the twenty or so ceremonies in the ritual calendar has one or two stewards who serve, by rotation, only for the duration of that ceremony. The great *mDos rgyab* ceremony has two Stewards, and it is they who occupy the role of village headmen for a duration of one year.

It is immediately after the *mDos rgyab* ceremony that the new headmen are appointed and the old ones depart from office.

5. The temple, the kitchen, and the women

The door of the village temple faces south onto a small, partially covered courtyard. On the south side of the courtyard is the communal kitchen, *chang mdzod,* literally "beer-repository".

The most salient opposition that pervades the festival is between these two spaces and the people associated with them.

On the fifteenth day of the month - the day of the full moon, when the main *gtor ma* are placed on the altar - the men gather in the kitchen to select the officials. First, dice are rolled to choose the "head cook" (*thab dpon*). The Cook and the two

Stewards constitute the team that is responsible for preparing and serving the food and beer throughout the ceremony.

The two oldest priests then appoint two officials known as *mchod dpon*. Because the latter are the main dancers, and must take care of all the dancing equipment (masks, robes etc.) they are also called *'cham dpon*. For the sake of convenience I shall refer to them as "Dance-masters". The Dance-masters are for the temple what the Stewards are for the kitchen – the managers and representatives of the priests when dealing with other groups during the course of the festival. The priests also have their own officials – such as a precentor (*dbu mdzad*) and proctor (*chos khrims pa*) - who hold office for varying periods on a rotational basis, but these are not specific to the *mDos rgyab*.

A group that displays its distinctive identity on this occasion is the society of Housemistresses (*khyim ba mo*); that is to say, the assembly that comprises the senior woman of each estate. This group is responsible for the production of certain types of food, most notably the three hundred pieces of fried bread that are prepared as part of the *tshogs* on the eighteenth day, but also has an important ceremonial function during the festival.

6. Food and drink

Outsiders - whether Westerners or Tibetans - who visit Lubra on the occasion of religious ceremonies have been known to comment unfavourably on the apparent disorder of the proceedings, as well as the quantities of alcohol consumed. It may be pointed out, by way of defence, that the seeming chaos actually masks a very elaborate order that is invisible only because it is unfamiliar to observers acquainted with more refined monastic environments. This may be illustrated by a brief discussion of the way in which the provision of food and beer is organised.

Three meals a day are eaten in the temple. For the morning meal the family of each priest brings to the kitchen a quantity of buckwheat flour and some vegetables or meat for the sauce. The Cook and Stewards collect the ingredients and prepare the meal for the priests. The afternoon and evening meals, by contrast, are provided individual estates on a rotational basis. On the evening of the 15th, one of the Dance-masters rolls dice within the temple to determine at which estate the circuit should begin. The number of meals to be provided by the estates exceeds the number of estates. If the circuit is completed with meals still outstanding, a second roster is not begun, but the food is prepared instead by collective contributions: each estate gives two or three **drudra* (about a litre - see fn. 4) of buckwheat flour, and the sauce is contributed by the Stewards.

In fact this situation does not usually arise, because several meals are also offered by private individuals, either from Lubra or from neighbouring villages, who wish to generate merit through their patronage. A private patron takes

precedence over an estate on the roster, and the interruption of the sequence at various points means that the circuit is rarely completed.

Far more complex than the provision of food to the priests is the reciprocal distribution of consecrated food to the lay community. Apart from a single large *tshogs* that is divided up among the priests and their households each night (except on the 19th, when the exorcism itself takes place), the breaking up, reconstitution and apportionment of the main *gtor ma* at the end of the festival is a highly complicated affair. The bodies of certain effigies - notably *zhi ba* and *khro bo* - are kneaded together, and moulded into new shapes of various sizes, some with red dye and some with butter ornamentation. Exactly what an individual is entitled to receive at the end depends on his or her temporary or long-term status: that is, according to whether one is, say, the precentor, an ordinary priest, the patron of a meal, a non-contributing spectator from a neighbouring village, or a child.

The preparation and distribution of alcohol is also a precisely-regulated affair. Beer (*chang*, honorific *chab ka*, lit. "water") is made from two-row barley (**cika*) to which a certain amount of six-row barley (*nas*) or wheat (*gro*) may be added to improve the quality. Two-row barley is not grown in Lubra but is purchased from villages further south, at lower altitude. The grain is boiled and spread out on cane mats to cool, following which yeast (*phabs*) is added and the mixture stored for about ten days in large earthenware fermenting jars. Within the last decade or so these jars have been replaced by PVC drums, which are rented from individual householders with community funds. If beer is required for household consumption, to be drunk in small quantities, water may be added to a few handfuls of the fermented grain (*glum*) and the mixture mashed by hand in a sieve. The beer which is pressed through the sieve is thick, sweet and not particularly strong. This variety of beer is referred to as **tsemo* (possibly *tser mo*). **Tsemo* is made by the Stewards at certain points during the *mDos rgyab*: they rise at three o'clock in the morning of the sixteenth day to sieve and warm a special morning treat for the priests; and on the 20th day, a special type of white **tsemo*, made from fermented rice, features in the ceremony for the changeover of Stewards (see below).

But the greater part of the beer, as on most festive occasions, is the kind that is generically referred to as *sngo chang*. Water is added directly to the grain in the fermenting jar and left for up to a week. The beer which is drawn off at the end of this period is the best and strongest which may be obtained by this process, and is known as *khowa* (probably *khu ba*). The jar is refilled with water, and the beer that is drawn off after one day is called *nyingkhu* (probably *rnying khu*, "old *khu ba*"). The jar is again refilled but the water, instead of being left to acquire greater alcoholic potency, is tapped immediately and the somewhat weaker result is called **yalong martsa* (either *yar blugs mar btsags*, "poured in at the top and drawn off below", or, more likely, *yang blugs mar btsags*, "poured in again and drawn off below"). Water is again added, left for a day, and drawn as *bar chang*, "middle (quality) beer". The process is repeated and the mildly alcoholic drink obtained on

the follwoing day is called *gsum chang,* "third(-rate) beer". Water is added for a last time and the thin, sour beer is aptly named *siu* (probably *se-bo,* meaning "grey"). The lees (*sbang ma*), containing hardly any goodness, are dried and used for feeding cattle and dogs and for cleaning pots and pans.

Contrary to appearances, beer-drinking does not go on at random: beer is brought into the temple and served only during certain breaks (*mtshams*) in the liturgy; furthermore, the Stewards mix the beer in such a way as to avoid a steady decline in quality from the strongest *khu ba* at the beginning to unpalatable *se bo* at the end. Too much *khu ba* at the outset would, in any case, render the priests incapable of reciting any liturgy at all.

One jar of beer that is prepared with special attention is the *phud chang,* the "first-offering beer". This is made from 18 *zo ba* (around 9 litres) of dry grain; while the grain is being boiled by the Stewards, well before the *mDos rgyab* begins, a purifying juniper fire (*bsang*) must simultaneously burn nearby. A sprig of juniper is then attached to the jar in which the must is stored. The drawing of the first beer from this jar on the 15th day is accompanied by burning of incense, and the Steward who unplugs the jar must cover his face with a white cloth to keep the beer from being sullied by his breath.

The very first use of the beer is related to the future prosperity of the village. To the left of the altar, on the ground, stands a clay pot of a size and shape called *rdza ma *driu.* On the altar itself is a bowl made from the cranium of a lama named bsTan-'dzin nyi-ma, a prominent member of Lubra's Glo-bo chos-tsong clan, who died about a century ago. Inside the bowl, clearly visible on the bone, is a miraculously-manifested white letter A. The skull and the clay pot are both filled with "first-offering beer" to the brim by the Stewards. On top of the beer a layer of melted butter is then poured. This cools to form a hard lid a few millimetres thick.

The two containers are covered with *kha btags* and left undisturbed until the 20th day. The butter disks are then removed from the surface of the two vessels and examined by the senior priests. From the contours of the uneven under-surface of the butter an expert eye can read the auspices (*rtags pa*) concerning the quality of the wheat and buckwheat harvest in the coming year, the health of the livestock, the risks to groups of people in the community (pregnant women, children, the elderly and so on), and the likelihood of natural hazards.

To return to the 15th day: after the divinatory vessels have been filled, the remaining *phud chang* is served to the priests in the temple. Significantly - and exceptionally - the beer is served not by the Stewards but by the Dance-masters.

Another important "side-ritual" involving beer that is performed on a number of occasions during the festival is the *g-yang rdzas,* a term which may be glossed as "requisites for the propensity to good fortune". The central feature of this rite is the *g-yang rdzas* itself: this is a brass drinking-bowl, full of beer, and decorated around its rim with butter-ornaments. The design of this ornamentation differs for each of the several performances, but the main motif is always the *bya ru,* the

"bird-horns" associated with the *khyung*, the mythological eagle sacred to the Bonpos.

gYang rdzas are performed by different groups of people - such as the Stewards and the Housemistresses - over the course of the *mDos rgyab*. One performance is described in some detail below.

7. Ritualised joking

A distinctive aspect of the "secular ritual" associated with the festival is the formal joking that takes place at certain occasions. Insofar as they are ritualised, the occasions are by no means spontaneous, but they do allow the protagonists opportunities for the display of sharp-witted repartee. Literacy in Tibetan society commands a sort of solemn respect; among unlettered villagers, however, eloquence and cunning are the hallmark of recognisable brilliance, a type of intelligence that is pitted against - and usually gets the better of - bookish learning in many folktales.

A few examples of this sort of jousting may be cited. On the night of the 15th, after the first *g-yang rdzas* has been performed, there is an interlude known as *zhal 'debs* in which the Stewards go from one priest to the next with a large pan of beer. This is the first occasion on which the priests will have drunk any of the *sngo chang* prepared by the Stewards, and the gist of the exhange is that the latter must overcome the feigned unwillingness of the priests to drink. The joke operates on several levels. One level is the straightforward rivalry between the kitchen and the temple: the priests' reluctance implies that the Stewards are incapable of producing good beer. The priests also express their coyness by assuming the role of Tibetan lamas, and the puritanical attitude the latter sometimes display towards the bibulous proclivities of Himalayan highlanders. The anxieties of the priests are caricatured by the desire to be reassured that the beer really is "the blessing (*byin rlabs*) of bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan", the founder of Lubra. The implication is underlined by the fact the the language in which the exchanges are carried on is Central Tibetan, and not the very different local dialect. The Stewards, in turn, attempt to persuade their guests of the excellent qualities of their beer, and following the reticence they encounter even make as if to pour it into the conches and trumpets lying on the low tables in front of the priests.

Once the Stewards have managed to persuade the priests to taste the beer, the latter drink three large cups without any further persuasion.

Throughout the festival there is an ongoing opposition between the kitchen and the Housemistresses, which is in many respects just an extension of the idiom of sexually suggestive banter that informs much of the everyday interaction between men and women. On the 18th day, the two youngest Housemistresses don their ceremonial garb - a shawl worn over their normal daily clothes, and the **shule* (a

long felt strip bearing large turquoises, corals, as well as gold and silver ornaments, worn along the middle of the head and down the back) - and visit the kitchen and the temple to beg for, respectively, beer and oil. In the first case they have to "persuade" the Stewards to give them three measures of beer in a special copper jug[15]. They then enter the temple and request the senior Dance-master to provide them with oil. A great deal of humorous insistence and refusal is exchanged before the Dance-master grudgingly parts with three small flasks (**phulu,* a special measure) of oil.

The Housemistresses use the oil to fry disks of bread (*khu ra*) in one of the estates, according to a roster that applies for women's gatherings. A minimum of three hundred pieces are made. (The wheat-flour used does not come from the general contributions of grain, but from part of the yield of a communally-owned field, named Arkazhing.) The two youngest Housemistresses take several pieces of bread and take them back to the kitchen and temple, where they give them to the Stewards and Dance-masters in exchange for more oil and beer, accompanied by a great deal of bargaining. When they have left, the two Dance-masters visit the Housemistresses with a basket to count out and collect the three hundred pieces of bread they require for redistribution in the temple at a later stage, mainly for the final *tshogs*. This is yet another occasion for formalised joking between the two parties. The importance of these seemingly marginal episodes for the festive atmosphere of the *mdos rgyab* should not be underestimated: each group will later comment on the rhetorical skills that the other has demonstrated in the course of the exchanges.

The humorous interludes in the *mdos rgyab* include a certain amount of slapstick, largely for the entertainment of the public. Some performances would be recognisable to anyone who is familiar with other examples of *'cham* in the Bon or Buddhist traditions. On the afternoon of the 19th day, shortly before the *sbyin sreg* fire ritual, and the disposal of the *mdos* and the *glud* at the boundary of the settlement, *'cham* is performed in the courtyard between the temple and the kitchen, with all the Lubragpas and numerous visitors from other villagers as spectators. The cast of dancers includes several well-known figures who provide light entertainment: the monkey and the rabbit; the two deer; Hwashang and his small flock of children, who are menaced by the the brigand Jag-pa me-len and saved by the intervention of a goddess, and so on.

It is clear, however, that certain other entertaining interpolations in the *mDos rgyab* are drawn from the collective experience, as well as the mythology, of Lubra. A few examples may be considered here.

On the sixteenth night, the *'cham* dancing inside the temple is interrupted by two characters, poorly dressed in tattered robes, wearing masks with wretched features and carrying staffs and begging bowls. These stand in front of the priests and the crowd of women and children clustered inside the door, performing parodies of Tibetan songs, and begging for alms in Central Tibetan dialect. Some

members of the crowd give them beer and tsampa, which inevitably leads to an inebriated flour-fight. The next character to enter is Lama Dzuki (Bla-ma Jogi), naked except for a loincloth, smeared in ash, carrying a pair of iron tongs and a gourd, and wearing a mask representing an Indian sadhu. He, too, moves among the people in the temple, begging in Hindi, making obscene gestures with his tongs and asking for the way to Muktinath. Now both these characters - Tibetan mendicants and Indian pilgrims - are more or less familiar figures in Lubra. The Hindu shrine of Muktinath is located in the valley immediately to the north, and Indian pilgrims periodically miss the trail and find themselves in Lubra.

Contrary to the case of, say, Central Tibet, New Year (the term "Lo-gsar" is not even used in Southern Mustang) is not a particularly important occasion, and much of the symbolism of cyclic renewal is evident on the occasion of the *mDos rgyab* itself. One aspect of this theme is the re-enactment of the founding of the village. In the historical outline of Lubra presented above it was said that the founding lineage, the Ya-ngal, had come to an end but that the estate and all its property had been inherited by an illegitimate boy. The latter lineage is now in its fifth generation, and it is the present heir who plays a key role in certain procedures connected with the subjugation of the earth and the repulsion of evil. When two "black-hat" dancers join the other characters on the 18th day, this priest, named Tshul-khrims, is invariably one of them: the main activity of the black-hat dancers is, of course, the "taming of the earth" (*sa 'dul*). We have already seen that a part of Lubra's priestly heritage is represented on the altar in the form of the skull of the Lama bsTan-'dzin nyi-ma. To go back to a much earlier phase in the legend of the village, it will be remembered that when Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, the father of Lubra's founder, was on his way to meet his lama Rong rTog-med zhig-po, one of his distinguishing features was the *phur pa* that was worn through his belt. A large *phur pa* that is said to be the very same one, now in the possession of Tshul-khrims, stands on the altar during the *mdos rgyab* ceremony. When the *mdos* and the *glud* are taken to the edge of the village on the 19th evening and destroyed, Tshul-khrims flings a series of "bombs" (*zor*) in the direction of the enemies, and then performs a "repulsion" (*zlog pa*) by brandishing this dagger. The main *genius loci* of Lubra was the demon sKye-rang skrag-med, whom the founder of the village defeated in a battle and bound with an oath to protect the Bon religion and the community. As the village protector, sKye-rang skrag-med is present during the ceremony: a *gtor ma,* representing him, stands on an iron tripod on the altar; on the afternoon of the 19th, when dancers representing the four main Bon protectors (*bon skyong*) appear in the courtyard, they are assisted in the task of killing and dismembering a *glud* effigy by a fifth dancer wearing the mask of sKye-rang skrag-med.

Mention has already been made of the opposition between the respectively "sacred" and "profane" spaces of the temple and the kitchen. In a particularly interesting dramatic episode, this opposition is explicitly associated with the

mythic antagonism between the founder-lama and the autochthonous place gods. On the evening of the 18th, the *'cham* dancers from the temple "invade" the kitchen. The dancers comprise: the unmasked senior Lama; the two *sa 'dul* "black-hats"; Khro-bo gTso-mchog mkha'-'gying, represented by the senior Dance-master, appropriately masked; the younger Dance-master, unmasked; up to four (if the number of villagers present permits) "offering goddesses" (*mchod pa'i lha mo*) and an unmasked drummer. After circling the interior of the temple for a while (in an anticlockwise direction) the drummer then leads the group into the kitchen. Inside the kitchen they encounter the Stewards and the Cook who are wearing masks from the temple's collection of props: they represent the place-gods, *gzhi bdag,* and are addressed aggressively by the temple party, who demand to know who they are and where they are from. The dancers pick up handfuls of rice from a bowl placed on the stove, and fling it at the place-gods, exclaiming *phat*! They then recite a short prayer before leaving the kitchen to take their seats in the courtyard, where they await the next phase of the proceedings. The kitchen staff remove their masks and hang them on the wall over the beer-jars. On top of one of the jars is placed one of the small copper plates used by the dancers, a *phur pa* and a sprig of juniper. On the wall behind the jar the mask of Khro-bo himself is set. This arrangement signifies the successful subjugation of the earth-spirits.

The two Stewards and their wives - whom we may for the sake of convenience call the Stewardesses - then emerge from the kitchen with two *g-yang rdzas,* a bowl of rice and a flask of beer. The *g-yang rdzas* are presented by the Stewards to each of the priests (one passes along each of two rows), who sings a verse of a devotional song (*mchod glu*), flicks some of the beer into his mouth and lets it move on to the next priest. Perhaps we can see in this particular *g-yang rdzas* a dramatisation of the reverence that the defeated demon sKye-rang skrag-med and his cohorts are said to have shown for Lubra's founder:

> The demon sKye-rang skrag-med and the local genii offered the lama the nectar of three springs, the flowers of three summers and the harvest-fruits of three autumns, and they spoke these words: "O Yogi, whose knowledge and understanding are pure from the beginning, unseparated from the meaning of your unwavering meditation, the cloud of fortified enjoyment-offerings, pray remain in a condition of detached inactivity. O Yogi, who performed Production and Completion in the past, with your own body in the mandala of your tutelary god, bestow your blessing on the five nectars which are the object of desire, and pray accept these [offerings] in order that we may be given both fine and ordinary spiritual powers. O pure Yogi of the three teachings, not divorced from the rules of excellent conduct, pray accept these clean, lovely and attractive offerings as propitiation to exhort us to virtue" (*Ya ngal gdung rabs* fols. 39b-40a).

The dancing then recommences inside the temple. To the right of the altar, on a low table at the base of the lama's throne, is set a triangular clay container (*hom khung*) containing a folded sheet of paper bearing the print of a demon (*ling ga*) daubed with the heart-blood of a yak. This is one of several manifestations of "the enemy" that is to be destroyed. Inside the *hom khung* is a butterlamp or a candle, representing the life of the enemy. During the phase of the *'cham* that now follows, the dancers make threatening passes at the container with the destructive attributes (*phyag mtshan*) they carry. At this point the masked divinities are joined in the collective effort against the enemy by the kitchen staff, wearing turbans and carrryng their own distinctive attributes: the Stewards brandish their beer-ladles and the cook his wooden spatula. They circle the floor in step with the other dancers, making threatening gestures with their implements until, at last, the flame of the enemy is extinguished by a thrust of Khro-bo's dagger.

We have seen that the kitchen staff play the role of place gods; there appears to be a reciprocal piece of role-playing on the following day when the four Bon protectors and sKye-rang skrag-med dance in the courtyard. The attributes that the Bon protectors hold are as follows: Srid-pa rgyal-mo: a *phur pa*; Mi-bdud: a *phur pa*; A-bse: a *rin chen* (a laminate of several metals that are grated, with an attached file, as ingredients of certain ritual mixtures); rGyal-po Nyi-pang-sad: a *phur pa.* sKye-rang skrag-med's attribute is the *phud skyogs,* the small ladle that is used for making libations of beer at the altar.

8. The annual transfer of stewardship

We may conclude this account by drawing attention to the operation the *mDos rgyab* as a focal point for other cyclic activities in the village. We should not take the view that these other events have been "tacked on" to the *mDos rgyab*; seen from the perspective of village religion, all the performances summarised here are components of an elaborate complex associated with destruction and renewal. I shall confine myself to a description of just one of these rites: the ceremony for the transfer of authority from the outgoing Stewards - who are also the headmen of the community - to the new incumbents. The selection itself is made simply according to the sequence of the village roster. The ceremony is performed on the night on the 20th, and involves some complex choreography and beer-symbolism.

The arrangement of the seating is as follows. Perpendicular to the altar are two rows of seats and low tables: the "right row" (*g-yas gral*), which is to the right as one faces the altar, and the "left row" (*g-yon gral*). On a throne to the right of the altar, and therefore at the head of the right row, sits the Lama, who, at the present time, is a resident non-native reincarnation. The senior, literate priests are seated mainly in the right row. The left row comprises mainly non-literate priests, but

includes a more shifting occupancy on this occasion. Behind the left row, along the left wall, sit the Housemistresses.

The incoming Stewards must be consecrated before the old ones retire. Rituals attending the annual transfer of headmanship in Mustang vary considerably from village to village, but there seems to be a universal principle that communities should not be left technically leaderless even for a few minutes.

By the pillar at the lower end of the left row are two large pans of beer. One is *sngo chang* of the variety known as **yalong martsa,* and is yellowish in colour. In the context of this ceremony, this beer is named **yang gyab* (perhaps *g-yang rgyab*?). The other contains sieve-mashed beer, **tsemo,* made of rice, and is white. It stands on an iron tripod wound about with white wool or, failing that, white *kha btags,* to conceal the inauspicious blackness of the iron. This white beer is called A-bse, after the Bon protector of that name. A small amount of butter from the hardened butter-lids of the two divinatory vessels (which have been removed earlier in the day) are scraped into the two pans as a blessing.

Four *g-yang rdzas* are prepared: two for the outgoing Stewards and Stewardesses, and two for their incoming counterparts. The butter decorations – made with butter ornaments of both the *khro bo* and *zhi ba gtor ma* blended together – are different in each case. In the past – as stipulated in the register – four large wooden bowls were used. When I first witnessed this ceremony in 1981 two of the bowls were still in use. These, too, are now cracked and unusable, but they must nevertheless be put on display during the ceremony.

The senior incoming Steward takes a seat in the left row. The senior Dance-master, wearing the **ertig,* the striped shawl of tantric priests, over his shoulders, and on his head a *dkar zhwa,* the "white hat" of the Bonpos, approaches him carrying a large lump of slate. He strikes the wooden floor with the rock three times, then holds in front of the Steward a *g-yang rdzas* bowl, while the Dance-master's assistant presents a ceremonial wooden flask of beer. With the small ladle (*phud skyogs*) the Steward takes three helpings of beer from the flask and pours it into the *g-yang rdzas.* (The beer in the *g-yang rdzas* is the yellow **yang gyab.*) At the same time, the younger Dance-master and an assistant approach the senior incoming Stewardess and and carry out the same procedure with a different rock and *g-yang rdzas.* After the Steward and Stewardess have poured the beer from the flask into the *g-yang rdzas* they each sing: the men sing a verse from the type of song called *mchod glu* ("offering song"), which consists essentially of praises to places, gods and saints sacred to the Bon tradition. One verse may serve as an example:

bde chen rgyal po kun bzang rgyal ba 'dus /
mi brjed gzungs ldan shes rab smra ba'i seng /
'dzam gling bon gyi gtsug rgyan mnyam med pa /
shes rab rgyal mtshan zhabs la gsol ba 'debs /

Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa is the king of great peace;
sMra-ba'i seng-ge is the wisdom that has the *dharani* of non-forgetting;
Homage to the feet of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan,
The unrivalled crown-ornament of Bon in the world!

Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa is the divinity who is represented by the benign (*zhi ba*) *gtor ma* on the altar. sMra-ba'i seng-ge corresponds both functionally and iconographically to the Buddhist Mañjuśrī, while mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan is the well-known Bon reformer who straddled the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The women sing *g-yang rdzas* songs, which are musically more complex (and, it must be said, more beautiful), and concerned with more "profane" themes. One of the verses runs as follows:

spang kha sngo thing ches song /
'bri mo dang ra bsgrigs song /
'bri mar ser po ma na /
bya ru btsugs pa mi 'dug /

The bright-green pasture stretches far;
The corrals of the yak-cows are neatly arrayed;
The bird-horns that are set [on the *g-yang rdzas* bowl]
Are of nothing less than yellow yak-cow butter.

("*Ma na*" in the third line is the local dialect form for the more familiar *ma gtogs* or *ma zad*.) The Steward begins his song only slightly before the Stewardess, so most of the two songs are sung simultaneously. The Steward rises first and goes to the Lama, preceded by the Dance-master and followed by the latter's assistant. The butter decorations on the *gtor ma* of the two *yi dam* include motifs called *gser gyi nyi zla*, "golden suns and moons"; these consist of superimposed disks of butter, diminishing in size as they ascend and coloured (from base to apex) white, red, white and black. A number of these have been removed from the *gtor ma* and set on a plate by the Lama. The latter moistens one of these in the beer of the *g-yang rdzas* and presses it onto the Steward's head. The Steward then returns to his place, while the Stewardess receives a similar anointment by the lama.

When he is seated again, the Steward makes the following gestures with the beer: three ladlefuls from the flask to the *g-yang rdzas*; three from the *g-yang rdzas* cast into the air; three from the *g-yang rdzas* into his own drinking cup; three from the wooden flask into the *g-yang rdzas*. The Stewardess makes the same actions with her own beer.

The same procedure is then followed for the junior incoming Steward and Stewardess. The Housemistresses then serve the beer to the assembled community,

with calls of "**Yang gyab bzhes*!" - "drink **yang gyab*!" Then comes the turn of the outgoing Stewards and their wives. The sequence of events is broadly similar, but with the following differences. A-bse (white rice beer), not **yang gyab,* is served; when the Dance-masters strike the rock on the ground they call out "*Thar ro, thar ro*!" - "be liberated [from your duties]!" And when the Housemistresses serve the beer to the gathering afterwards they announce it with "A-bse *bzhes*!"

Conclusion

The description of Lubra's *mdos rgyab* ceremony given here has made no attempt to be exhaustive, even in discussing the "secular" activities that are so richly interwoven with the liturgical rite. The main aim of the approach adopted here has been to suggest a perspective from which Lamaist ceremonies may be viewed in a village context in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of what religion may signify for ordinary Tibetans. There is a prevailing attitude – which is not confined to early travellers to Tibet – that what passes for religion in villages is just Buddhism or Bon bereft of any redeeming sophistication: turning prayer-wheels, performing circumambulations and prostrations, repeating mantras. Giving due consideration to the social and institutional framework of Lamaist ceremonies, as well as to the apparently banal lay activities that seem to clutter these occasions like so much noise, may reveal an order of complexity that would tell us a great deal about the nature of religion in Tibetan society.

Notes

1) The half-estate is a recent addition to the roster, occasioned by the splitting of a household under complex circumstances. The fact that it is a half-estate is manifested largely in an annual alternation between full rights and duties and none at all. Thus if it has a place on the irrigation roster this year and enjoys full water rights, next year it will have no water at all and must use the water left over at the end of the day by other estates.
2) The orthography suggested here is provisional: the term occurs in numerous different forms in the documents.
3) The romanised transliterations of Tibetan passages cited below present an "improved" reading of the original, with the idiosyncratic spellings that have been replaced inserted afterwards in square brackets [...]. At certain points the original text reproduces local dialect terms or Nepali words for which there is no standard Tibetan spelling. In such cases, as well as instances where the significance of the text is uncertain, the syllables in question have been underlined. Syllables in brackets {...} are words that should be omitted for a better reading. No attempt has been made to "correct" divergences from standard grammar.

4) The monetary system employed in the register of temple contributions predates decimalisation. The units are the rupee (*dngul,* but occasionally *sgor mo* and *a las*), the half-rupee (*ṭam* or *tram*), the *anna* (*a na*) and the pie or *paisa* (*spe sags, pa'i sa,* etc.). Their values are as follows:
R 1 = 2 *ṭam* = 24 *anna* = 96 pice
In spite of the efforts of various rulers to standardise volumetric measures in Mustang, considerable variation is still to be encountered from one village to another. The following values are those which pertain in Lubra:

a. The *muthi,* a Nepali term which has come to replace the Tibetan form *phul.* It means "handful" and refers to the amount of grain which can be held in the hand with the tips of the fingers touching the palm.

b. The uncommon **kwok* or **changdong,* which is generally referred to imply as the **drudra chung ba,* ("lesser **drudra*"), and which is equal to eight *muthi.*

c. The true **drudra* or **drudra kha bcad.* **Drudra* may signify *'bru dra* (lit. "grain ladle"); however, since in neighbouring villages there is a similar measure called *zhidra* (Tib. *bzhi dra*), equal to a quarter of a *zo ba* (see below), it is possible that Lubra's **drudra* was originally one sixth of a *zo ba,* and should therefore be spelt *drug dra.* In any event, because of the uncertainty of their etymology, the terms **drudra* and **changdong* are rendered above in these roughly phonetic forms.
Note: Except in the tables, words that are presented in this way in the text are preceded by an asterisk, to signify that the spelling is not meant to indicate a Tibetan orthography.
Kha bcad (lit. "mouth-cut") signifies that the grain in the measure is levelled at the opening with a sweep of the hand, whereas with the **drudra changdong* there is an obvious rim. The **drudra kha bcad* (to which the term **drudra* invariably refers) contains ten *muthi,* and is slightly smaller than the Nepalese *mana.*

d. The *zo ba,* somewhat smaller than the Nepalese *pathi,* is equal to four **drudra.*

e. The *'bo khal,* equal to twenty *zo ba.*

f. The *se khal,* which is the equivalent of thirty *zo ba.* Large quantities of grain are generally expressed in terms of *'bo khal* rather than *se khal.*

5) *Ke mi'i* represents the Nepali term Kami, "blacksmith".
6) The term for buckwheat, *rgya bra,* is locally pronounced "*gyabre*".
7) The word rendered in the text as *pogs lab* denotes an occasion that is locally pronounced *poblag.* It refers to a ceremony carried out well after the *mDos rgyab* to mark the last in a series of rites - the most important of which is described below - surrounding the transfer of authority from the old to the new Stewards. The etymology that I have tentatively suggested here is a compound of two verbs, *spo ba,* "to change" and *rlab(s) pa,* "to remove". The latter verb, which Jaeschke cites as a questionable definition from Schlagintweit, does not appear in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*; another possibility is *brlags,* from *rlog pa,* "to overthrow".

8) Although local documents give several spellings for the village of Dangkardzong, such as Dang-dkar-rdzong, Dang-gar-rdzong *inter al.*, the name frequently appears in this abbreviated form Dang-rdzong.

9) An unusual spelling of the village Khyenga, which has no authoritative Tibetan form but is usually rendered Khying-ga, mKhyen-ga *inter al.* in local documents.

10) There is no apparent reason why the dByar-ston summer festival should be linked so explicitly with sGom-phug, a small cave temple above Lubra that is associated with the founder of the village. On the fourth day of the festival a brief ceremony takes place at this site, and it is possible that the temple once played a more significant part in the summer festivities.

11) In fact this section is now obsolete, for the two Stewards now receive only Rs 4 each in token payment.

12) It is possible that *gshe 'brug* is an error for *zhi khro,* in which case the sentence might mean something like: "[There should be] four large *g-yang* [*rdzas* vessels ornamented with] the decorative butter from the *zhi ba* and *khro bo* [*gtor ma*]".

13) *Phyed rgyad* (for *brgyad*, and later spelt *che brgyad*) is apparently meant to represent *cha brgyad,* "one-eighth" (of a rupee), although the context suggests that the sum in question is rather a quarter, i.e., half a *ṭam*.

14) The deadline refers to the elaborate pattern of butter sculptures which form the façade of the two main *yi dam*, in their benign (*zhi ba*) and wrathful (*khro bo*) aspects, that occupy the highest level on the altar. This indicates the night of the fourteenth day of the month.

15) Not just any container may be used. The ceremonial dispensing of beer is done from three long-spouted copper jugs called **dzaog* (probably *rdza khog*). The largest is used exclusively for the priests; the middle one for the Housemistresses, and the smallest for *shing chang,* "wood-beer", the allocation of beer that the Stewards give in exhange for the 10 kg. of firewood that must be provided on the 15th day by every villager aged between 13 and 60.

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Victory banners, social prestige and religious identity: Ritualized sponsorship and the revival of Bon monasticism in Amdo Shar-khog

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Introduction

This article is an attempt to understand the socio-religious and economic processes of the revival of Bon monasticism in Amdo Shar-khog since the 1980s. I will focus on 'ritualized' sponsorship as it is displayed in the public festivals of monastic ritual dances (*'cham*) for this figures as a key element in the annual monastic economy. A comparison between past and present-day performances and the involvement of sponsors will show how former ritual practices have been modified and revived today in the framework of Chinese state religious policies. While the performance of *'cham* is based on a monastic tradition of liturgical texts and on oral transmission by a dance master (*'cham dpon*) it usually constitutes the most important annual socio-cultural event for the entire local community. Through the public performance of ritual dances the monks employ and display their spiritual powers over evil forces. According to Tibetan world view the latter are believed to cause harm to people's health and can affect environmental disasters. It is believed that monks, with their spiritual and moral authority, are able to subdue them temporarily for the duration of the year. Publicly staged as part of the ritual performance the expulsion is enacted for the benefit and well-being of the lay community who take part as audience and sponsors (*sbyin bdag*, 'donor', 'master of the gift', Skt. *dānapati*). However, the latter's role and active participation is a much neglected but important aspect of the performance and for the monastic revival in general.

The performance of the monastic dances is the culminating and public part of a complex one to two week long ritual cycle which requires lay donations and support in order to be staged. In fact the whole monastic community needs lay support (apart from family contributions for daily living) for its very economic existence. In Shar-khog considerable donations are often made just before the dances are performed. Together their amount is high enough to cover not just the expenses of the ritual but a good part of the annual monastic economy. It is significant that it happens in the context of public religious festivals that sponsors are officially recognized and honoured as such. For example, their names and amount of contribution might be listed

and displayed publicly on a blackboard outside a monastery. In the Bonpo community of Shar-ba Tibetans, lay and sometimes monk sponsors are also honoured in public during the dance performance in such a prominent way that one can interpret it as a strategic arena for a ritualized display of sponsorship and gift exchange[1]. Seen from this perspective it creates a publicly acknowledged potential for accumulating merit, prestige and heightened status for the sponsors (and their families) while reaffirming the monk's spiritual superiority.

Scholars tend to reproduce the 'ritual knowledge' transmitted by authoritative texts and by ritual specialists, who in turn 'give' meaning to the ritual and 'teach' it to the audience who tend to adopt and modify it as their ritual goal (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 187). Tibetan lay people's attitudes reflect this ritual hegemony of the monks acting as ritual specialists. Consequently, scholars and lay participants themselves often play down their motives, interpretations and roles in public rituals and subordinate them to the monks' ritual knowledge. However, lay people, especially the sponsors of communal rituals, are considerably involved in religious revivals. They are not just 'money givers' but act as motivated and concerned agents in and for Tibetan communities. Through their actions they can create strategic arenas of power for their own interests and for the entire community. In the Shar-ba community there exists a clear gendered division of different ways of sponsorship: while the publicly acknowledged sponsors are exclusively male, women support monks through their labor and on a rather regular, inconspicuous and modest basis[2]. Simultaneously, the moral and social power of the monastery, the prestige of generosity of its sponsors and the audience's participation fuse into a displayed – and thereby re-created and asserted – ethnic and religious unity of monk and lay Bonpo followers. This display in turn is framed by invited local state representatives watching the *'cham* performance. This might be one of the reasons why such cultural practices are among the first to be revived in the context of a colonizing and modernizing Chinese state[3] and – in our case of the Bonpo Shar-ba community – vis-à-vis a surrounding majority of Tibetan Buddhists.

This viewpoint evolved out of my fieldwork data, gathered during 1996 in Amdo Shar-khog among the Shar-ba Bonpos and also in 1995 among the Bonpo exile community of Dolanji in India. About 95% of the Shar-ba are Bonpo[4]. They live in a valley area locally called Shar-khog (or Zing-chu in Bon sources) mainly to the north and west of the former Manchu garrison and trading town of Songpan (Zung-chu rDzong). Situated in present-day Songpan county (Songpan Xian) of the Aba (rNga-ba) prefecture in the Northwest Sichuan province, this area is an ancient geopolitical and ethnic frontier between the former Tibetan and the Chinese empires. It is located on the fringe of the Amdo high plateau, just before it drops to the Sichuan basin to

its Southeast. A steep and heavily eroding road connects the valley with the provincial capital of Chengdu. It is an ethnic borderland with Tibetan and Han Chinese, Hui and Qiang populations. Most of the Shar-ba Tibetans still live in their villages and among themselves outside of Songpan. They are farmers and traders as they were in the past, seasonally collecting and selling medicinal herbs, while they might now also engage in part time transport and tourism industry and in extended trade including modern luxury goods. Han and Hui usually live either in the town of Songpan to the South of Shar-khog, or along the main road leading north to the tourist attractions of Jiuzhaigou and Huanglong National Parks in small settlements with predominantly Chinese populations, such as Zhang-la, a formerly thriving gold-mining town.

With the liberalized state religious policies of the 1980s, a total of thirteen Bon monasteries along with monastic practices and festivals were reconstructed and reestablished in the area of Songpan County. Controlled by state religious institutions, such as the county based Religious Affairs Office (Chin. zhong jiao ju) and the monastic administrative units of the Democratic Management Committees (Chin. si guan hui), the religious revival took place in the radically different socio-political context of Chinese Communist colonialism and modernity. However, certain traditional social structures of the Shar-ba community were revived, such as the relations between supporting lay villages (*lha sde*) and their local monasteries, as well as individual lay sponsorship. It is this ritual relationship and its socio-economic dynamics I want to focus on here. My fieldwork data is supplemented by a recent local Tibetan monastic history (*Zing chu dkar chag*) and local Chinese documents.

Given their former political independence, their relative wealth through exclusive trading ties with Chinese merchants from Songpan, and their geopolitical and religious marginality, the Bonpo of Shar-khog cultivated a strong ethnic sense of local identity. This concerned primarily being Tibetan vis-à-vis Chinese neighbors and being Bonpo vis-à-vis a surrounding and sometimes threatening majority of Buddhist Tibetans. These geopolitical, socio-economic and religious factors very likely contributed to the development of Shar-khog into a stronghold of Bon religion in Amdo[5)]. The revival of Bon monasticism in Shar-khog shows that it is very much part of present-day local religious and ethnic identity.

During the past the Bonpo monasteries of Shar-khog owned no land nor imposed any tax obligation on their lay communities. They were engaged in lending surplus capital, which they had accumulated through lay donations, for interest to local Shar-ba traders. Consequently, the monasteries' subsistence was heavily dependent on voluntary lay sponsors. This fact today applies to all Tibetan monasteries because of expropriation of their former land and wealth and newly implemented Chinese state religious policies

calling for self subsistence. Apart from payment for household rituals wealthy sponsors gave money to the monastery for specific purposes through which they could earn more merit and social prestige. On certain auspicious days they could multiply their merit, for example on the 15th day of the first Tibetan month by 'ten million times' (Cornu 1997: 270). This is one date in Shar-khog when a public *'cham* performance is staged where sponsors could also be publicly honoured for their generosity.

1. Lay - monk relations

Support by the surrounding villages or nomadic tribes for their local religious community in return for ritual services is a general feature of ethnic Tibetan societies. Often connected by kinship relations, the reciprocal exchange between a lay person and a monk is first of all based on religious beliefs of karma and rebirth and values of accumulating merit (*bsod nams kyi tshogs*), empowerment (*byin brlabs*), generous giving of gifts to monks (*sbyin pa*), prosperity (*rgyu*), health (*nad med*, 'without illness') and fortune (*rlung rta*). Giving donations to lamas, monks and for monastic buildings is regarded as a virtuous act procuring merit, empowerment and social prestige ('high head', *mgo 'phang*) upon the donor or sponsor. Especially in the context of monastic festivals audience members can be socially and morally expected to contribute a certain amount of donations (see for example, Marko 1994: 140). Examining lay-monk relations in Helambu Clarke derives the social status of the individual villager directly from his accumulated merit. To act as a 'donor' means an institutionalized position and already implies merit and status (1989: 232). Spiro had noted that the popularity of giving alms specifically to the 'sangha' – individual monks and monasteries – in the Buddhist society of Burma is due to the 'measurability' of the merit they imply (in contrast to a rather evasive practice of negatively defined virtue which is difficult to calculate) (1982: 103f).

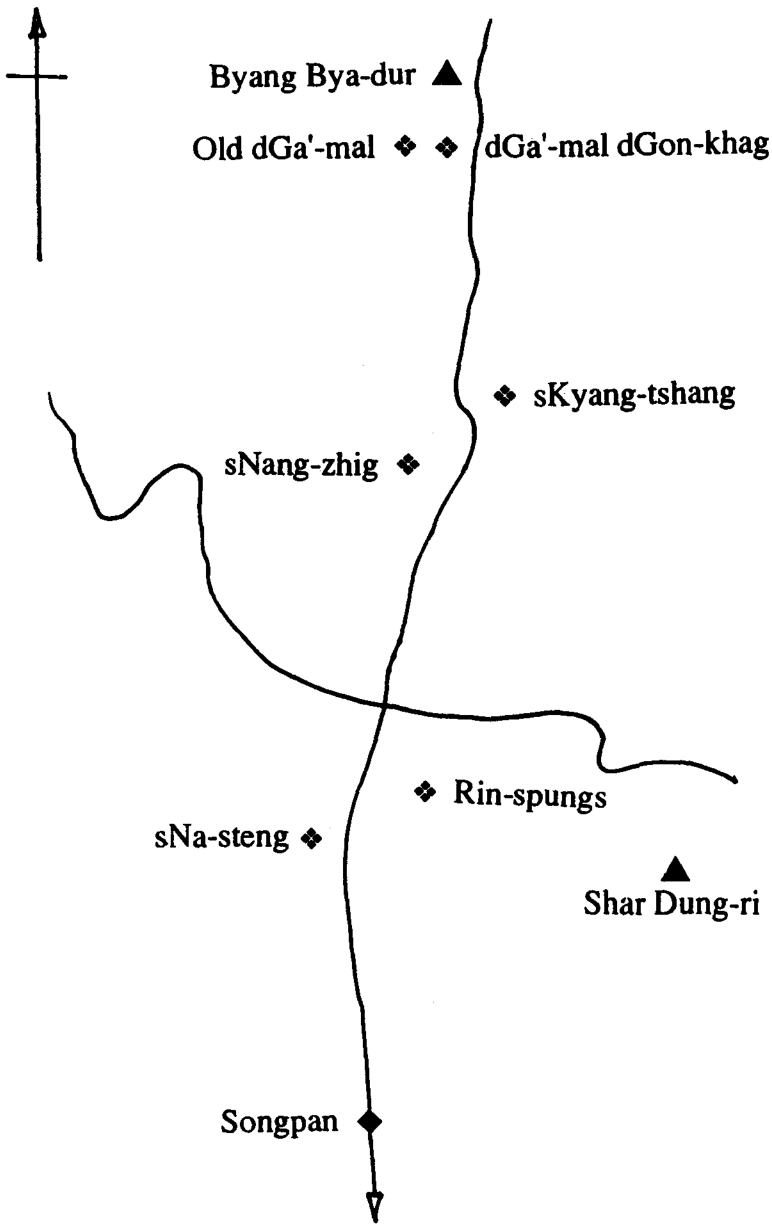
How do Shar-ba sponsors and audiences express their motivations to participate in the *'cham* performance? They first and foremost state that attending a *'cham* 'is a fortunate connection' (*rten 'brel yag po red*)[6] for them. This term seems to be understood in a future sense of auspiciousness implying a kind of simultaneous 'magical' transformation: first and foremost it was worded in terms of procuring prosperity and good fortune, good health and luck. The expression 'meeting the gods' (*lha mjal*) was used as an end in itself, evoking notions of empowerment and blessings for the participants. The ways in which this transaction actually happens will be explained below. Monks would interpret *'cham* in terms of religious education of the laity, a purification of their defilements, bestowing blessings (or empowerment) and

merit. A sponsor however obtains a special status through his actions. In Spiro's terms *dāna* is the foremost way of earning merit in 'kammatic Buddhism', applicable to one of the three general orientations in Tibetan Buddhism defined by Samuel (1993), transforming the "social and material status of the self" (1982: 105). A sponsor is expected to give according to his wealth, which in turn is already a sign of his 'power' (*dbang thang*). Consequently, the more he gives, the more merit and prestige he will generate. This implies a surplus of wealth, of time for labor services or food for the monastery and creates in turn a hierarchy of sponsorship crediting the most generous donor with a kind of hegemonic prestige. Mumford calls this the 'hierarchy of liberation' (Mumford 1989: 204).

This often competitive 'individual' sponsorship can be contrasted with another system which can exist side by side with it in Tibetan societies. I will call it 'collective' sponsorship for it requires general cooperation among members of a group. The cooperation is highly regulated and often compulsory in order to ensure the monastic performance of costly annual rituals and maintain the monastery in general. As a duty of village households it can be directly connected with the right to village membership and the accumulation of merit (Clarke 1989: 233). A common structure of sponsorship and village organization in general in Tibetan communities consists in a rotation of organizational duties by affiliated members of a religious community such as lay householders or monks, villages or nomadic tribes affiliated with a monastery, monastic colleges within a monastery or monasteries being a member of a bigger monastic association. This duty can be part of a mutual consensus in a community thereby giving the right to group membership. It can also be obligatory in the form of a monastic tax obligation and/or it can be reinforced by a fining system[7)]. Sponsorship requires time and resource management. Also the distribution of food for the ritual agents has to be taken care of. Thus collective sponsorship redefines and reassures members of a religious community reiterating and reinforcing their group loyalty, unity and identity. The historical roots and modes of transactions between laity and monk communities however, vary considerably according to local context[8)].

In Shar-khog, *'cham* festivals gain an additional socio-religious dimension for the Bonpo community: they are instrumental for annually reconstituting a monastic association of five Bonpo monasteries in Shar-khog. The five monasteries are Rin-spungs, sKyang-tshang, dGa'-mal gYung-drung gling, sNang-zhig and sNa-steng[9)]. Consequently, their supporting villages (*lha sde*) are mobilized as well and temporarily constitute a kind of corporate ritual unit of monks and lay participants. This association was started in 1947 with the aim of strengthening the Bon religion in the area vis-à-vis large Buddhist monasteries, and it depended on additional lay support. Its structure

Bon-po Monasteries in A-mdo Shar-khog



was based on an annual rotational duty to perform the *'cham* ritual for the entire Shar-ba Bonpo community at the site of the respective performing monastery[10]. For that year its organizing and responsible abbot was called 'throne-holder' (*khri pa*). The attendance of at least one lay household representative was formerly expected and mildly reinforced through the duty of gathering firewood or other labor services for the monks in case of absence (Samten Karmay, personal communication). In this way unity and cooperation among its members was constituted and reaffirmed.

After the Chinese takeover and the complete destruction of monasteries and repression of religious and cultural activities during the Cultural Revolution, state religious policies had changed from 1978 onwards under Deng Xiaoping's liberalization allowing 'freedom of religion'. Initially, a limited number of monasteries and temples were allowed to be reconstructed in certain areas, i.e. in 1980 only one monastery was allowed to be rebuilt in the Zing-chu valley. So the Shar-ba decided to revive their association of the former five monasteries in the form of a new monastic establishment which they called Gamel gingka (dGa'-mal dgon-khag). But from 1982 onwards, when the Family Responsibility System was implemented, the government also permitted the reconstruction of the association's five member monasteries, whose buildings were completed in the second half of the 1980s. In the beginning of the 90s this new development seems to have caused a kind of competition for lay support between Gamel gingka and the five reconstructed monasteries. While the latter were able to rely on support from their former affiliated villages, the association's popularity declined among monks and lay people. In 1996, however, the New Year dance performance at Gamel gingka attracted the largest audience in the last ten years. The ways in which this was achieved will be discussed in the latter part of this article.

2. Ethno-historical background

Before the 1950s Shar-ba villages formed eight political federations (*tsho*) under a dual system of local power: an elected Tibetan 'Big man' (*dbang can*, 'the one with power') and/ or a Manchu appointed hereditary 'headman' (Tib. *'go ba*, Chin. tu guan). Even though being a Manchu institution, the hereditary headman's influence as a local Tibetan was not connected to an actual political or administrative control by the Manchus. The Shar-ba village federations were politically autonomous with each of the federations being affiliated to a monastery, although the federations all together did not constitute a political entity. Also, they did not have to pay taxes to any outside power – neither to the Manchu administration in Songpan or the viceroy of Sichuan nor to the Lhasa Tibetan government[11]. In *Les*

Neufs Forces de l'Homme Samten Karmay describes that the villagers had strong internal community ties as *tsho* members with clearly defined codes of honour (*dbu 'phang mtho ba*), renown (*snyan grags*) and power (*dbang thang*) which were connected to the territorial mountain god cult of a village federation. Apart from belonging to a renown family or clan, a gifted orator, a successful hunter or mediator and a wealthy tradesman would be recognized as being endowed with the mountain god's power. While in assemblies commensality (*kha gcig*) expressed group membership and unity, status factors were demonstrated in a strict hierarchical seating order depending on a person's 'rank' (*gral*), obtained through his 'power' and renown which he had to re-affirm annually (Karmay and Sagant 1998). One possibility of increasing a person's reputation was to sponsor the annual festival of a monastery[12)].

In Shar-khog the monasteries did not own land and their affiliated villagers did not have to pay taxes to them. They depended entirely on donations. Accumulated surplus was lend in turn on a short term to less well-off Shar-ba merchants, providing these with capital to start their trading enterprises with. The monastery received in turn a certain interest and a part of the profit of the trade (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 49-51, compare with *AZW* 1986 vol.4: 12). Politically, monastic authorities seemed to have played important roles as mediators in local fights among the federations and against the Chinese from Songpan (monastic history of Rin-spungs in *Zing chu dkar chag* (1993: 111-113), and *SXZ* 1967(2): 490-500), but otherwise they mostly kept out of politics.

What also made the Shar-ba special in comparison to other Tibetan societies was the high concentration of Bonpo villages and monasteries in a rather small but fertile agricultural area. Living at the fringe of Tibetan populated areas they had a privileged and exclusive role as middlemen in the Sino-Tibetan tea trade of this area. They bought Chinese tea coming from Yunnan which was sold to them by Chinese merchants from Songpan. The tea trade in Songpan was controlled by Manchu officials and then by the nationalist government of the Guomindang up to 1940 but this restricted only the Chinese merchants. From Songpan they would transport the tea with their big *g-yag* caravans further up on to the Tibetan plateau, a rather dangerous enterprise which required a strong caravan leader and armed co-traders to protect them against bandits and robbers. The Shar-ba traders exchanged the tea against animal products of Tibetan nomads which they sold or traded back in Songpan.

Some of the families in Shar-khog acquired considerable trading wealth, additional to their farming products and animals[13)]. They re-invested some part of their wealth into the monasteries in the form of donations: monks would go around and ask for donations to construct new monastic buildings and for new statues, or for sponsoring communal monastic festivals such

as *'cham*. The latter especially were occasions for gaining both merit and social prestige by sponsoring big scale rituals which would benefit the entire monastery and at the same time the community as a whole. There was a certain competitive prodigality among the rich concerning who would be able to sponsor a bigger ritual than the other (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 49, 50). Payment for household rituals – for example, for good luck and prosperity (*g-yang 'gug*) or for funeral rituals, when about four to six monks would be invited to a house to recite scriptures for three to forty-nine days – would be kept individually as the monk's own income. However, some high-ranking monks would receive larger donations in recognition of their highly estimated ritual knowledge and reputation for efficacy and would reinvest their surplus into the monastery's treasury (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 50, Goldstein 1998: 162, note 49).

2.1. The ritual association of the five Bon monasteries of Shar-khog

As Per Kvaerne has noted there was a remarkable founding activity of new Bon monasteries in Amdo since the beginning of the 19th century (1988: 243). In Shar-khog between the end of the 19th and the middle of the 20th century Bon religion appears to have flourished as well. Leading religious teachers founded hermitages and established schools of dialectics and new monastic rituals in some of Shar-khog's Bon monasteries[14)]. The middle of last century was also a critical time of an armed Sino-Tibetan conflict which is said to have threatened the Bon teachings in Shar-khog (*Zing chu dkar chag* 1993: 276-279). Also there were apparently fights between different Bon monasteries and fractions in the area. In response to this the Thogs-med sprul-sku, who was a lama of the Bya-'phur lineage from the large Bonpo monastic establishment of rNga-ba sNang-zhig[15)], called for an association of five Bonpo monasteries of Shar-khog (Khri-skyang dgon-khag lnga)[16)]. The reasons behind this association was to unite and strengthen the Bon teachings possibly also vis-à-vis political instabilities. Dignitaries of the Bonpo monasteries of Rin-spungs, sKyang-tshang, lCags-mdud (later sNa-steng), sNang-zhig and dGa'-mal gYung-drung-gling discussed his plan to build a 100 pillar assembly hall, probably having in mind as a model the powerful Bonpo monastery of rNga-ba sNang-zhig. However local objections by some 'influential people', not exactly mentioned, are said to have resisted the plan[17)].

In the year 1947 discussions about building an assembly hall for the monastic association of the five Bonpo monasteries of Shar-khog were revived[18)]. At that time many monks of the five monasteries shared the same teachers and studies. Teachers seemed to have good relations among

themselves, such as the influential Rin-spungs sprul-sku Shes-rab rnam-rgyal and the Tshab-tsha lineage lama and teacher of the 'old' dGa'-mal monastery. These positive conditions very likely facilitated the forging of the association. Before the assembly hall for the new monastic association could be constructed, the five contributing Bonpo monastic communities from Shar-khog agreed to constitute a ritual association in the same year. It consisted of an annually rotating obligation of performing their *'cham* ritual for the whole of the Shar-ba Bonpo community in their respective monasteries and according to their respective ritual calendars. According to the monastic history of the association the Rin-spungs sprul-sku Shes-rab rnam-rgyal was made 'throne-holder' (*khri pa*) of the great assembly of the five monasteries in the first half of the 4th month in 1947. The *khri pa* was responsible for the organization and sponsorship of the entire ritual, i.e. he had to provide the resources for this large event taking place at his own monastery. So sponsors had to be found to take over the costs - at least the performing monks had to be fed and paid for their ritual services each day. Usually the *khri pa* distributed the money (*'bul ba*, 'offering', 'gift') among the performing monks[19]. For the most part of the two to three week long ritual[20] the monks of Rin-spungs performed by themselves, with the monks of the other four monasteries joining them in a collective recitation for about 4 to 5 days. Otherwise the monks of the association took part as audience. The 'great summer retreat' (*dbyar gnas chen mo*) ended with its culminating public performance of masked dances on the 16th of the 4th Tibetan month, at the site of Rin-spungs monastery. In the following years the abbots of dGa'-mal, of sKyang-tshang, sNang-zhig and sNa-steng monasteries respectively took over the position of *khri pa*. As a reward any surplus of money collected through the sponsorship was allowed to be kept by the *khri pa*[21]. The reason for this ritual association was, according to an informant to build up the stronghold of a unified Bon monastic community vis-à-vis the big dGe-lugs-pa monasteries of the neighboring areas, such as dMu-dge and Bla-brang. Still this leaves the question open as to why the Bon monastic association happened at that time and not before. Obviously there was a need for political and religious stability for the Bonpos of Shar-khog. The monastic association was forcefully stopped by the Chinese victory over the Shar-ba uprising in 1957/58.

There were about five to six hundred monks taking part in the monastic association in the 1950s[22]. Each of the five monasteries had an assembly of eight to twelve elders (*tshogs 'du rgan po*). Among them were a prayer leader, two discipline masters and two treasurers, each of them elected for three years, completed by three to seven 'men of power' (*dbang can*) who had an outstanding reputation. They were responsible for the monasteries. Twice a year representatives of each monastery would meet in a monastic council

(*Zing chu dkar chag* 1993: 53, Karmay and Sagant 1998: 48,49)[23].

2.2. Sponsorship before 1957

This former revitalisation of Bon monastic teachings and influence in Shar-khog starting in the 19th century coincides with the flourishing tea trade between Shar-ba and Chinese merchants from Songpan[24]. It is very likely to assume a causal connection between a surplus of wealthy Shar-ba trader's finances and a growth in religious establishments, teachings and rituals in Shar-khog's Bon monasteries in need of additional economic support. Local Chinese documents mention explicitly 78 Shar-ba families who were successful traders between 1852 and 1949. It is claimed that there existed a kind of trade alliance between local headmen and certain monastic representatives in charge of monastic economy and trade issues who were elected for three years (*AZW* 1986: 13)[25].

Whereas I could not find evidence for this claim, interviews with former sponsors of *'cham* from the Bonpo community of Shar-khog made it clear that only a very wealthy family could afford to sponsor the big public ritual of *'cham* before 1957. The treasurer of a monastery (*gnyer pa*) would go with a *kha btags* to the rich family houses of the neighborhood or also to people who he knew were wealthy from other regions and ask them whether they would sponsor the next *'cham* ritual. It seemed a matter of honour as an expression of generosity to accept this offer and do so. (In other words it would have been rather humiliating if one had to admit not being able to meet the resources necessary or to appear too stingy.) One informant stated that in his case it was almost like a family tradition to be the annual *'cham* sponsor. A sponsor would earn a high reputation or renown among the Shar-ba if he agreed to do so. Samten Karmay mentions that in his monastery of sNa-steng, a second sponsor for the next coming year used to be announced as well. He was honoured in advance and on the spot by giving him a high seat in the monastic assembly (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 50). No matter whether it would be a conventional *'cham* ritual performance or the communal festival for the whole association, there would be only one or two sponsors. Additionally, on several days families could offer a *nyin ja*, a 'one day tea', including soup (*thug pa*) and some money for each monk per day. To sponsor a week long ritual performed by 150 monks, a sponsor had to pay around 400 Chinese silver coins which was about equivalent to the price of 27 *mdzo* at that time (or about a third of a whole *g-yag* caravan required for trading purposes).

A sponsor was always officially recognized as such during and after the performance: he was accompanied by oboe (*rgya gling*) players, dressed in his

best robes, so that everyone would see and hear him and know who he was. This is quite extraordinary treatment, for usually only high religious personnel and deities are venerated and honoured by means of ritual *rgya gling* music, which is also used to invite and venerate the protector gods in a *'cham*. While the sponsor's sons might join him in public, the rest of the family (wife and daughters etc.) would sit together with the audience. It was only the head of the household who would receive a 'throne' or heightened seat on a veranda of the tea house (*ja khang*) and was served food and drink during the whole performance. After a *'cham* performance the sponsor was invited to stay overnight in the monastery and the following day was escorted by five monks back to his home place. Two of the escort carried victory banners (*rgyal mtshan*) as an icon of honour for his sponsorship[26], and two *rgya gling* players accompanied the small procession. There would be rests with small picnics in between with the monks providing food and drink to the sponsor, and while entering his village, the neighbors would again see and recognize him as an honoured sponsor. In the evening it seemed to be customary for the sponsor to invite his friends around to his house and celebrate with them. The victory banner was hung up into the domestic chapel (*yig khang*), a practice which is still done today.

3. The revival of Bon monasteries in Shar-khog since the 1980s

Following the Cultural Revolution and the local implementation of liberalized state religious policies in 1980, the reconstruction of about a third of the former Bon monasteries, temples and hermitages in the area of Songpan county[27] and parts of their monastic ritual cycles and education was made possible with initial financial support of the Chinese government and a constant effort of the local Bonpo population[28]. Lay people and former monks were voluntarily and actively involved in the religious revival in Shar-khog after the disastrous destruction of their religion and culture during the Cultural Revolution. First of all they revived their religious practices of local pilgrimage, individual and communal religious rituals and festivals. As already mentioned, in 1980 only one monastery per Tibetan populated valley in Songpan County was allowed to be rebuilt. Therefore the Bonpo of Shar-khog decided to finally build a common monastery housing their former ritual association of five monasteries. A new monastery was constructed which is locally referred to as 'Gamel gingka' (dGa'-mal dgon-khag , or Bya-dur dGa'-mal dgon-chen, *alias* dPal gShen-bstan kun-khyab bde-chen-gling, Chin. Gamisi, also Naimisi). It was built at the site of the destroyed dGa'-mal gYung-drung dar-rgyas-gling monastery near the Bon holy mountain, Byang Bya-dur, in the north of the Zing-chu valley in a rather

solitary but religiously well established environment. It received founding capital of about 9500 Yuan from the Chinese government (*SFG* 1987: 37).

Especially during the first half of the 1980s the monastic association of dGa'-mal dgon-khag constituted the main site and power of the monastic revival in Shar-khog. It was able to raise money by selling entrance tickets to Chinese and foreign tourists as well as paraphernalia from the monastery's shop – one of the stipulated major arenas of income for Tibetan monasteries according to new state religious policies. In 1985 and 1986 this income was more than 5000 Yuan (*SFG* 1987: 45). However, lay donations again contributed the major part of monastic subsistence. In the 1990s the monastery's income from this source amounted to approximately 20,000 Yuan per year, and individual sponsors had given roughly between 1000 and 10,000 Yuan each[29)]. Other monastic economies in the TAR, such as that of 'Bras-spungs near Lhasa, also testify the importance of lay donations, which contribute about 50% of the total income (Goldstein 1998: 38, 162 note 53). Even though party or government officials and religious policies express their dislike of the traditional practice of voluntary lay donations for monasteries, this was according to my knowledge not curtailed or prevented in Shar-khog[30)].

dGa'-mal dgon-khag developed into a kind of hegemonic centre of Bon religion in this area whereas in the past the monasteries of the 'old' dGa'-mal, sKyang-tshang and Rin-spungs were renown for their eminent teachers and monastic practices. Shes-rab mthar-phyin, a former *dge bshes* from sKyang-tshang monastery, was elected and officially recognized as the only abbot 'on duty' of the association's monastery and all the later on rebuilt Bonpo monasteries and their monks in Shar-khog. He and his manager are also closely linked to state religious institutions and hierarchy on the county and prefectural level through payed official religious and political posts. Thus the former association of the five monasteries turned – at least structurally – into a kind of state controlled monastic centre. A new administrative structure was instituted at dGa'-mal dgon-khag (and all reconstructed Tibetan monasteries), the 'Democratic Management Committee' (Chin. si guan hui), consisting of thirteen elected monastic members. Former Bonpo monks and teachers of the monastic association of Shar-khog together with new novices, and the aid of the former's memory and surviving religious texts, started to establish monastic assemblies and rituals[31)].

At the very beginning of the 1980s, the monastic festival of *'cham* which used to be performed by the former 'old' dGa'-mal monastery as part of its sMon-lam festival, was revived as a collective ritual of the whole monastic association. It was performed at the time of New Year, traditionally the most important festival time (*dus chen*) in Tibetan societies. The *Mun gsal cho ga* is nowadays performed from the 9th to the 14th day of the first Tibetan month

with a public *'cham* performance on the 15th at dGa'-mal dgon-khag.

In the same monastery a second public *'cham* performance was organized on the date of the former summer retreat for the monks of the monastic association – the dByar-nas dus-chen (also called *Ma tri cho ga*). Also derived from the ritual calendar of the former 'old' dGa'-mal monastery was the popular earth-ox divination (*sa glang*) – a kind of annual almanac and weather prognostic traditionally performed by the monks of that monastery. In 1983 Shar-ba farmers themselves had asked the monks for its revival. In winter and summer the two public *'cham* performances were staged by the monks of the entire association: they were chosen according to their former monastic membership to perform certain dances. Those dancers were assembled together to form a whole performance at dGa'-mal dgon-khag. These two communal events became quite popular, attracting crowds of lay people across Shar-khog and from some neighboring regions (such as Khod-po and Chu-nag). Interestingly, many lay donations at dGa'-mal dgon-khag were given before or at the time of New Year. The timing of donations money to the monastery is of significance because the donors are honoured in turn by monks during the *'cham* performance in ways which I will describe below.

In 1985 dGa'-mal dgon-khag started a monastic college (*sgrub grwa*) with 40 young monk students from Shar-khog villages participating. They studied with elder monks on the basis of the pool of collected traditions from the former five monasteries. From 1982 onwards however, religious policies unexpectedly also allowed the reconstruction of the former five member monasteries of the association. Consequently, in the second half of the 1980s a lot of monks preferred to return to or stay at their local village monastery where most of them could live more comfortably together with their families (as was partly the tradition before). Additionally, state religious policies only permit monks who are not permanent students to gather at the monastery for specific monastic assemblies and rituals. Otherwise they are supposed to engage in 'productive labor'.

Next to the new study group of the monastic association of dGa'-mal dgon-khag, the monasteries of Rin-spungs and the rebuilt 'old' dGa'-mal monastery were also able to reestablish their study groups with permanent students. Members of the other three monastic communities assemble only once or twice a month and otherwise stay at home with their families. With the absence of many monks, lay support for dGa'-mal dgon-khag declined considerably after 1986. However, as before 1957, the traditional reciprocal link between affiliated lay community and local monastery regained its former strength and socio-religious significance.

Even though 'revival' actually meant a considerably reduced monastic ritual calendar - mainly due to the lack of resources, monastic teachers or

religious texts -, the public *'cham* festivals with their week long ritual were reestablished annually according to the five monasteries' specific traditional calendars. Additionally, in order to maintain the association as a whole, the monks of the five member monasteries were obliged now to participate not only in their own reestablished monastic rituals and assemblies but additionally in the bi-annual performances of *'cham* at dGa'-mal dgon-khag. This meant an annual double effort and expense for all the members of the monastic federation including their lay sponsors. These augmented demands led to an increasing absence of monks and lay audience at dGa'-mal dgon-khag upto the year 1996, and to a kind of competition for sponsorship between it and the individual monasteries.

4. Present forms of sponsorship in the performance of *'cham*

Among the now six present Bonpo monasteries of Shar-khog[32)] forming the association there are slightly different ways of publicly honouring sponsors during and after a *'cham* performance. Compared to the past nowadays any sponsors are colloquially referred to as 'throne-holders' (*khri pa*)[33)]. Before 1957 this term was used exclusively for the religious authorities in charge of organizing and carrying out the annual festival for the whole of the monastic association. In comparison to the general Tibetan term *sbyin bdag*, literally 'master of the gift', a lay person being called *khri pa*, 'one of the throne', implies status increase and a high position in the seating order or ranking. This could be interpreted as a secularization of the former term or an increase in the present status of lay sponsors in Shar-khog, possibly due to the lack of other monastic resources such as trade investment. According to state religious policies and in contrast to the past monks are not allowed to ask lay people for donations. Presently there are many more voluntary sponsors than there used to be, however each donates less money than in the past. Nowadays between 26 and 40 sponsors are publicly honoured in each of five different *'cham* performances in Shar-khog's Bon monasteries. A Shar-ba informant stated in a matter-of-fact way that this might be really a sign of present-day 'democratisation'. *'Cham* sponsors in the association's dance performances at dGa'-mal dgon-khag were treated differently in the year 1996, a fact which I will discuss later in detail.

However, the ways in which a sponsor is honoured nowadays is very similar when compared to the past. Generally speaking the extraordinary way in which the donor is honoured in Shar-khog becomes clearer when compared to other Bon monasteries near-by (for example in mDzod-dge) or to neighboring Buddhist monasteries. A sponsor will first of all receive a blessed protection cord (*srung mdud*), a welcoming scarf and a receipt (*'byor lan*, or

chin. fapiao – both terms are colloquially used) for his donation, which is a kind of certificate written in beautiful Tibetan letters. Usually the transactions are done by the manager (*gnyer pa*) and members of the Democratic Management Committee. For each 400 Yuan (sometimes 500 Yuan) the sponsor will receive an empowered victory banner (*rgyal mtshan*) from the monastery. During the *'cham* performance they are attached to the front of the assembly hall and the veranda of guests and sponsors facing the dance ground. The banners were consecrated (*rab gnas*) beforehand. Sponsors believe in their personal protective power[34)]. By counting the victory banners being displayed during the performance the *'cham* audience will also know how much money was donated to the monastery on this occasion. In fact the amounts of money donated comprise a big part of the monastery's annual income [Plate 1].

During *'cham* performances the sponsors are seated separately from the audience – either on a veranda overlooking the dance ground or – probably due to their number – in a special tent put up for them at one side of the monastery's court yard [Plates 2 and 3]. There they are served by monks with tea, alcohol and sweets. Also, they actively take part in the performance, publicly venerating and making offerings (*mchod pa 'bul*) to the dancing deities by entering the dance ground. Guided by one or two monks holding a bowl with grains and incense, the sponsors will throw grains over the dancers embodying protective deities and tie *kha btags* onto them [Plate 4]. Highly venerated is the 'Queen of the Universe', Srid-pa rgyal-mo, leading the nine protective Bon deities who are generally represented in Bonpo ritual dances [Plate 5]. Black Hat dancers (*zhwa nag*) are venerated as well. They are usually interpreted by monks as belonging to the retinue of a tutelary deity (*yi dam* Phur-pa, Khro-bo, dBal-gsas or Ma-rgyud). Otherwise, some sponsors have a predilection for a certain figure, such as the snow lion (*seng ge*), and will venerate him accordingly. His appearance is thought of as very auspicious in Shar-khog.

After, and occasionally even still during, the performance one or several sponsors will be accompanied back home by three to five monks (if it is close by), either on foot or by vehicle [Plates 6 and 7]. As in the past, a couple of monks will play the *rgya gling* to honour him, others will carry the victory banner(s) which will be hung from the ceiling of the sponsor's private domestic chapel [Plate 8]. One sponsor told me that he believes the empowered victory banners to be a personal protection for him and his family. At the sponsor's house the monks read special scriptures for him and his family for his long life, prosperity, good luck and fortune. Sponsors might also be specially invited to the monastery on the next day, where they will be hosted by a group of monks providing food and drinks for them in a tent, and where scriptures will be recited for their well-being collectively [Plate 9][35)].

Thus, the monks who guide and help the sponsors in their offerings to and veneration of the embodied deities also act as mediators between the laity and the retinue of the highest *yi dam*. They re-enact 'on stage' and in a ritualized form their traditional role as ritual specialists in Tibetan societies. At the same time the sponsors and their offering activities are focused upon repeatedly during the dance performance. They become an integral part of the whole ritual performance, i.e. their actions and role become ritualized. They display the idealised lay person, giving donations to the monastery thereby earning merit in more than one way: for their own and the entire community's sake, enabling the ritual performance which in itself is a meritorious act. Publicly monks acknowledge and honour them while the audience is watching them. Through the sponsor's offerings to the monk dancers, both deities and monks as their embodiments become additionally the object and focus of public veneration.

5. Some 'reinventions' of tradition in ritualized sponsorship

Quite different from present-day individual practices of Bon monasteries in Shar-khog, as described so far, sponsorship at the new monastery of dGa'-mal dgon-khag was restructured anew in 1996. Modelled after the former annual ritual rotation practised for ten years from 1947 until 1957, the association's obligatory system of participation for the five member monasteries became reestablished under the authority of its abbot and manager. Each of the five member monasteries was obliged now to perform the two *'cham* rituals at dGa'-mal dgon-khag once every five years by themselves, in addition to their own local monastic calendar events. As in 1947, in 1996 Rin-spungs monastery again started the ritual rotation, but this time they performed the sMon-lam at the site of dGa'-mal dgon-khag. Now this obligation had been reinforced by a fining system of 100 Yuan to be paid by every non-excused and non-attending monk and also for non-attending household representatives from the supporting lay villages of Rin-spungs. This ensured the attendance of monk performers and lay audience. While imposing a fine in case of the monks' absence is a traditional method of ensuring participation in assemblies and rituals, the laity's fine is a newly applied method in Shar-khog[36)]. Consequently, the new (post 1980) monastery of dGa'-mal dgon-khag which had no traditional supporting villages, succeeded to move twice a year into the centre of attention and gain support from various sponsors throughout Shar-khog, as well as by one of the five monasteries on duty, and their village household representatives of their *lha sde*.

In 1996, the New Year dance performance at dGa'-mal dgon-khag

attracted the largest audience for many years. Rin-spungs monks received about 5 Yuan per day for reciting the ritual texts inside the assembly hall of dGa'-mal dgon-khag, while meals were provided by their families. On the 15th day of the first Tibetan month the monks from Rin-spungs performed a rather short version of their *'cham* dances at dGa'-mal dgon-khag – only four short and hastily performed dances out of their usual repertoire of twelve. Even though there were many more sponsors who had donated money to dGa'-mal dgon-khag, during the dances only four individual sponsors were publicly honoured in the usual way on the dance ground by the Rin-spungs monks, and hosted on the veranda and in the tea house. There was no need to erect a separate tent for them.

In contrast to this, the lay audience coming especially from the four supporting villages of Rin-spungs monastery, onto who the fine in case of absence was newly imposed, elaborately celebrated the event most of the time outside the dGa'-mal monastic compound. Rin-spungs and A-stong village men who arrived by horse a day before the public performance first did a collective pilgrimage (*gnas skor*) around the sacred Bon mountain Byang Bya-dur – again a new invention. [Plate 10] I had watched them on the day before the *'cham* performance riding up the road along the Zing-chu river on their well appointed horses. Like a caravan in the good old days – one could imagine – they proudly sang songs together, sometimes they stopped for a picnic. Some of them had rifles over their shoulders – a rather rare sight these days where it is generally forbidden to possess or to wear guns in public. These collective sponsors then appeared shortly before the actual *'cham* performance on the dance ground, standing in a row in order to venerate the deities inside the assembly hall. [Plate 11].

The other two sponsoring villages of Rin-spungs monastery, Bar-rong and A-gling, had come up together on private trucks, mini buses or tractors pulling trailers full of people - men and women together. Before the *'cham* performance started the Democratic Management Committee of Rin-spungs monastery, asked by the manager of dGa'-mal dgon-khag, had addressed the officers and elected headmen of their affiliated villages (Chin. cun zheng) to support the monk's ritual performance at dGa'-mal dgon-khag. The office of the next higher village federation level (Chin. xiang zheng fu) and the party secretary (Chin. shu ji) were informed and asked for approval. The village headmen and some helpers from the *khrim pa* group (an internal, traditional village organization with rotating duty among household groups to protect crops from damage by grazing animals) organized the transport of the Rin-spungs monks and then of the villagers to ferry them to this rather remote place. They had helped to supervise the participation of their local monks and lay household representatives by implementing the fining system.

Arriving at dGa'-mal in the course of the morning of the 15th day of the

1st Tibetan month, each of four affiliated villages of Rin-spungs monastery gathered in big circles in front of the monastic compound. It was an impressive sight and monks and other lay people stood at a distance watching this spectacle. The relaxed celebratory atmosphere of a folk festival prevailed. According to my informants this was the first time this had ever happened in Shar-khog. Formerly, there were no such 'folk' gatherings alongside a monastic dance performance. Everybody was dressed in their best robes and showed off with what they had — spherical amber pieces adorned women's heads like golden crowns, belts with appliqued Chinese silver dollars and heavy coral necklaces embellished their woollen chuba which might be trimmed with expensive otter or sometimes even leopard skins. Also beautiful horses and guns were shown off. Village elders and party secretaries gave speeches in traditional ways, standing in the middle of one circular assembly holding a *kha btags* and some alcohol (*arak*), which was offered. Men and sometimes women performed different row and circle dances while singing [Plate 12]. The Bar-rong villagers had brought a huge *g-yag* mask along and young men took turns at performing the *g-yag* dance to accompanying rhythmical instruments. A-gling villagers took a snow lion mask along and some of them performed a special dance called *di srag* – a kind of New Year dance which also used to be performed at the end of the once important pilgrimage circuit around Shar Dung-ri[37)]. Shortly before noon the manager of the monastic association appeared on the scene with some helpers carrying boxes of liquor and *kha btags*. They called for the headmen and party secretaries of the supporting villages of Rin-spungs monastery in order to thank them for their support in organizing the transport and imposing the fining system for attendance [Plate 13]. They formed a fifth small circle in the middle of the four big ones.

Also, specially invited guests were arriving: members of the Religious Affairs Office from Songpan, some police and Public Security officers, even a camera team from Songpan TV were invited to have a seat in the upper room of the tea-house, called the 'manager's house' (*bdag gnyer khang*). Members of the association's Democratic Management Committee were entertaining them there to sweets and drinks. They also each received a *kha btags* and a *srung mdud*, and sat on the veranda overlooking the dance ground during the *'cham* performance, formerly the exclusive place of honour reserved for the sponsors. However, later on during the *'cham* performance the individual sponsors were invited to sit on the veranda as well.

Shortly before the *'cham* started a long queue of about sixty male villagers lined up in front of the assembly hall of dGa'-mal dgon-khag. Elders were first in the line and the younger ones behind them. They were the collective sponsors from Rin-spungs and A-stong villages, waiting to donate some money and venerate the empowered statues inside the assembly hall.

They took their hats off and threw the *rlung rta* into the air. To 'meet' (*mjal ba*) the empowered statues of rNam-par rgyal-ba, sTon-pa gShen-rab and Byams-ma (*lha sku gsum*) as well as the '1000 Buddhas' (*lha sku stong*) was their main concern. By touching their forehead at the statues' feet they would receive an empowerment (*byin brlabs*) from them in turn.

In the mean time, some monks had started to draw a circle with chalk onto the dance ground. Additionally, a foot path adorned with auspicious symbols was marked leading from the abbot's house to the assembly hall, and another one with flowers joined the manager's house to the dance circle. The latter was used as a designated path for the sponsors of the *'cham*. After the monastic orchestra took its position in the 'house of the drum beating' (*rnga gral khang*) and started to play, ten Black Hat dancers appeared one by one out of the assembly hall and danced inside the circle on the dance ground (*'cham ra*). All of a sudden a group of rather young lay people passed by the dance ground with a lion dancer accompanied by loud drum and cymbal beats. It appeared like a kind of counter demonstration of lay pleasures vis-à-vis the serious *'cham* performance. (They were villagers affiliated with Rin-spungs monastery onto whom the fining system had been imposed.) During the two most important ritual dances – the so-called Black Hat dance and the dance of the protector deities – four individual male sponsors were guided by three monks onto the dance ground. Among them was a wealthy merchant and a monk sponsor. They were first accompanied to the tea-house, and then venerated the dancing Black Hats and protector deities in the usual way. During the festival the merchant stayed about three days in the abbot's private house - a traditional practice and sign of honour in turn for his generous donations.

Only nearing the end of the ritual did most of the audience come up to the monastic dance ground to watch the ritual dance of the nine protector deities (*gShen rab dgu 'cham*) and to participate in the final expulsion of evil when a ritual weapon (*zlog pa*) was cast out of the monastery. [Plate 14] After this, outside the monastic compound, the riders from Rin-spungs and A-stong villages mounted their horses. Led by two riders holding up victory banners as a sign of their collective sponsorship and cooperation in attending the *'cham*, they sang and circumambulated the whole monastic compound together. Then they proudly gallopped off towards their villages [Plate 15]. The other two supporting villages again formed circles outside the monastery and then went back home. The procession of the monks and dancers who had followed the ritual weapon outside, was still awaiting the return of the monks who had done the final part of the expulsion ritual (*gtor rgyag*, 'casting the *gtor ma*') when the audience had already left. Then the monks turned back to their monastery where they did a final concluding rite, almost unattended by any audience.

Conclusion

By implementing the former rotational duty among the five monasteries, using a fining system, and targeting the New Year and the summer *'cham* at dGa'-mal dgon-khag in 1996, its management had succeeded in attracting many more people than in the previous ten years. Thus, dGa'-mal dgon-khag was able to draw attention to its very existence as the main centre of the Bon religion among the Shar-ba Bonpo community. It reaffirmed its role as the most centralised and state approved Bon monastic institution in this area. While the individual sponsors were treated in traditional ways during the *'cham* performance, the presence of the collective supporters, i.e. the affiliated villages of Rin-spungs, appeared as a new innovation.

It appeared to me that the supporting villages whose presence was required at dGa'-mal reacted and orchestrated their gatherings basically by themselves: inside and outside the monastic compound they not only did offerings to and venerated the deities but independently celebrated the event most of the time together with folk dances outside the monastery. All of this however happened under the watching eyes of government officials: the proud firing off and showing off with guns at the rather chaotic culminating explusion rite seemed more like a mock battle by the Shar-ba men – to show not only their devotion to their religion but to give a statement about their ethnic identity – to themselves, to the monks and to the government officials.

In contrast to this new arrangement in dGa'-mal dgon-khag, sponsors in the five individual Bonpo monasteries of the association appeared numerous and were all treated equally during the performance. Seperately seated from the official guests in tents or on a veranda they nevertheless received a traditional recognition for their generosity from the monks. That sponsors nowadays choose to support the monastery in this way may have two implications: the traditional importance of gaining prestige and merit through religious sponsorship seems to still be highly valued and socially recognized; and supporting a cultural display of local religious and ethnic identity vis-à-vis themselves and the Chinese state ideology.

During the performance this temporary power is enacted side by side with the spiritual authority of the monks – the monastic dance performance is a socio-cultural event and collective ritual at the same time. The organization, financing and performance of it presupposes, enacts and thereby re-affirms the traditional socio-religious and economic links between affiliated villages and their monastery and between individuals and the community, thus recreating their unity. The performance of *'cham* in Shar-khog also functions as a crucial means for monastic subsistence and as we have seen, for reconstituting the monastic association of the five monasteries and their affiliated villagers. By requiring both lay participation and sponsorship the

ritual performance re-structures the social relationship between monks and laity. It publicly connects the past to the present through the traditionalizing effect of annually reiterating the religious cosmology and the monastic hierarchy, which in turn ensures its legitimation and redemptive hegemony: the annual purification for the whole community through an exorcistic rite carried out by the monks proves this. Sponsors and audience also acknowledge by their very presence certain moral values: the celibacy of monks institutionalised through the monastery and their Tantric practice still grants their spiritual (and social) power through which they are believed to successfully perform the ritual of expulsion and thereby communal purification and protection. As my informants stated, monks behaviour in Shar-khog is still commonly regarded as a social indicator of the whole community's morality and upkeep of traditional values.

From the monastic perspective the public dance performances are a Tantric method of spiritual realisation and regarded as an offering (*mchod gar*) to the protective deities for their protection. This is the immediate context in which sponsors are publicly recognized and honoured by the monks. Sponsorship is ritualized during the dance performance in a hierarchical way that differentiates the sponsors from the audience by positioning them into marked locations of honour and prestige invested with spiritual power, i.e. height (veranda, former 'seats of height') and of ritual space (entering the dance ground during the performance, i.e. the realm of protector deities, and venerating them). Generous sponsors are further differentiated from the audience by being publicly credited with religious icons of power – the victory banners held up high for everybody to notice during the *'cham* – according to the amount of donations given by them, and furthermore the ritual *rgya gling* music, usually reserved for high ranking monks or gods. Auspiciousness, prosperity and good luck are granted to the sponsors and to their family through recited prayers of the monks in a kind of reciprocal gift exchange for their donations. All of this contributes to the heightened prestige of the sponsors – in Bourdieu's terms, they have accumulated 'symbolic capital'.

Are there points of conflict concerning sponsorship?

A report of the Religious Affairs Office of Songpan generalises the former system of sponsorship of Tibetan monasteries without any local distinction as being 'forced' onto the lay community in form of taxes and other strategies (*SFG* 1987: 44) and uses this as an argument for the present-day religious policy that monasteries should provide their own income mainly through 'service industry', i.e. to engage in tourism by selling entrance tickets, butter tea and paraphernalia to tourists, in order to be self-maintaining and financially independent from the laity. In reality this is neither wished for

nor found necessary by any Tibetans adhering to their traditions and also unrealistic or even damaging if monasteries want to continue their monastic disciplines and education. Also, monks are forbidden by law to ask lay people directly for donations. An additional control is instituted through the Democratic Management Committees in each monastery which have to lay open monastic accounts of income and expense to the next higher state religious institution, the Religious Affairs Office, which in turn is connected to the party organ of the 'United Front' (Chin. tong zang bu). The 'Buddhist Association' (Chin. fujiao xiehui, Tib. Nang-bstan mthun-tshogs) watches over the 'correct' implementation of the policies on 'religious freedom'. As with most restricting policies those are flexible terms which depend very much on local interpretation and implementation, such as the Chinese state's differentiation and definitions of 'superstition' and 'religion'. In general though monks are expected to engage in 'productive labor' at home except for the time of religious gatherings. It is the latter which are among the first monastic practices to be revived. They give the monastery a traditional opportunity for gathering lay donations which is also sanctified by state religious policies. While voluntary lay donations to monasteries don't fit state religious ideologies, they are however not prevented from happening.

However, we can expect a more radical change of local Tibetan customs and their display in Shar-khog because of the state's increasing promotion of tourism in ethnic areas[38)]. In the 'new' monastery of dGa'-mal dgon-khag there were already thoughts about 're-establishing' a new ritual display of butter sculptures at the time of the celebration of mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (mNyam-med dus-chen) in order to attract more visitors. A more serious impact onto monastic practices would probably be a loss of interest in traditional status symbols and ways of gaining prestige through the influence of modern Chinese education, ideas and values. Young Shar-ba sometimes live far away from home in big Chinese cities such as Chengdu or Lanzhou. They might not be interested anymore in sponsoring local monastic rituals in their home villages when they come to visit.

Nevertheless in Shar-khog in 1996, not only old Shar-ba male householders but entire families representing all generations did participate in the annual *'cham* performances, and sons would literally follow their father's foot-steps in sponsoring the communal monastic rituals. Also, many Shar-ba families support one son becoming a monk at their local monastery: they support him to study and maintain a religious tradition which lies at the heart of their local ethnic identity and moral. Local Shar-ba villagers as well as those living mostly in towns still were engaged in giving donations for religious edifices such as stupas, or would buy prestigious (and expensive) Bonpo *bKa' 'gyur* editions. Even though the meanings of traditional world view, values and beliefs might have shifted considerably through the impact

of colonialism and modernity, the conscious revival of local customs and religious practices – even though modified in parts – shows that these are still important and socially powerful icons of religious and ethnic identity, consciously chosen by the Shar-ba to counterbalance the ideology of the state.

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Notes

1) 'Ritualization' is understood here as a 'stipulated' and 'socially and culturally institutionalized' act, characterized by a 'ritual commitment' (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 154).
2) This feature also applies to other Tibetan communities (see Watkins 1996: 246) and is also evident in Tibetan school sponsorship in this area (Upton 1996: 104, 114).
3) See for example Goldstein (1998: 38, 162 note 53)
4) Shar-ba speak a local Amdo dialect called *shar skad*. Exactly how many Shar-ba there are today can be only estimated via Tibetan population data per district (Chin. qu), for neither Bonpo nor Shar-ba Tibetans figure in those terms in the Chinese Census of 1990 (see under Zhanglaqu: 6449 Tibetans, Songchenqu: 6230 Tibetans, Rewugoqu: 4841 Tibetans, in *SNR* 1992: 26/27, 32/33). Before 1958 dMu-dge bSam-gtan estimated about 3000 Shar-ba families as living in the area of the 'seven head men of Zung-chu' (Zung-chu'i 'Go-khag bdun) which roughly can be identified with the area of Shar-khog (1987: 303, 304). Basically they live in the area between the two holy Bonpo mountains Shar Dung-ri and Byang Bya-dur with the Bonpo heartland along the main river valley of Zung-chu (or Zing-chu, Chin. Min Jiang). I estimate their number today around 15,000.
5) A rather late Tibetan monastic history of the important Bon monastery of rNga-ba sNang-zhig dates the introduction of Bon religion in Shar-khog back to

a son of Do-'phags sNang-zhig chen-po spreading the faith in this area in the 11th century (Kvaerne 1990: 212f).

6) Clarke translates this term with 'material prosperity' which certainly is part of the term's meaning however misses the relational link between lay participant (officiant or onlooker), offerings and the god's power (1989).
7) For examples see Clarke 1991, Diemberger and Hazod (1997: 267), Li-Anche (1994: 146,147), Paljor Tsarong (1987: 150-160). Also non-monastic communal rituals, such as the *glu rol* in Reb-skong, can be based on similar rotational obligations among villages and reinforced by fines (see Epstein and Wenbin 1998: 121).
8) In the case of the important Bon monastery of rNga-ba sNang-zhig, for example, a systematized organization in the form of ordained monks and a supporting lay community which was taxed by having to provide sons and food and firewood to the monastery on a regular basis, did probably develop at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The lama who initiated this system did so after having visited Central Tibet where a lot of monasteries imposed taxes onto their surrounding lay communities (Kvaerne 1990: 214, 220).
9) According to the *Zing chu dkar chag* their full names are: Rin-spungs bKra-shis smin-grol-gling; Chin. Linbosi; dPal gShen-bstan dGa'-mal g-yung-drung dar-rgyas-gling (or sTod-pa dgon-pa), Chin. Gamisi or Chachasi which I will henceforth call the 'old' Gamel monastery; dPal gshen-bstan sKyang-tshang Phun-tshogs dar-rgyas-gling, Chin. Shanbasi; mDo-smad sNang-zhig gSer-khang rNam-rgyal kun-grags-gling, Chin. Duihesi; lCags-mdud (sNa-steng) bKra-shis g-yung-drung-gling, Chin. Yuanbasi.
10) On another form of ritual rotation among Ladakhi monasteries see Paljor Tsarong (1987: 140, note 1).
11) However Tafel who had traveled in the Songpan area at the beginning of the 20th century reports that in the side valley of 'Mao niu gu' (Chin. Mounigou; Khrom-rje, or Khrom 'go-ba'i sa) and 'Karlong' (Zhang-ngu khog?) – where Shar-ba Tibetans live who are mainly Buddhist – there existed a kind of corvee labor for the Tibetans which had to be performed by order of Chinese administred Songpan under the rule of the Sichuan governor (1914(2): 266).
12) Similarly but on the scale of the Central Tibetan state before 1959 the sponsorship of big rituals was one of the major factors for ascending in rank (Huber 1999: 159-161).
13) On the tea trade of the Shar-ba see *SXZ* 1967 (1924), *AZW* 1986, vol.4, and Baimacuo 1994.
14) See the monastic history of the 'old' Gamel monastery (dGa'-mal gYung-drung dar-rgyas-gling) translated by Huber (1998: 203-206). The New Year festival of sMon-lam chen-mo culminating in *'cham* dances was introduced at this monastery at about the turn of the century by two eminent Bonpo scholars – one of them being the mKhar-yags mkhas-pa bsTan-'dzin ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (dates?)- who had studied at the Central Tibetan monastery and centre of learning and debate gYung-drung-gling. Even after the Communist takeover the abbot of sKyang-tshang, bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, was able to add a new summer retreat holiday (*dbyar ka dus chen*) for the monastic association at the

hermitage of Brag gYung-drung-kha situated at the holy mountain of Byang Bya-dur in 1954. Hor-ba A-khu (Hor-btsun bsTan-'dzin blo-gros rgya-mtsho, 1888-1975) was able to introduce monastic debate in 1955 for the monastery of sKyang-tshang and sNa-steng. For more details on the founding of hermitages and dialectic schools see Huber 1998.

15) For the Bya'phur lineage see Kvaerne (1990 and 1995: 132,3). This renown monastery is said to have a branch monastery in Shar-khog (Kvaerne 1990: 218). However, there were divergent opinions among present monastic authorities in Shar-khog about whether sNang-zhig and sNa-steng monasteries actually are branch monasteries (*dgon lag*) of rNga-ba sNang-zhig or not.

16) Khri-skyang or Khri-spyang is an old name for Shar-khog which might be related either to the Bonpo sage Gyer-mi sKyang-'phags chen-po who according to local tradition revealed treasures and founded monastic seats in Shar-khog in the 12th century as claimed in the monastic history of dGa'-mal gYung-drung-gling (Huber 1998: 189, note 21), and/ or to a name given to the upper settlement area of six former batallions of the Tibetan empire (*stod khri skyang gsum, smad yu ti gsum*) (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 283).

17) These details and the following description are taken out of the history of the association of dGa'-mal dgon-khag, *Zing chu bya dur dga' mal dgon chen nam / dpal gshen bstan kun khyab bde chen gling gi dkar chag lung rig chu shel dbang po'i bdud rtsi'i rgyun shes bya ba bzhugs pa legs so,* in *Zing chu dkar chag* (1993: 51,8-66).

18) It is not mentioned why after about 70 years the plan to build a monastic association was taken up again at that time. One can only speculate that there must have been first of all enough resources to undertake it and probably political pressure from the Chinese side must have increased and called for some kind of unification of the different Shar-ba federations, at least in religious terms.

19) All this information on the *khri pa* and some of the following on former sponsorship I owe to Samten Karmay (personal communication).

20) The duration of the ritual varied according to the individual monastery. In sKyang-tshang it lasted for three weeks, in sNa-steng for two (Samten Karmay, personal communication).

21) As Tsering Thar has noted, the system of rotating rituals among a group of certain temples (*gsas khang*) of Bonpo tantric practitioners is also practised in Reb-skong. The annual rituals of spring and autumn are performed for the whole Bon-mang. Next to this rotation the organization of the ritual gatherings is undertaken by an annually elected 'throne-holder' (*khri pa*) who during any ritual assemblies is honoured by a special throne throughout the year (Tsering Thar 1998: 8, 9).

22) Different numbers of monks of the monastic association are given in different sources: sNang-zhig had about 200 (Kvaerne 1990: 218), sKyang-tshang 150 (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 48), sNa-steng around 70 (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 46). The Chinese report of the Religious Affairs office lists all together 548 monks for dGa'-mal dgon-khag. Compared to this number the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of dMu-dge had about 480 monks at that time (*SFG* 1987: 31). A very unlikely figure is given in the *AZZ* (1994(3): 2536) with 1520 monks as members of the association. A local informant spoke of formerly 1200 monks of the

association.

23) In Shar-khog however monks would switch forth and back between monastic and lay life – only few of them were actually celibate (thus called *gser sku*, "the golden ones").

24) According to Chinese sources *SXZ* 1967 (1924) and *AZW* 1986 (4: 10-15). There is a remarkable parallel in the Sherpa area described by Ortner (1989) on temple foundations and an increase in trade.

25) Such statements have to be treated with care because of the obvious political intentions of Chinese colonialists to depict the monasteries as exploiters and use this as an argument for their contemporary religious policies. However, it seems that the wealthy family background of monastic managers often facilitated their search for a sponsor.

26) In connection with this former Buddhist royal insignium of a victory banner and the person of the 'householder donor' (*sbyin bdag*, Skt. *dānapati*), one is tempted to connect it to the traditional relationship between the royal donor (*yon bdag*) and his spiritual preceptor (*mchod gnas*) (Ruegg 1997).

27) See Huber (1998: 182-184).

28) Concerning the amount of state support for the reconstruction of the monasteries, ironically monasteries with former land possessions who used to receive taxes from local villagers (such as the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of dMu-dge) were compensated for their loss accordingly while the landless Bon monasteries got much less compensation (see *SFG* 1987: 37).

29) In relation to these amounts the estimated average annual per capita netto rural income in Songpan County in 1992 was only around 772 Yuan according to the China Nationalities Economy 1993 compared to town dweller's income in 1994 of about 2,117 Yuan according to the Statistical Yearbook of Sichuan 1995 (in Marshall and Cooke 1997: 1213). These figures seem either not applicable to the average Shar-ba family income who even nowadays appear to be more prosperous than many of their neighbors, or it could indicate that there must be again a considerable surplus of money. A Chinese article by Zhang Jianshi and Shi Suo about sKyang-tshang village notes several families with 10,000 Yuan and more 'household wealth' (which however is not annual income) in 1989 (1992: 102). I am indebted to Janet Upton for this material and her translation.

30) Like Goldstein regarding 'Bras-spungs, I could not find any evidence in Shar-khog to support Schwartz's report on restrictions or even prohibitions of lay donations given to monasteries by implemented government policies (see Schwartz 1994: 67, 68). Furthermore, despite my repeated questions about possible implemented restrictions concerning the reestablishment possibilities, amount and size of monastic rituals, or concerning limitations for the general admission of monks of a monastery, I always got a negative answer. Instead I was told that the monasteries were quite free to do these things as long as they informed the Religious Affairs Office for approval. Whereas I know about restrictions concerning admissions of new *sprul sku* and the number of ordained monks, it is clear that in general the monastic calendar of rituals and monastic education is very much limited - in my understanding rather due to scarce local resources of teachers, ritual texts and finances than through government restrictions.

31) In 1996 I found that with the exception of sKyang-tshang – whose site of power seems to have shifted to the new monastery of dGa'-mal dgon-khag together with the association's abbot and manager coming originally from this monastery (let alone the abbot of sMan-ri monastery in exile, Ven. Sangye Tenzin Jongdong, coming from this monastery) – the other four reconstructed member monasteries of the association had about the same amount of monk members than as the past. Concerning sKyang-tshang monastery a Chinese statistic indicates that only about one third of the families (instead of traditionally all) did have monks as family members (Zhang Jianshi and Shi Suo 1992: 104).
32) The reconstruction of a seventh monastery is about to be completed. This is the rebuilt gTso-tshang dgon-pa and is situated in Shar-khog in the town of Chuanchusi at the road junction leading to Huanglong in the East and Hongyuan in the West.
33) Only monks from the old dGa'-mal monastery did object to this colloquial usage of the term. They explained that this term should be exclusively reserved for 'monk sponsors' only. Several monks who acted publicly as sponsors themselves participated in *'cham* performances in Shar-khog. The majority of sponsors however belongs to the laity.
34) A victory banner (*rgyal mtshan*) being a 'sign of victory', stands for invincibility and in Bon iconography is an attribute of several deities, among them Sangs-po 'bum-khri, the procreator (Kvaerne 1995: 26,27). In Buddhist and Bon iconography alike it belongs to the eight auspicious symbols.
35) As already mentioned the monasteries in Shar-khog honour their sponsors in slightly different ways. At one monastery along side the dance ground a special tent was erected for the sponsors from the year before who were honoured again on that occasion. Men and women and children received sweets and tea from the monastery but did not receive victory banners, special gifts or receipts, nor took part in the public veneration of the deities on the dance ground.
36) In the past there seem to have existed a reinforced system for compulsory attendance of households during the *glu rol* in Reb-skong (Epstein and Wenbin 1998: 184, note 3).
37) This seems to be a specific dance of the A-gling village. Samten Karmay mentions it as a specific New Year dance (Karmay and Sagant 1998: 282).
38) Peng Wenbin has analysed the impact of tourism on the cultural practices of Tibetans from Jiuzhaigou, a neighbor region of Shar-khog (1998).

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Plate 1 Victory banners being displayed during a *'cham* performance (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 2 In the backgound: sponsors are seated on
the veranda overlooking the dance ground (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 3 Sponsors being accompanied to their special tent
(Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 4 Sponsors tie *kha-rtags* onto a young monk dancer embodying the Bon protector deity Grags-pa Seng-ge
(Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 5 The highest Bon protector goddess, the "Queen of the Universe", Srid-pa'i rGyal-mo (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)





Plates 6 and 7 Monks accompany the sponsors to their home
(Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 8 A victory banner hung up in a sponsor's private chapel (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 9 Collective reading of scriptures for the well-being of the sponsors and their families (Photographed by Katia Buffetrille, 1986)



Plate 10 Collective sponsors of *'cham* coming from the pilgrimage around Byang Bya-dur on their way to celebrate the *'cham* performance at dGa'-mal. (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 11 Collective sponsors waiting to venerate the deities in front of the assembly hall (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 12 Affiliated villages from the performing Rin-spungs monastery celebrate the event outside the monastic compound of dGa'-mal dGon-khag (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 13 The manager of dGa'-mal dGon-khag summons the leading village authorities to thank them for their cooperation (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 14 Shar-ba men let off firecrackers to contribute their part to the expulsion of evil forces (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)



Plate 15 Collective sponsors on their ride back home after the *'cham* performance (Photographed by Toni Huber, 1996)

Bon, Buddhist and Hindu life cycle rituals: A comparison

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Introduction

In this paper it is intended to analyse the Bon life cycle rituals as a set and point out their main characteristics by comparing them with those of several other societies. The groups that I take up for comparison are: the Newars, the Maithils and the Japanese[1]. Among them, I have either conducted research or lived as a member. Sets of life cycle rituals of those groups are listed in the Tables at the end of this paper. A list of 'classical' Hindu *saṃskāras* (life cycle rituals) is also added as the Newars and the Maithils often refer to them as an ideal.

Taking up Hindu and Buddhist life cycle rituals for comparison in this study can be justified by the close relationship of the Bon religion to Buddhism and of Buddhism to Hinduism. The reason I don't take up Iranian or other west Asian societies is solely because I have no firsthand information on them.

Expressions such as 'rites of passage' and 'life cycle rituals' tend to make us presuppose religious or supernatural connotations in matters related to the various stages of life. Needless to say, everyone experiences birth and death, and marriage is found in almost all societies. But the demarcation of life cycle stages and what connotations to give them differ from one society to another. We shall see, as a comparison, that the way the Bonpos organize life cycle stages is flexible and rather secular. This leads us to conclude that organization of life cycle stages in a religious way is not universal.

The present comparative study, as far as Bon life cycle rituals are concerned, is quite preliminary mainly because of time limitations. My field research on Bon rituals was carried out from 5th March to 25th March, 1997, and 29th July to 18th August, 1998, in the Kathmandu Valley. My main method of research this time was interviewing a Tibetan (Bonpo) who had fled Tibet and finally settled in the valley, though some data collection and observations in a Bon monastery in the Kathmandu Valley were also conducted.

Preceding works

There are two kinds of work dealing with Bonpo life cycle rituals. Those works by P. Kvaerne, M. Brauen and C. Ramble (on death rituals) are based on observation and combined with other oral and written information. On the other hand, those which study other life cycle rituals, mainly concerning birth and

marriage, tend to utilize texts written by Tibetans. The works by Samten Karmay and T. Skorupski and C. Cech and the translation of the work of Thubten Sangay by G. Kilty are examples.

I will not go into the details of these works here, but will refer to them later as needed (There are works which depend on secondary sources, to which I do not refer here).

Needless to say there are many works dealing with Tibetan Buddhists' life cycle rituals, some of which are found with annotations at the end of Skorupski and Cech's paper.

1. Bonpo life cycle rituals

Table 1 lists Bonpo life cycle rituals as described by the above mentioned informant. Tables 2 and 3 contain those of the Newars and Maithils. Table 4 is a list of 'classical' Hindu *saṃskāra*s (life cycle rituals) which are 'purification rituals' when translated literally. In Table 5 are summarlized the Japanese life cycle rituals of the Tokyo area mainly from pre-1940 surveys.

Comparing the tables, we find that most of the life cycle events of these societies, except the Bonpos, have specific names. But not many such names are found among the Bonpo life cycle rituals at least to my present knowledge. Only in those concerned with death can we find clearly named rituals among the Bonpos. For other events, I had to give descriptive titles.

Another point concerns the difference in the number of major categories. Among the Bonpos, we find only three major categories of life cycle rituals, namely Birth, Marriage and Death. However in other societies we can see more, such as Initiation, Old age etc. In some societies there are Initiation rituals conducted two or three times for both boys and girls. Among the Newars (Table 2) they are *bwaskhā* and *kaytā-pūjā* for boys, and *ihi* and *bārā taygu* for girls, while in Mithila it is *muṇḍaṇ* and *upanayan* and in Japan are found *shichigosan* and *seijin-shiki*. The absence of initiation is conspicuous among the Bonpos.

In the following, I briefly describe the life cycle events of the Bonpos and make some comparisons.

1.1. Birth

1.1.1. Bonpo Birth customs

When a woman becomes pregnant, good food like sheep, goat or yak meat is fed to her, but pig and chicken are avoided. It is said to be good for her to keep herself warm and to take a walk provided she does not fall.

There is no special midwife for assistance at the time of birth. Any kin, neighbour or friend with experience may help. It is said that the birth will become harder if the husband is present, but he may help if nobody else is available.

The umbilical cord is cut after being tied and is buried, together with the placenta, in ground near the house. No specific place is reserved for their disposal.

It is customary to put butter on the back of the top part of a baby's head until it grows to be one or one and a half years old.

There was no custom to bathe a baby or to cut its hair when the informant's family lived in Tibet. But it is said that Tibetans living in Kathmandu tend to go to hospital for delivery these days (where they bathe babies), though some don't out of fear of an operation.

After delivery, the mother changes clothes, incense is burnt and the house is purified with holy water infused with saffron and blessed with a mantra. What is emphasized most after delivery is the food which should be given to the mother and child. Everyday she eats *rda ko* (Lhasa: *rda ka*) or dough consisting of refined *rtsam pa* (ground barley flour), butter, salt and milk or water. It is also said that it is good for the mother to eat *rtsam thug* or cooked food consisting of *rtsam pa*, meat (some with bones) and dried cheese, and to drink hot butter.

A stillborn baby or a baby who has died soon after birth (even after sucking its mother's milk) is buried near a river instead of being cremated.

The mother gives *rda ko* (dough) to her child about two months after birth if the child is strong. Otherwise, the time to feed it for the first time depends on the child's strength. For feeding this food, the mother puts a small portion of it into her own mouth, softens it by chewing and then gives it to the baby using a spoon. This act of first feeding has no name and no accompanying ceremony, worship or invitation to relatives. According to the informant, the kinds of food used on such occasions are good for the health of the mother and child. In this sense, events concerning birth are quite pragmatic and not regarded as religious matters.

About one month after childbirth, the mother and child may visit a lama and ask for the child's name. The father may go without taking his child if the lama lives far away.

After eight months to one year after childbirth, the father (or another person) pierces the child's ears for putting ornaments. They consider that a man without an earring is not good. No specialist (like a barber) is there to pierce ears, nor is any lama invited for this occasion.

It was not a custom for the Bonpos to celebrate their birthday. It was not usually remembered before. But in Kathmandu nowadays, a birth certificate is given by the hospital and the birthdays are celebrated among the children of refugee families who learn about it in school.

Initiation rituals as can be seen among the Hindus do not exist among the Bonpos. But at the age of seven to ten some may enter monasteries. It is considered desirable that at least one of the family members should become a monk.

1.1.2. Comparison with other works on the Bonpo birth

Thubten Sangay writes that pregnant women should pay a visit to a lama once

a month in order to be sprinkled with holy water and request him to perform the *tshe dbang* (life-empowerment) ritual (Skorupski and Cech 1984:7), but this is not compulsory according to the present informant. This kind of difference may be attributed either to local differences or to that between lay informants and written texts[2)].

On the whole, the participation of lamas in events concerning birth is minimal. Naming is one of the rare occasions, but even for this, it is not compulsory to ask a lama. Another occasion is when bad luck like an illness afflicts the mother or child; lamas may be invited for religious treatment as such knowledge is not shared by laymen.

There are comparatively fewer specialists to deal with birth. Whereas we find midwives, astrologers, personnel to dispose of placenta or purification specialists among other groups such as the Hindus, those roles are taken up by close kin, neighbours and friends and not by specialists among the Bonpos.

Skorupski and Cech refer to the use of incense relating to the cleaning of the house and of scented water to wash a newborn baby (1984:8-9). The same materials are said to be used by the present informant. Their use no doubt points to the existence of the notion of impurity attached to delivery and birth and to the belief that the impurity can be removed by using such materials. But overall, the notion of purity versus impurity does not appear in a strong way in matters concerning birth among the Bonpos. This is especially true compared with Hindu customs. Also notable in comparison is the flexibility in choosing the time of certain life events (such as when to begin to give food other than mother's milk); unlike among the Hindus they are largely left to the judgement of the people concerned, though there are vague rules.

Events concerning birth among the Bonpos can thus be considered as flexible, pragmatic and secular.

1.2. Marriage

1.2.1. Bonpo marriage

Engagement

Among the Bonpos, any side can propose marriage. In the following, I give a description of a marriage procedure in which the initiative is taken by the groom's side.

When parents or close kin of a boy want to marry him with a certain girl, they ask a lama to make divination (*mo*) for the future couple's congeniality and to determine when to begin discussions. If a day is set for the engagement, the groom's father, paternal uncles and friends (sometimes the mother's brother) go to the girl's house taking *chang* (rice beer), Tibetan tea, ornaments of precious stones etc. which the girl's side would not accept if they were to refuse the proposal.

About twenty to thirty days later, people on the boy's side go to the girl's side with such presents as *kha btags* (auspicious white scarf), Tibetan tea, ornaments of

precious stones etc. and give them to the family members of the future bride.

A lama on the groom's side determines the wedding day also.

Wedding procession, ceremony and party

In order to fetch the bride in a procession, several people from the groom's side go to the bride's house carrying clothes, golden ornaments etc. Before they depart, a lama (lamas) prays in an altar room and the groom's parents put *kha btags* on all of them.

When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, the bride's family treat the visitors to *chang*, yoghurt, tea, *'bras sil* (rice mixed with butter, sugar, raisins, cashew nuts etc.). Then the party returns with the bride in procession. The bride joins it carrying an arrow with streamers of five colours (*mda' dar*) on her back. She takes with her *nor skal* or wedding property consisting of clothes, ornaments, utensils, carpets, cattle etc. (recently electrical gadgets also).

The bride's parents do not take part in this procession but stay at home. It is said that good luck would be lost if they leave their house. Formerly in Tibet, people used to ride in this procession on horses including the bride, but Tibetans living in Kathmandu these days use cars.

On the way to the groom's house, women on the groom's side wait in groups and sing auspicious songs at three places. A hundred to two hundred meters before the groom's house, three women stand with bowls of *chang* and *rtsam pa* and butter put in utensils. Singing auspicious songs, they give them to the bride and people in the procession.

Just before arriving at the groom's house, a man on the groom's side lets the bride grasp one end of the *kha btags* he holds and leads her to the house chanting good verses. At the same time, women on the groom's side sing songs.

Members of the groom's family give *kha btags* to all of the bride's party in front of the groom's house. The bride stands on a small carpet which has a Bon swastika drawn with barley or wheat flour. There the groom's mother gives wheat and salt to the bride, who throws them in the air. Then the former puts butter on the top hair of the latter who holds the *mda' dar.*

Gift giving and drink party (*chang sa*).

Chang sa, 'rice beer seat', not only means the drink party forming the core of the wedding, but also the whole process of the wedding. The drink party is held in a room where there is an altar for worship. When the bride enters, the people on the groom's side sing songs. The groom and the bride sit side by side (the groom takes his seat first). A bridesmaid sits next to the latter. Then the bride's kin sit. The groom's parents and kin sit on the other side. When all are seated they are served tea, *chang*, yoghurt and *'bras sil.*

Gift giving is an important part of the *chang sa*. Firstly the bride's mother's brother reads a list of *nor skal* property brought by the bride. Then the groom's kin

give gifts to the new couple, which consist of ornaments, clothes, brass utensils, money, cattle, *kha btags* etc. and are collectively called *rngan pa*. Thirdly, the groom's kin give clothes, utensils, money, *kha btags* etc. to the bride's kin. And lastly, the bride's kin give clothes, utensils, cattle, *kha btags* etc. to the groom's parents. These days, they may give chairs, tables, sofas, carpets, cupboards, etc. also.

After finishing the gift giving, they begin eating and drinking which last all day. Men also play games such as mahjong, *sbag* and *sho*, and sing songs. When the time comes to leave, guests burn incense and utter a short prayer throwing up *rtsam pa*.

In the evening of the wedding day, a Bon swastika is drawn with wheat flour on the new couple's bed and is covered by bedding. The bridesmaid helps in its preparation. The next morning, people come to see the mark destroyed.

The groom's family holds feasts on other days also inviting close kin and friends. These may continue for several days.

1.2.2. Comparison with other works on the Bonpo wedding

Samten Karmay writes about marriage rituals utilizing written texts. There he refers to seven (or eight if prayer-making is included) main parts of the marriage ritual described by Kong-spul Yon-tan rgya-mtsho in the 19th century (Karmay 1975:212-213). (Skorupski and Cech also refer to the same work (Skorupski and Cech 1984:14).) These do not clearly correspond to those of the marriage ceremony process told by the present informant. For example, it is stated that, as the fifth part, a new name is given to the bride, but this is not the case according to my informant. The procedure for a wedding in this century cited by Skorupski and Cech naturally has more aspects shared by the present material.

As we have seen above and as summarized in Table 1, the marriage process mainly consists of divination, engagement, the procession to fetch the bride, gift giving and a drink party. Important aspects observed in the process are: concern for the congeniality of the couple (and the two sides that become related), that of the property given to the bride and gifts made from each side to the other, auspiciousness expressed in the giving of *kha btags*, in the songs sung and verses uttered on several occasions and while making offerings, symbols specific to the wedding such as an arrow, the creation of a social bond between the new relatives and of course between the couple which is expressed in many procedures including the gift giving, merrymaking and a few ritualistic procedures.

As for the arrow, Samten Karmay and others refer to three arrows, stating that the first symbolizes divinity, the second manhood and the third unknown (Karmay 1975:211, Skorupski and Cech 1984:17). But my informant could remember only one arrow. Combined with a spindle referred to in the above work, they seem to have played a more important role before. But the custom of placing the spindle (on the pillow) cannot be seen today and the symbolic meaning is largely forgotten.

As a whole, the wedding today appears mainly as a social occasion in which exchange of good words, gift giving and merrymaking stand out.

1.3. Death rituals

1.3.1. Funeral

When a death occurs, the dead person's name, age, time of death, animal corresponding to the year of birth etc. are told to a lama, who makes a divination on the deceased's condition in the afterlife as well as on the necessary rituals, time and directions to carry out the corpse and the proper people to touch it. Notice of death is sent to the Rinpoche(s) with *kha btags*, money and paper on which the dead person's name is written. He (they) pray(s) in his (their) own monastery.

Family members put the dead person's cherished belongings outside of the house lest their soul should come back. Fear of the dead person's soul seems to be great among the Bonpos, as it is among other Tibetans. Lamas purify the corpse with holy water into which a prayer has been chanted and the corpse is put in a sitting position in a kind of coffin (a carton box is used as a 'coffin' in Kathmandu these days).

In order to convey their condolences, the kin, friends, etc. visit the dead person's house with money, butter lamp and incense. (They may ask other people to carry these things.) They express condolences and help prepare for rituals and meals. People other than Bonpos, even including non-Tibetans, may come for it. Ten to twelve lamas are invited to make prayers; they continue chanting sutras and making offerings for three days.

The 'coffin' on which *kha btags* is put is placed in the corner of the room facing inside. Close kin prostrate themselves twice a day in the altar room or in the room where death occurred.

For the cremation, males make preparations by piling firewood in the north-western foot of Swayambhu (a Buddhist sacred place in Kathmandu), where there is a cremation ground for Buddhists. The corpse is laid on the pyre face upwards. Unlike in Hindu custom, there is no specification about who should set it on fire, but any kin can do it. Many lamas read sutras and offer *gtor ma* to the pyre.

Into the cremation fire, lamas put numerous pieces of wood on which sutra are written, miniature umbrellas (*gdugs*) and flags (*rgyal mtshan*) as in *homa* (Hindu fire sacrifice). But my informant says that this is mostly obsolete these days.

Ashes after the cremation are gathered and thrown into a river. Some people take them to Benares. Some of the ashes are mixed with soil and bones and moulded into *tsha tsha* (hemisphericeal small images).

After returning from the cremation, people purify themselves by sprinkling holy water and by receiving incense smoke on their bodies and heads.

1.3.2. Post-mortuary rituals

In a ritual called *bdun tshigs* (literally 'segment of 7') which is performed

every week after death, the deceased's family distribute food (*rtsam pa*, sweets, etc.) to their kin and friends.

In the *bzhi dgu* ('49 days') ritual, the dead person's family put an iron pan outside the house. In this pan, they burn food (*rtsam pa*, butter, etc.) on charcoal. It is said that the dead person's soul comes to eat it. Lama(s) read sutras while playing instruments.

In the *tshogs brgya* or '100 offerings', many pieces of bread made of *rtsam pa* and *gtor ma* are offered to goddesses.

A ritual called *zhi khro* ('tranquillity and wrath') is held three days after the deathday every year, in which lamas read sutras and make offerings in the altar room. This is repeated for five to ten years). [This is said to be unique to Bon by the informant.]

The mourning period usually lasts for one year. Family members and the family of a married out woman's birthplace refrain from wearing ornaments, new clothes, playing and listening to music and holding festivities.

1.3.3. Comparison with other works on the Bonpo death rituals

C. Ramble gives a detailed description and analysis of the mortuary rites in a Bon village called Lubra in Nepal. Though there are differences between his material and the present one, such as the absence here of the rotation of the role to take care of the funeral, breaking the back of the deceased and of the absence of the Sky Burial (only cremation is done here), there are also many similarities. Placing the body in a sitting position, the existence of the notion of death pollution and making of *tsha tsha* are a few examples. Among them, I take up here the notion that the deceased's soul stays in the 'intermediate stage' for forty-nine days. Ramble refers to the deceased's forty-nine-day sojourn in *bar do* (Ramble 1982:339). My informant, who is not very explicit about the notion concerning death and tends to say 'it's better to ask a lama about it', still thinks that the deceased's soul stays in and around the house and eats what is offered for 49 days. So, offerings should be made during this period, after which it ceases to be so. Though a vessel is used for the offering, the informant denied that the spirit takes up residence there, unlike the notion in Lubra (ibid:340).

On the other hand, Kvaerne's and Brauen's description and analysis mainly concerns the part which is played by the religious specialists. What they deal with corresponds to only a small part of the list of the mortuary procedure in Table 1 here, namely that which concerns prayer.

According to Kvaerne (1985:12, 25), in the ritual which takes place before the cremation, 'the final liberation of the deceased will take place....' and 'the fact that rebirth in the six states of existence within the round of birth and death is no longer possible must be demonstrated ritually'.

Now the transcendental notion of Salvation, though people know such exists, is almost monopolized by the lamas, while lay people are mainly concerned with

forms. Thus, there prevail different levels of explanations and interpretations and some discrepancies between explanations and practice.

Concerning the rituals conducted by lamas with prayers, my informant seems to be content to leave it to religious experts. Though the explanations by specialists are clear-cut, the structuring of the rituals (which is similar to Buddhism) is not based upon such clear ideas and contains parts such as making offerings to the dead which are related to the notion of intermediate stages and the afterlife, which might not be necessary if final Salvation could be attained before cremation.

This kind of difference of knowledge-levels can also be seen in Buddhism and Hinduism. Bon religion shares it in a clearer way.

2. Life cycle rituals among the Bonpos and other peoples

If we compare the Tables and take preceding works into consideration, we can point out that among the Bonpos, births, marriages and deaths are the three occasions in which most of the life cycle events are concentrated, which is parallel to what Skorupski and Cech remarked concerning the Tibetan life cycle rituals based on written texts. An exception may be boys' initiation into monks or girls' into nuns. But this should be treated at a different level as it is not a stage passed through by everyone.

Unlike other societies listed, where there are considerable numbers of life cycle stages marking the growth, transition or transformation of a person, Tibetan Bonpos (or Tibetans in general) don't divide their lives into many named stages nor have many rituals to make demarcations in the otherwise more continuous life process. From a comparative perspective, they perform much less elaborate rituals after birth, during the growth period including puberty, or in the course of old age. When dealing with the life cycle rituals of other societies, we tend to think that it is more common to have a system of rituals to demarcate life cycle stages thickly coloured by religion. But we see here that this is not the case in Bonpo society.

Generally in rituals we can observe repetitive, symbolic, and formal actions. To a certain extent we can find them in Bonpo life cycle events also. Life cycle rituals are so organized in some societies that they, as a total set, serve to get rid of the impurity of and enhance the sacredness of the person who goes through them. A typical example is the Newar life cycle rituals (Table 2). There, the child is purified after birth and goes through an initiation before puberty which confers the child with the purity of the caste it belongs to (the child can no longer receive certain foods from other castes as he had done before). Marriage is consecrated by religion, and in the 'old age ritual' *(budhā jankwa)* an old man (or woman) is worshipped as a god. Further, in the caste societies, rituals are organized in such a way that specific roles in them are allocated to certain people who occupy specific social positions.

By contrast, ordinary human life is basically considered secular in Bonpo society, in which a contrast between the profane and sacred and between purity and impurity is not utilized so extensively in structuring the life cycle stages. This does not mean the absence of a notion of the above contrasts. They exist if we take a wider scope; a typical example is the contrast between the life of lay people and the monastic life in which initiation into sacred life and knowledge constitutes one of the important aspects. Also among the Bonpo society, there is a high flexibility in organization as well as in the way events in life take place. Only in rituals associated with death can we find a certain degree of rigidity concerning time, materials or division of roles.

3. Life cycle events and religion

The scarcity of religious colour in the Bonpo life cycle rituals is quite comparable to what Skorupski and Cech point out regarding Tibetan Buddhists' life cycle events. Though Bonpo life cycle rituals by no means totally lack religious and symbolic aspects, we can still say that they are not central to them. For example, there are acts of house purification after birth (which points to the existence of the notion of purity versus impurity), and divination by priests as regards the congeniality of the couple and the date of a wedding (see Table 1). But these are only marginal events. The wedding is not structured in such a way that worshipping deities by priests constitutes its core. Rather the worship is performed in the morning before the departure of the procession for fetching the bride and the main body of the wedding consists of gift giving, eating and drinking and merrymaking in which parties from both the bride's and groom's sides participate.

Comparative materials show that Hindu or (Newar) Buddhist rituals at birth, initiation and marriage and the Newar old age ritual are structured around the *homa* (fire sacrifice) performed by priests. In Japan, on many occasions from birth to death, people visit various religious places and it is common that they worship and make offerings to deities of different religions (Table 5). It is noted that funerals and post-mortuary rituals in Japan are strongly Buddhism oriented. This aspect shows a parallel to Tibetan customs.

If we go through the Tables from South Asia to East Asia, we notice that there are certain similarities. As pointed out, birth, marriage and death are all celebrated in some way or other, though the extent to which they are related to religion differs considerably. Among them, the ritual of feeding a child for the first time is noticeable. We can find this as *annaprāśan* in the Hindu *saṃskāraṣ* and also in the sets of life cycle rituals in Mithila. Among the Newars, it is *jā nakegu* (to feed rice). In Japan there is a ritual called *kuizome* (to eat for the first time) or *kuwashizome* (to feed for the first time). Thus, we can conceive a chain of societies in which they practise similar 'first feeding rituals'.

It is true that there is an event of feeding *rda ko* for the first time among the Bonpos. But as we have seen above, it is quite secular and not ritualistic. A contrastive case is the Newar *jā nakegu* which has a well-defined name as a ritual and, if performed in a formal way, needs the presence of a priest who worships Hindu or Buddhist deities.

Out of the above contrasts we can say that the Bonpo (or more inclusively Tibetan) life cycle rituals other than the funerals or post-mortuary rituals are not formalized and seldom have names (as events). In them, flexibility predominates over rigidity and formality and priests seldom participate in the core events. Overall they can be said to have a rather vague religious characteristics.

4. Food, preservation of culture and adaptation in a foreign land

It is normal in many societies that food plays a very important role in rituals. We can see that offering of food is quite commonplace among the Bonpos, too. However, if we look at gift giving, we notice that they don't use food so much, at least comparatively. For example the Newars have a custom of frequent exchanging of gifts after childbirth (see Table 2), which is quite foreign to Bonpo society. It is only in the post-mortuary rituals that we come across gifts of food among them. Whereas the gift exchanges among the Newars after childbirth serve to strengthen affinal relations, in Bonpo society, it is during the wedding that gifts are exchanged and both parties associate closely in a long feast.

The symbolic meaning of *rtsam pa* and butter seems to have become more distinct among Tibetans living in Kathmandu than among those in Tibet. In their ordinary life in Kathmandu these days, it is quite usual that they eat *dāl-bhāt* (rice with lentil soup) which is the staple food of many Nepalese. However, they never use *dāl-bhāt* in rituals but use *rtsam pa*, butter etc. in many ritual occasions. When they wish for the healthy growth of children or good social bond or make offerings to the deceased, what they think effective is the materials they have been using for those purposes traditionally rather than newly adopted things. Ritual in this way is related to conservativeness to some extent.

Though customs tend to be preserved when they are related and sanctioned by rituals, they are by no means changeless. Problems may occur in foreign settings like Kathmandu. When someone dies among the Bonpos, they ask a priest (lama) about the proper time to carry the corpse out. And it is usual that they keep the corpse inside the house while chanting for a few days. This is unbearable for such neighbours as the Hindus or Newar Buddhists. Knowing that their custom is unwelcome to the neighbours, Bonpos hide the occurrence of death and pretend that the chanting is being done for some festival or something else. It is not easy in Kathmandu to preserve the corpse as it is, especially in the hot season. On such occasions, they make efforts to preserve it by using ice etc. (Other Tibetans are said

to take similar measures.)

In the Kathmandu Valley, cremation is the only method to dispose of a corpse among the Bonpos or other Tibetan people. This again is related to the fact that they are now living in a different place surrounded by other cultures. However, the adoption of cremation is not necessarily the result of influence from Hindus, but the result of their selection in which they have taken up the only possible way among the traditional methods. Despite its desirabilities, they had to give up Sky Burials in this foreign land. Their adaptation was made in such a way that they have lost one aspect of their unique culture.

5. Life cycle rituals of the Bonpos and other Tibetans

It is difficult to discern differences in the life cycle rituals of the Bonpos and other Tibetans unless we go into details of their rituals. As examples of such details, we can take up the chanting of holy hymns at the time of death and post-mortuary rituals and *sbyin sreg* or the fire sacrifice on the spot just after cremation. In the latter, 108 pieces of carved wood on which sutras are written in gold and silver are thrown into the fire with other ritual objects just after cremation. The sutras written are specific to Bon. But what is written in them is not known to ordinary participants like the present informant, who simply says that he doesn't know the content of the sutras but lamas know them; a common reply when dealing with laymen. Unless we resort to other research methods and ask specialists, it is difficult to discern the real difference between Bon and Buddhist customs.

In this context, the following remark by Kvaerne is quite relevant.

'To the casual observer, Tibetans who follow the tradition of Bon and those who adhere to the Buddhist faith can hardly be distinguished. They all share a common Tibetan heritage. In particular, there is little distinction with regard to popular religious practices. Traditionally, all Tibetans assiduously follow the same method of accumulating religious merit... Such practices include turning prayer wheels... It is only when these practices are scrutinized more closely that differences appear; ...' (Kvaerne 1995:12-13).

On the level of the present analysis, as my informant remarked, the Bonpos' and the Tibetan Buddhists' customs are quite similar. It can be added also that the acts of accumulating religious merit do not include life cycle events except death rituals. Tibetans, laymen and scholars alike, do not consider many of the life cycle events in religious terms. For example, the wedding ceremony is called *chang sa* in which drinking and merrymaking is emphasized, while marriage is characterized by Karmay as 'a mundane affair' (Karmay 1975:207). These characteristics seem to be shared by Tibetans in general.

6. The influence of the Hindu *saṃskāra* and written works

There is no large discrepancy among the Bonpos between the normative set of rituals and the set of those which are actually performed, which is quite commonly observed among the Hindus or Buddhist Newars. Among them, when I asked about rituals, answers sometimes differed between religious specialists and laymen as well as between men and women; there were people who tended to give information they had acquired from written texts or specialists, which largely corresponded with *saṃskāras*. For them 'classical' *saṃskāras* are not old or obsolete but ideal for the rituals actually performed. They were written in Sanskrit for use by religious specialists, but these days are published in other languages also. They differ from what people perform but still exist as a normative set side by side with actual practices.

Written works on Tibetan life cycle rituals by Tibetans are not absent; the works by Thubten Sangay published in Dharamsala which Skorupski and Cech (1984:6) depended on and Kilty translated (Thubten Sangay 1984) and the work by Kong-sprul Yon-tan rgya-mtsho to which Samten Karmay refers (Karmay 1975:207) are examples. In any event, the position of such written materials against actually performed rituals is quite different from what Hindu *saṃskāras* stand in relation to the actual life cycle rituals. Though they seem to have been written in order to give religious significance to life cycle events, they don't seem to serve as norms for actual practice. They are more like academic works and are distant from those who conduct or practise rituals. (Skorupski and Cech remark that Thubten Sangay's work was made 'with the concern of preserving the traditions connected with these events among Tibetans in exile' (Skorupski and Cech 1984:6).)

Other than these, I failed to find any normative set of Bonpo rituals. That kind of set, if such exists, may be kept and inherited among specialists, but as far as life cycle rituals are concerned, there seem to be no such specialists on the spot.

When I asked a Bon priest for advice on my research into Bonpo life cycle rituals, he unhesitatingly answered that it is better for me to ask lay people about them. This attitude is quite different from what is expected of Hindu Brahmans or Newar Buddhist priests (Gubhāju, Vajrācārya) when they answered the same question. These priests are specialists on ritual matters including life cycle rituals and think that it is they who can provide proper knowledge on those matters. Their attitudes are in stark contrast; among the Bonpos (or rather among the Tibetans), not only is there no monopoly by priests of knowledge on ritual matters, but also they are quite uninterested in them.

While it is true that lamas are asked to play some role in certain rituals, most of them concentrate on those related to death and hence final salvation or afterlife. Otherwise, their participation is quite partial, being limited to preparatory worship, divination or some optional roles. They don't seem to be expected to play a part for

the (spiritual) welfare of the people in various life stages in this world. This is quite in line with the Buddhist way of dealing with the matter (we will come back to this point in the conclusion).

The main performers of life cycle rituals are laymen, and rituals other than those concerned with death are not religious. Though I have used the term 'ritual' for the events at and after childbirth and in marriage, it is only in the broader sense of the term (which includes stereotyped social behaviour like traditional etiquette and convention) that I use it here. The term may not be applicable if used in its narrower definition (e.g. stereotyped behaviour concerned with phenomena and entities that lie beyond normal human control or are of a supernatural character).

Conclusion

It is widely observed in South and East Asia that life is divided into many named stages loaded with religious and ritual meanings. Tibet, though neighbouring both of them, does not show a marked continuity as far as life cycle rituals are concerned; Tibetan society is different from any of the societies taken up here for comparison in that it lacks the elaborate system of demarcating various stages of life with rituals. The relation between classic or written material and actual practice concerning life cycle events is also very different.

We briefly summarize the relationship between religion and life cycle rituals in the societies taken up here.

Among the Bonpos, the rituals of death (e.g. funeral and post-mortuary rituals) are highly religious, but religious overtones are very thin in other life cycle events. By contrast, among the Hindus (including the Hindu section of the Newars) and Newar Buddhists, life cycle rituals as a whole are religiously organized. The Japanese system differs from all of them. Though Japanese life cycle rituals in general are religious, it is characteristic that different kinds of religion are practised in different stages; namely Buddhism for funeral and post-mortuary rites and mainly Shintoism in other life cycle rituals such as marriage, initiation and birth. In wedding ceremonies these days, Christianity, at least in form, is also becoming popular.

In this respect, it has been discussed that Buddhism, as far as its doctrine is concerned, does not lay emphasis on life cycle rituals. Iwao Shima compares Theravada and Hindu rituals and asserts as follows. 'Whereas Hinduism has had the tradition of Hindu law stipulating the rites of passage to be performed in social life and preserved a complex system of formalized rituals in the form of more than ten *saṃskāras* such as for initiations, marriages and funerals, the Theravada Buddhism in which monastic life is the basis, has not positively dealt with the rites of passage to be conducted in various stages of social life' (Shima 1995:69, translated by Ishii). David Gellner considers the relationship between Japanese

Buddhism and rituals in his paper on syncretism by utilizing Gombrich's scheme on Theravada Buddhism. There he asserts that Buddhism did not aspire to fulfil the sanctification of the stages of the life cycle and other human needs and depended on other systems to fulfil those needs and hence has remained accretive (Gellner 1997:281).

If we are to use the above term and compare life cycle rituals of societies dealt with here, we can see quite distinctively the accretion from Hinduism among the Newar Buddhists' life cycle rituals and mixed form of accretion among those of the Japanese but little accretion in those of the Bonpos. Among the latter, life cycle rituals except for the death rituals are scarcely religiously organized. It is rather better to apply another term than 'ritual' if this were used with a religious connotation. They may be called secular customs that carry little connotation of the sacredness in relation to the stages of life. In this sense, this analysis on Bonpo 'life cycle rituals' may express that Bon religion does not even have to be accretive and can do without the sanctification of the stages of life. Thus we can conclude that it is not universal in human societies to organize life stages in a religious way; Tibetan society including that of the Bonpos, providing one such example.

As to the relation between Bon and Tibetan Buddhism, G. Samuel asserts that 'Bonpo and *chos pa* were, in effect, two groups of Buddhists who for historical reasons became rivals and adopted contrasting identities' (Samuel 1993:326). The materials and analysis in this paper does not contradict his point.

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Sadako Nagano who generously gave me information on preceding works and to Prof. Yasuhiko Nagano and Dr. Izumi Hoshi who kindly checked the spelling and meaning of Tibetan words.

Table 1 Bonpo life cycle rituals

During pregnancy: Good food, walking and keeping warm are said to be good for pregnant women.

Childbirth

Birth - No special midwife. Any experienced woman can help.
No special place for disposal of umbilical cord.

After delivery - Purification by changing clothes, incense and holy water.
Mother eats special food.

About one month after childbirth - Naming by lama.

About two months after childbirth - Feeding baby for the first time with food other than milk.

Eight months to one year - Piercing of child's ears.

Seven to ten years - Some may enter monasteries.

Marriage
Divination (*mo)* by lama on couple's congeniality etc.
Engagement - Groom's kin visit bride's house with presents.
20 days to one month after - People on the groom's side visit the bride's side with presents.

Wedding procession, ceremony and party
Procession to fetch bride
· Groom's side people visit bride's house with presents and are entertained.
· Groom's party returns in procession with bride and her bridal property.
· Groom's side women sing auspicious songs at three places on the way.
· Bride and others receive food from three women some distance before groom's house.
Greeting
· Man on groom's side leads bride with *kha btags* into groom's house.
· Groom's family give *kha btags* to all of bride's party in front of groom's house.
· Groom's mother gives wheat and salt to bride, who throws them in air.
· Groom's mother puts butter to bride's top hair.
Gift giving and Drink party (*chang sa*)
· Groom's side people sing songs when bride enters altar room.
· After some food is served, *nor skal* (bridal property) list is read by bride's mother's brother.
· Giving gifts from both sides.
· Eating and drinking all day. Men may play games.
· Next morning, people come to see Bon swastika drawn with flour on bed is broken.

Funeral
Death - Lama makes divination on the deceased's afterlife and necessary procedure etc.
Dead person's cherished belongings are put outside the house.
Corpse is put in coffin and placed inside house. Notice is sent to Rinpoche(s).
Condolences - Kin, friends etc. come for condolences and help with rituals and meals.
Prayers - Lamas chant sutras and make offerings in a room where coffin is placed.
Prostration - Close kin prostrate themselves twice a day.
Cremation - Males prepare for cremation. Lamas read sutras and offer *gtor ma.*
sbin sreg - Lamas perform fire sacrifice like *homa.* (Mostly obsolete.)
tsha tsha (hemispherical small images) are made with ashes, soil and bones.
Ashes are thrown into river.
Purification - People purify themselves with holy water and incense smoke.

Post mortuary rituals
bdun tshigs - Every week after death, dead person's family distribute food to kin and friends.
zhe dgu - Dead person's family cook food for the deceased. Lama(s) read sutras.
tshogs brgya - Pieces of bread are offered to goddesses.
zhi khro - Lamas read sutras and make offerings three days after death day every year.

Table 2 Newar life cycle rituals [castes: Shrestha (Shr) and Maharjan (Mhj)]

Childbirth:

Macā buigu - *Didi aji* (midwife) helps delivery and purify room and clothes.

Piḥ dhenegu [3(6) days after childbirth] - Nāy (Butcher) caste woman) cuts umbilical cord and throws it to *chwāsa* (ritual disposal place).

Macābu bẽkegu (4-7 days after childbirth) 'childbirth purification' - The newborn child, mother, family members and *didi aji* take purification bath and cut nails. Some family members shave heads. Exchange of gifts between relatives. Feast.

Various affinal gift exchanges and feeding of mother and child until *Jānakegu*.

Dhau-baji nakaḥ wanegu (dhau-baji nakegu) - Pregnant woman is fed by her parents with *dhau-baji* (beaten rice with curds).

Macā buḥ kanke chwayegu - Messenger to tell of childbirth (with gifts in some cases) is sent to new mother's natal family.

Ghyaḥle siyā baji nakaḥ wanegu (cāku baji nakaḥ wanegu) - Women of new mother's natal family come to feed her one or two days after birth.

Macā buḥ bẽkegu - Several days after birth, family members purify themselves by bathing and cutting nails. House is purified by midwife. Mother and child are given food (plus clothes and utensils in some cases) by mother's natal family.

Several kinds of food are distributed to neighbours at the door. Family and close kin hold feast.

Lā nakaḥ wanegu - Baby's maternal grandmother comes with meat and other food one or two weeks after birth.

Cāku nakaḥ wanegu - Baby's maternal grandmother comes with molasses and other food two or three weeks after birth.

Macā buḥ swaḥ wanegu - Baby's maternal grandmother and paternal grandmother's siblings come with food about one month after birth. In some cases, feast *(dāmrā bhway)* is held for the first-born child.

Macā buḥ swaḥ wayegu (māju lā nakaḥ wayegu) - Baby's paternal grandmother visits the child and its mother staying in the latter's parents' house with meat and other food (one month and several days after birth).

Jā nakegu, Macā jankwa (son: 7 months, daughter: 5-6 months) - Feeding rice for the first time (with worship).

Early age:

Bwaskhā (Busãkhā), caurā / cuḍākarma - Boys' (3-7 years old) heads are shaved and ears pierced.

Initiation (boy):

Kaytā pūjā 'loincloth ritual' - Boys (up to about 15 years old) worship deities with fire sacrifice (*homa*) led by a Hindu (in case of Shr) or a Buddhist (in case of Mhj) priest, have heads shaved, start for a learning trip but stopped at seven steps by mother's brother.

Initiation (girl):

Ihi 'wedding' - Girls (about 5 to 10) undergo mock marriage with god Nārāyaṇ or *bel* fruit (Buddha) in group, led by Hindu or Buddhist priest(s) conducting *homa*.

Bārā tayegu: Girls just before menarche stay in rooms without sunshine and without

seeing males for 12 days.

Marriage:

Gway biyegu 'giving of betel nuts' (marriage contract) - Betel nuts, food and cloth are given by the bridegroom's side. *Lami* (go-between) hands betel nuts to bride.

Bihā (Wedding):

Gway kāyegu - Bride's kin, neighbours and friends give goods and money to bride and receive betel nuts. Feast.

Janta - People on the bridegroom's side go to the bride's house in procession. Feast and exchange of gifts. Procession returns to the bridegroom's house with bride.

Du kāyegu 'to receive inside' - Worship by priest in front of the bridegroom's house. Seniormost woman of the groom's agnatic group leads bride inside.

Hwākegu (Main part of marriage ritual) - Bride's and groom's heads are banged against each other after worship of gods. New couple eat from one plate. Feast.

Old age ritual:

Budhā jankwa - Celebration of old age at 77 and twice after. Gods are worshipped with *homa*. Old man is carried on palanquin as god. Feast.

Funeral:

Sithā̃ yenkegu - *Sanā guthi* (funeral organization) members in charge carry dead person on bier to riverside cremation ground accompanied by other members. Dead person's son sets fire to firewood.

Bicā phayegu 'receiving of condolence' - *Sanā guthi* members gather in front of the deceased person's house and offer condolences the day after death.

Post-mortuary rituals:

Lwaḥcā (6 days after death) - Married out daughters come crying with food to offer to the deceased.

Nhaynhumā (7 days after death) - Married out daughters and agnates offer food (rice, *dāl*, milk, curds, liquor etc.) to the deceased.

Du bẽkegu 'purification of inside (sorrow)' - Agnates shave heads and cut nails. Priest offers *piṇḍa* (rice ball) to the deceased and reads *veda*.

Jā pwa khā wanegu - The main mourner cooks rice in front of the house and offers it to the deceased on a leaf on a tree branch along a river.

Ekādaśī (11 days after death) - Offering of food to the deceased inside house.

Ghaḥsu (12 days after death) 'House purification' - Agnates bathe, purify floor and let priest conduct *homa* (fire sacrifice). Mourning period ends except for the main mourner.

Śrāddha [*lattyā* (1.5 month), *khulā* (6 months), *dakilā* (1 year), *niḍathiti* (2 years)] - Deceased person's family members offer food (*piṇḍa* etc.) to the deceased. Feast.

Table 3 Maithil life cycle rituals

Childbirth:

Baccā janma 'childbirth' - Astrologer gives baby a name (kept secret afterwards).
Chatiyār (6 days after birth) - Goddess writes child's fate on its forehead.
Annaprāśan (7 months after birth) - First feeding of cereals (rice).
Jivikopārjan - To foretell child's fate by which of various tools it picks up.

Early age:

Kānchedāi (*kānchedī*) / *karṇavedh* (1-3 years old) - Piercing ears (by Goldsmiths).
Mūraṇ (*muṇḍaṇ*), *nichāur* (3-5 years old) - Child's hair is cut for the first time after worshipping goddess Bhagvatī.

Initiation:

Upanayan (only for boys) - Brahmans perform *homa* (fire sacrifice) and give sacred threads and yellow robes to boys (with heads shaved), and teach them mantra in a specially made ritual house (*maṇḍap*). Complex preparatory rituals are performed a day before (for gathering soil, spinning thread, sacrificing goat (*kumran*) and for tying boys' hair).

Marriage:

Siddhānt (marriage contract) - Exchange of written marriage contract with worship by a priest.
Sādī, byāha / vivāha - Wedding.
Barātī (bariati) - Procession for visit and feast (made by each side).
Āmmau byāha 'marriage of mango and *mau*' - Bride ties red paper on mango and *mau* trees.
Parikṣan - Examination of groom (with naked torso) by women of the bride's side.
Aṭhoṅgar (oṭhaṅgar) - Brahmans and groom husk rice in mortar with pestles.
Kanyā nirikṣan - A ritual game in which the groom is expected to point out his bride.
Kanyādān - Father of the bride gives her to the groom, after worship with fire sacrifice and mantra by a Brahman.
Lava ciriyā - New couple encircle fire altar offering parched rice (*lava*).
Sindur dān (matiyā sindūr) - Putting vermilion by the groom on the bride's parting of hair.
Dahī maṅgal (mauhak) - Taking of auspicious food by the new couple.
Gaurī pūjā - Worship of goddess Gaurī by the new couple.
Cumāun - Giving auspicious goods and food to the new couple.
Nainā jogin - Women of bride's side go around in *kohvar ghar* (marriage room) holding groom's nose.
Siḍhar - Next morning, the new couple fetch water in two *siḍhar* (clay pot).
Mauhak - Husband and wife give food to each other's plate.
Ahivāṭak pātil - Women of the bride's side mock the groom.
Caturthī (4 days after main rituals) - Fire sacrifice with mantra by Brahmans. Marriage is consummated.
Dvirāgmān (6 months to 7 years after marriage) - Bride finally moves to her husband's house. Ritual trial of her strength. Mocking.

Bharphorī (4 days after above) - Bride is mocked. She makes large wheat flour cakes.

Funeral:

Go dān - It is desirable to die grasping the tail of a cow, which is given to a Brahman as *dan.*

Dāh saṃskār - Cremation. Corpse is carried on a bamboo bier. Deceased person's son shaves head and bathes, puts fire in the dead person's mouth and to the pyre.

Asthi sañcay (2-4 days after cremation) - Deceased person's son goes to the Ganges and throw part of ashes. A mound (*sārā*) is made from remaining ashes and soil at the cremation spot.

Post-mortuary rituals:

Piṇḍadān - Offering of *piṇḍa* (rice balls) to the deceased by a son (until *ekādaśa*).

Ekādaśa śrāddha (11 days after death) / *dvādaśa śrāddha* (12 days after death) - Offering of *piṇḍa* to the deceased and ancestors and gift giving to priests.

Chāyā (every month, at least for a year) - Deceased person's family gives feast to more than five people of the same caste.

Māsik śrāddha (on the day of death, every month) / *varṣik śrāddha*, *ekodiṣṭ* (on the day of death, every year) - Deceased person's family invites priest(s) and gives offerings to the deceased.

Table 4 Saṃskāra ('classic' life cycle rituals)

Before birth:

Garbhādhāna - Ritual of conception.

Puṃsavana (3 months after above) - To pray for son's birth.

Sīmantonnayana (4, 6 or 8 months after conception) - Ritual to part pregnant woman's hair.

Childbirth:

Jātakarma - Birth ritual.

Nāmakaraṇa - Naming ritual.

Niṣkramaṇa (4 months after birth) - Baby goes outside for the first time to see the sun.

Annaprāśana - First feeding of cereals (rice).

Early age:

Karṇavedha - Piercing of ears.

Cuḍākarma - Ritual of shaving head.

Initiation:

Vidyārambha - Beginning of learning.

Upanayana - Ritual of approaching the true self.

Keśānta - Ritual to cut hair.

Vedārambha - Beginning of learning *veda.*

Samāvartana - Ritual to return home (after completing study in guru's house).

Marriage:
Vivāha - Wedding.

Funeral:
Antyoṣṭi - Death ritual.

Table 5 Life cycle rituals in Tokyo before the 1940s

Childbirth:

Pregnancy - On the day of 'dog' five month after conception, go-between and pregnant woman's parents are invited and husband's mother puts wide belt on her daughter-in-law. The day is celebrated by making red rice with beans.

Delivery - The first delivery usually takes place on the wife-taking side in a hut at the back of the house or a storeroom where *tatami* (straw mats) have been removed. Delivery used to be made in a sitting position.

Abstinence - 7, 14, 21, 30 to 33 days. After 7 (or other numbers of) days the mother purifies her body by washing and is allowed to cook after purifying hearth by salt. She is not allowed to approach 'well deity' for 21 days after delivery.

Third day celebration - Rice balls covered with sweet bean paste are offered to protective deities with prayer for the health of the newborn child. (Protective deities of the newborn child and its mother : *Ubusuna-(no)-kami*, *Suitenguu* etc.)

Seventh night celebration - A name is given to the baby. When no agreement is reached, it may be determined by lot in a Shinto Shrine.

First toilet visit - The baby is taken out of the delivery room for the first time and taken to the toilet. Deity of delivery and deity of toilet are worshipped.

First visit to a shrine - Boys visit a Shinto shrine on the 31st day after birth and girls on the 33rd day.

First feeding (of rice) ['*kuwashizome*', '*kuizome*'] - On the 100th day after birth, red rice with beans is cooked, offered to the deities in the miniature shrine in the house and prepared for serving. In some places people try to let the baby eat. In others, only pretension is made.

First new year - A boy is given a set of bow and arrows (to defeat evils) and a girl a battledore, each by the go-between, child's mother's parents' family and other kin.

First birthday - Cooked rice is made into paste and then to cakes (*mochi*), which are put in the *tokonoma* (alcove) and near the child's bed.

Seven-Five-Three (Three, Five and Seven years' celebration) - Children are taken to Shinto shrines by their parents.

Coming of age - Boys are regarded as grown-up at the age of 15, from when they are allowed to drink. Menarche is celebrated within family with red rice with beans.

Yado (lodging together) - Young men drink or study together in a vacant house, shrine or temple. Problem sometimes occurred when they sneaked in a lodging of girl weavers late at night.

Marriage:

Beginning - Mostly arranged marriages. Cases of marriage for love also exist.

Engagement - Men who serve as two kinds of go-between (*hashikake* and *sewanin*) visit the houses of both sides and arrange the wedding date. They carry lists of engagement gifts.

Wedding - In the early morning, go-betweens, representatives of the groom's side's kin and local associations (in odd numbers) go to the house of the bride to fetch her. Both sides sit in lines facing each other and bride's parents and groom exchange a cup of sake (liquor) to make them in-laws. Next the cups are exchanged to make brothers-in-law and affines. People on the groom's side visit bride's kin. The bride visits a shrine for worship.

Wedding procession - Marrying-in procession from the bride's side starts after the departure of the groom's party. The bride enters the groom's house from the kitchen door.

Driving out evils - 19 and 33 for women, 25 and 42 for men are considered as unlucky years. They may visit Buddhist temples and/or Shinto shrines.

Old age celebration - 61 years of age is said to be '*honkegaeri*' (return to the original fortune). The old man celebrates it by putting red clothes and cap.

Funeral:

Death - The dead person's family and kin calls his/her name in a loud voice. They put water on the dead person's lips with cotton or with fingers. News of death is sent to next door houses, to other neighbours and then to associations. Men and women of various associations prepare for funeral (making rice balls to put near the pillow and a bowl of rice and clothes to give to the deceased).

Change of pillow - The deceased is moved to a room deep inside the house and laid there with head toward the north.

Bathing - *Tatami* (straw mats) are removed, hot water is put in a washbasin in which cold water has been put first (opposite to normal) and close kin bathe the deceased.

Putting into coffin - The corpse is put in a coffin in a sitting position. A pen and ink and cigarettes for men or sewing things for women are put in the coffin.

Pall-bearers - Nephews used to carry the coffin, but in many cases people from village associations carry it.

Offerings - In the morning of the funeral procession, a bowl of rice and several kinds of rice balls made outside by assisting women are offered to the deceased.

Funeral procession - Gongs, lamps, torches, coffin, canopy, mortuary tablet, meal set, flags, paper flowers are carried. Kin and association members follow. Straw sandals worn by kin in the procession are thrown in the cemetery.

Post mortuary ritual days:

(First) 7th day, 35th day and 49th day - Family, kin and others worship in a Buddhist way and visit the new tomb. The deceased's family makes rice cakes and sweets and distribute them to kin and families belonging to associations.

Yearly rituals - After the 49th day and the 100th day, Buddhist rituals are conducted. After that are observed the first *higan* (spring and autumn equinoctial weeks when Buddhist ancestor worship is done), *bon* (a period in summer when, it is believed in Japanese Buddhism, the ancestors' souls would come back), and ancestral rituals of 1st, 3rd, 7th,

13th and 33rd years after death.

Notes

1) The Newars (Nevārs) are the indigenous population of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. They have been deeply influenced by Indian civilization though their mother tongue is Tibeto-Burman. The Maithils are proud Hindus living in Mithila (Mithilā) extending from northern Bihar (Bihār) to the eastern Nepalese Tarai (Tarāī, the southern plains). For the Japanese (Tokyo) material, I depend upon the study of Miyamoto (1975).
2) Concerning birth, I will add one interesting point concerning dreams as regards the spread of cultural elements here. It is noted by Thubten Sangay that auspicious dreams which the mother has during pregnancy include 'those of picking and eating fruit, of certain auspicious objects such as a white conch shell, of wearing fine jewellery, of seeing and receiving representations of the body, speech and mind of the Enlightened Ones, of sun-rise, of wearing fine clothing, of playing musical instruments etc.' (Sangay 1984:3, there is a similar sentence also in Skorupski and Cech 1984:6-7).
When I asked a Bonpo (male) informant about such dreams, he simply answered that it would be natural to have a good delivery if one had good dreams. After that I had the oppotunity to ask the same question to a Newar woman and a Parbate (Hill) Hindu woman in Nepal respectively and was surprised to find similar beliefs to what is cited above among both of them.
According to the Newar woman, a good child will be born if a pregnant woman dreams of fruits, radish, chilli, a white conch shell, god or Buddha, or sun-rays.
According to the Parbate Hindu woman, good dreams during pregnancy are those of fruits, radish, chilli, the sun, the sky, god or Buddha, or a cow.
Thus with some differences in details, two Nepalese groups and Thubten Sangay's material share the same notion about dreams during pregnancy, though my Bonpo informant does not.
Different interpretations may be possible concerning this point. One possibility is that my informant, being male, wasn't sufficiently versed about pregnant women's dreams, though the above notion is widespread in Tibet and sub-Himalayan areas including the Hill Hindu areas. In this case, we may be able to postulate a broad culture area covering the north and south of the Himalayas.
Another possibility is the flow of information to (or borrowing by) Thubten Sangay's informants' group from some of the sub-Himalayan groups. In some points, information compiled by Thubten Sangay contains elements that are not genuinely Tibetan. For example, concerning a *gto* performed to encourage a baby to walk if it has not done so after becoming one year, a white cow to put the baby astride facing backwards, is mentioned (Skorupski and Cech 1984:11). But my informant did not know of this and simply said "We don't have cows in Tibet". The way of cultural contact seems to differ greatly among Tibetans of various places of origin.

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A comparative study of the *yul lha* cult in two areas and its cosmological aspects

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In my previous works on the *yul lha* cult in Shar-khog and rGyal-rong I mainly tried to show the social and political dimensions of the cult, but did not have a chance to compare it to the practice in other regions of Tibet (Karmay 1998: Nos. 21-25).

However, in 1997 I was able to make some observations of the same cult at a village in the river valley of Rebkong (Reb-skong) in Amdo. The Rebkong area now falls within the Thurin rDzong of the Chinese administrative setup in mTsho-sngon (Ch. Qinghai). It lies to the south of Ziling (Ch. Xining) at a distance of 194 kilometers. I noted that the ritual was very well organized and more elaborate than the ones I observed in Shar-khog and rGyal-rong.

Here, I shall first give a short ethnographic description of the cult in Rebkong[1]. This will be followed by more descriptions of the same cult in Nyemo (sNye-mo) in Tsang, Central Tibet. In June 1999, I was able to go there under the auspices of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences and observe the cult in that place.

At the final stage I will make some remarks on a recent text concerning the construction of *la btsas*. It is written by A-lags Bon-brgya dGe-legs lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, a highly revered lama from Bon-brgya monastery which is situated to the west of the main valley in Rebkong[2].

I witnessed the *yul lha* cult in Rebkong in the village sMad-pa'i Khyung-po, that is, the village Khyung-po situated to the north of the valley. There are about thirty householders in the village. As in other parts of Amdo, the villages in Rebkong are called *sde ba*. The term for this cult in Amdo is *la btsas gsol ba*, 'making offerings to the *la btsas*'. The ritual usually takes place around the day of *'Dzam gling spyi bsang*, the 'common purificatory ritual for the Universe'. It is 'common' (*spyi*) in the sense that it is celebrated by people in many parts of the country around that date in the Tibetan calendar, but this is not always the case in all the places. In the village Khyung-po it was carried out on the 9th of the 5th month in the Tibetan calendar (15th of June 1997) which was not the exact date of *'Dzam gling spyi bsang*.

I was accompanied by A-lags Bon-brgya [Plate 1]. Because of his presence, early in the morning of the day when the ritual began we were received as guests of honour in the village temple. After this, we were then led ceremoniously to the site where the *la btsas* stands. It is situated to the west of the village on a plain with abundant woods and on the same level as the village itself. The way in which it is

located is unusual, because in regions including Rebkong itself the *la btsas* are mostly on a higher level than that of the village. I shall return to the question of the location of *la btsas*.

The *la btsas* of the village Khyung-po is a solid construction. The structure of the base is square and built with stones. Its wall is about 3 meters wide on each side and about 2 and half meters high all round [Plate 2].

Monks normally do not participate in the *yull lha* cult with laymen. However, it was evident that the presence of A-lags at the performance of the ritual was much appreciated by the laymen though the A-lags did not officiate the rite. I was told it was the headman of the village who would lead the ritual in normal circumstances.

The head of each family brought a ritual arrow made of pine tree. The arrows were of various lengths. Some boys brought small short ones. The arrow is the male symbol in Tibetan culture. Everybody also brought *rlung rta*, the 'wind-horse', symbol of fortune, printed on a piece of cloth with the colour corresponding to one's 'birth element' (*'byung ba*). I shall call this the 'cloth wind-horse'. They also brought the *rlung rta* printed on a tiny white paper which is normally square. I shall call this the 'paper wind-horse'.

Then the ritual proper began. It was signaled by the blow of a conch. All the subsequent stages of the ritual were likewise punctuated by the blow of the same conch. The fire of the *bsang*, burning of the juniper twigs, was lit and was continuously replenished by more juniper twigs in order to keep it burning and smoking through out the ritual. All the *sngags pa* sat in a row and began to chant and play the *damaru* and *sil snyan* bell. All the rest of the people including the A-lags stood till the end of the ritual that finished around midday.

All the while, the women folk stood and watched the ritual process from a distance as spectators. They obviously have no part to play in this male dominated ritual, but this is not always the case in other parts of the country as we shall see.

The local deity is called dGra-'dul thogs-med-rtsal and his icon is painted on the wall in the vestibule of the village temple [Plate 3]. It is a normal practice in Tibet that the *yul lha* representation is relegated to the vestibule of a temple unless his/her status is raised to that of a religious protector. The cult of the deity is celebrated only by the people of the village just mentioned. People from the neighboring villages have no right to join in.

1. Purification of the ritual arrows

Each person began to attach his 'cloth wind-horse' to his own arrow which was then 'purified' in the smoke of the juniper fire. The *bsang* in its origin was part of a purificatory ritual, but later it was converted into an incense-like Buddhist offering (*bsang mchod*) (Karmay 1998: 381-82).

2. Planting of the arrows

After the 'purification' the planting of the ritual arrows into the *la btsas* began.

They were fixed among the old arrows which were protected by a thick layer of dried birch branches all round their lower parts. The arrows and birch branches were also tightly bound by a thick woollen cord called *dmu thag*. We shall come back to this term.

3. Placing the fresh birch branches

The dried birch branches were replaced by the fresh ones which were cut and brought to the site of the *la btsas* on a previous day. They were placed close to the old and new arrows covering the lower parts of them on all sides [Plate 4].

The significance of this tree in the ritual is obscure. The birch tree in Tibetan ritual texts is classified as *pho shing*, the 'male tree' and this was the only reply I received when asking about its presence in the ritual. In other regions the tree has no part to play in the same ritual.

4. Placing the symbol of wealth

A few participants brought with them a small sack made of white cotton containing all kinds of grains. Its mouth was fastened with stitches. Outside it was painted with the figure of a swastika or a jewel. This was called *g-yang rdzas*, the 'items of the quintessence of wealth'. They were deposited into the *la btsas*. The local deity is the guardian of wealth of the community [Plate 5].

5. Winding of the '*dmu* cord'

A number of the participants in the ritual had brought pieces of woollen yarn about ten meters long which they call *dmu thag*, the '*dmu* cord'. The manner in which this part of the ritual took place is of special ritual significance. It symbolises the unity of the community under the headman's leadership.

Each member gave one end of his yarn to the A-lags. (I was told that it would be the headman of the village if the A-lags had not been there on that day.) The A-lags stood in the same place and held firmly all the ends of yarn given to him by the participants whilst each man spun his own yarn at a further distance from the A-lags and kept moving away slowly backwards as he twisted the yarn. They kept a certain distance between themselves as they spread out allowing themselves to form a crescent shape that in the end looked like a half of an umbrella. When all the yarn was sufficiently twisted the A-lags began to spin all the strands together from his end into one thick and strong cord assisted by two men. When the whole length of the cord was well spun, the A-lags then handed over the end of the cord with which he had spun to a man who had climbed up the base of the *la btsas* [Plate 6]. The man assisted by two other persons began to wind the cord round the arrows and birch branches very tightly in three rounds [Plate 7].

The *dmu thag*, of course, plays an important role in the origin myth of the king gNya'-khri btsan-po. It astonished me to see a 'material *dmu thag*' of that size and length in such a ritual. In fact, its association with *la btsas* is mentioned in the

epic text entitled *'Dzam gling spyi bsang*. While Gesar, the epic hero, and his men are engaged in the *bsang* ritual on a mountain side, he feels threatened by the great demon of the north who, in this particular account, appears in the form of a terrifying wild yak. The beast is eventually shot and killed by the hero. The killing of this yak evokes the sacrifice of yaks that was a frequent practice in the *yul lha* cult till very recently. In the epic text the beast dwells in what seems to be a Bonpo place:

"In the country of the black demons where the tops of mountains and rocks are piercing upwards, the forests are impenetrable; lakes and rivers are in disharmony. On the right hand side of Mount of the demon A-chen rNa-ba khra-leb, on the left hand side of the rising mountain Kong-po Bon-ri and in front of the black mountain with nine stages, there is an awesome *la btsas* built with human heads. It has the *rlung rta* made of (human) skin which flutters in the wind, the winding of the *dmu thag* made of fresh (human) intestines and the pendulous *cod pan* made of (human) fat. This frightening red *gsas mkhar*, which is in motion, is comparable to the palace of Yama, the Lord of Death..."[3)]

I did not see the use of *cod pan* in the ritual in Rebkong, but it was present in the ritual in Nyemo as we shall see. The term *cod pan* denotes a kind of crown, but in Buddhist rituals it is made of several pieces of cloth with syllables written inside (cf. Karmay 1998: Pl.1, No.16).

The *dmu thag* was absent in the same ritual I observed in other places. Here some comments may be necessary concerning the highly interesting description of *la btsas* in the epic text just quoted. The association of the demon yak with Bon and setting the *la btsas* in a Bonpo place obviously betrays the sectarian inclination of the author. The passage is certainly inspired by the description of the dwelling place of the demon Khyab-pa lag-ring in the *gZer mig*[4)].

However, there is a serious oversight that perhaps indicates the author's ignorance about the *yul lha* cult. No part of the dead human body can ever be used in the *yul lha* cult (cf. Karmay 1998: 383-85).

6. Throwing of the 'paper wind-horse' into the wind

This was the last stage of the ritual as was the case in other places. As the *la btsas* was situated on low ground there was little wind such as otherwise might carry them into the sky [Plate 8].

When the ritual was completed we were again treated to a banquet under a beautiful tent among woods. Now and then either a man or woman came up with the *ka btags* scarf in hands and sang a song, but there were no dances or any other games as was the case in Shar-khog.

After the meal we drove to the village rGyal-po spyi-rting about 20 km away. There again we saw the same celebration taking place. The village people made a procession for the A-lags. The *la btsas* is situated on a high ridge of a mountain range. The local deity is called A-myes Thar-smug [Plate 9]. The ritual process was

exactly the same, but here it was somewhat less rigidly observed by the participants than at the village of sMad-pa'i Khyung-po.

The *yul lha* cult I observed in Rebkong was therefore in only two different villages. They do not belong to one political federation. It is not uncommon for one village to have even three local deities. This is the case of the village called sPos-te'u and its local deities are sPos-te'u spun-gsum, the "Three sPos-te'u brothers" [Plate 10-12]. The local deity A-myes Bya-khyung in Rebkong is said to be the 'common local deity' (*spyi lha*) of all the people in Rebkong, but there is no organized celebration of the cult of this deity [Plate 13].

The political formation of the people in Rebkong in the pre-communist era is little known. In the 1920s they fought against the hegemony of Ma Pu-fang, the Muslim warlord of Ziling. The story of his cruelty is told in some detail in a book of collected articles written in Tibetan[5)]. The articles are mostly written under the Chinese Marxist inspiration, but they do contain historical material relevant to research into the local history.

Let me now take up the subject of the *yul lha* cult in Nyemo, Tsang, Central Tibet. The Nyemo valley, 150 kilometers to the west of Lhasa, is famous for its craftsman. The general term for the *yul lha* cult is *lha gsol*. I shall return to it below. For the purpose of a comparison, the *lha gsol* ceremony has interesting features though its proceedure is totally different from that of the ritual practice in Rebkong.

The observation of the ritual I made was in the village called bZang-ri[6)] that counts 112 households – one of the largest villages professing the Bon religion in Central Tibet. [Plate 14]. It is situated at the foothill to the north of the level land in the main valley of Nyemo. Above the hill behind the village there is an imposing monastery called lHun-grub mthong-smon-gling that has a view of the whole local area [Plate 15]. The centre of the valley is a fertile plain with fields where barley and mustard were growing with their green foliage and yellow flowers making a sharp contrast with the barren landscapes of the surrounding mountains. In the pre-1959 era, the family rMe'u-tshang had the duty to look after the affairs of the village as well as the monastery (Karmay 1972: 10-11). It was known as rMe'u-tshang bla-brang[7)]. It still commands much respect from the village people. It was in the house of this family that I lodged during my stay in bZang-ri and it is the only place where foreign visitors are welcomed without awkward constraints from the local authorities.

There are five *la btsas* for the village of bZang-ri. They are sometimes called *lha phebs* in Nyemo. They are all situated on the hill behind the village. I will return to the appellation of *lha phebs*. The *la btsas* in Nyemo is made up of two things: a small square stone construction about two meters in height and about one meter in width. It is painted in red and normally called *lha tho* or *btsan khang* [Plate 16]. It does not contain arrows. Beside it, there is a bunch of tree branches often held together by a pile of stones. From the top ends of tree branches the *cod pan* are suspended. They are pieces of paper carrying some mantra. In front of the

la btsas, there are two poles, one on each side. They are used for stretching the *dar rdang*, a rope on which a special type of 'cloth wind-horse' is attached. This is made up of five pieces of cloth. Each piece has its own colour: blue, sky; white, cloud; red, wind; yellow, earth; green, water. Its presentation has therefore a cosmological significance.

1. On the eastern ridge of the hill behind there is the *la btsas* for Zhi-zhi dBang-ldan, the local deity of the rMe'u-tshang family [Plate 17]. The deity has the character of a religious protector rather than that of *yul lha* as can be gleaned from the description in the hymn composed in his praise (Hymn II).
2. Further to the north, there is the *la btsas* for A-bse rgyal-ba (Karmay 1998: 198), a traditional Bonpo religious protector. He was chosen to be the special guardian of the rMe'u-tshang family's lineage by its ancestors. This guardian is mentioned in a Dunhuang manuscript as *srin ag se rgyal ba*[8]. It indicates that the spirit was considered as belonging to the class of *srin*. In a forthcoming article I have discussed concepts of the *lha* and *srin* within the context of the classification of the eight types of spirits (*lha srin sde brgyad*).
3. A little further up on the hill at the back, above the monastery, there is the *la btsas* for sPrel-dkar rgyal-po whose origin is Buddhist as is clear from the hymn devoted to him (Hymn I). A member of the rMe'u-tshang family had a connection with the monastery of bSam-yas and he is said to have imported the deity from there. He is probably identical to Pehar (Karmay 1998: 350-64).
4. On the mountain that is a long way up from the hill behind the village is rKun-ma la-btsas. It is a curious name which is connected with a story of a thief (*rkun ma*). The real name of this *la btsas* seems to have been forgotten. In my view, this was the *la btsas* for the real local deity of bZang-ri, but it seems to have lost its prominence a long time ago.
5. The *la btsas* for Shan-pa mched-bzhi, the 'Four Butcher Brothers', is situated outside and at the base of the back wall of the main building in the monastery. They are said to be the retinue of A-bse rgyal-ba. The female oracle called Nyi-la in the bZang-ri village is said to become possessed by one of the Four Butcher Brothers when she enters into trance. She was about 70 in June 1999.

The *lha gsol* ritual in Nyemo took place on the 15th day of the 5th month in the Tibetan calendar (28th of June 1999). This time it was the exact date of *'Dzam gling spyi bsang*. The ceremony started early in the morning. All the participants in the ritual carried the *sle mo* basket on their backs full of the fragrant *ba lu* leaves and other aromatic shrubs. They carried a small bag on their shoulders containing the *bsang rdzas*, such as *rtsam pa* and grains [Plate 18]. Each person also carried in their right-hand a ladle containing fire which was kept burning with dried dung [Plate 19]. When I reached the site of the first *la btsas*, there was nobody yet. After a short while, a man and a woman arrived, apparently they were not a married couple. They immediately set about performing the ritual. First they took down the

sle mo and then started making fire without waiting for the others who were on their way up to the same *la btsas*. They put some of the juniper twigs on the fire as well as some of the *bsang rdzas*. Then they did the *dkar thig* which consisted in pressing with the thumb a pinch of *rtsam pa* on the surface of the fire place (*bsang khang*). After this, they chanted a hymn together: it begins with the words: *bsvo lha gsol lo*, repeated 3 times; and then *lha gsol lo*, again repeated three times. On the last time it is said with the throwing of a handful of *rtsam pa* up into the air by the right hand. This was the end of the ritual.

After this they continued to do the same ritual at the other sites of *la btsas*. People came up in a group of both men and women or a group of men or a group of women. There were also individuals either a man or a woman. In one case, there were only two young girls who performed the ceremony with a surprising deftness. Each group came to the sites consecutively giving me no chance to take a picture of all the people in one place. Whether the fire made by the preceding person was extinguished or not everybody carried the ladle.

At the site of the *la btsas* for sPrel-dkar rgyal-po, a *bsang* was offered which was intended for the deity sPrel-dkar rgyal-po and another one was made separately on a little rock near by. They were just content with this for the deity of rKun-ma la-btsas since the *la btsas* is situated on the mountain too far up to climb. After having accomplished the ritual, all the people simply returned to their homes separately.

The phrase *lha gsol* is generally used in Central Tibet to designate the *yul lha* cult. It is often used with the verb *byed pa* or *gtong ba*, for example *lha gsol byed pa*. It is a contraction of *lha la gsol mchod byed pa*, 'making offerings to deities'. The term *lha* in the phrase obviously refers to the local deity. The phrase occurs in old sources such as the *bKa' chems bka' khol ma*[9]. A legend tells of the famous minister mGar being detained by the Chinese emperor as a 'substitute' (*skyin tshab*) of the princess Ong-cong (Kong-co) in order to have offspring of him in China. However, the minister refuses to marry the woman who is proposed to him. He thinks out a way to escape. He pretends to be ill and tells his keeper that he needs to do the *lha gsol* ritual to recover from his illness. For the ritual he must go to a place from where one can see the summits of mountains in Tibet. Accompanied by guards he arrives in a place and exclaims: "There is the summit of the *lha ri* Gyang-to! It is a great place for doing the *lha gsol* (in Tibet)." He is then allowed to perform the ritual and eventually manages to escape. In the origin myth of the first Tibetan king, Mount *lha ri* Gyang-to is the place where the king lands when he comes down from heaven (Karmay 1998: 220-23, 301).

I noticed that only one man brought a 'cloth wind-horse' in bZang-ri. There were neither the ritual arrows nor the 'paper wind-horse'. As we have seen, these items were indispensable for the same ritual in Amdo. The reason for the absence of the ritual arrows is obvious: there are no forests of pine trees in Nyemo. There

were neither songs nor dances nor any other game such as often feature in the same ceremony in other regions. As can be seen from the above description, the festival of the *yul lha* cult in Nyemo is not an organized communal occasion. This probably does not mean that it is the general pattern everywhere in Central Tibet.

As we have seen, the local deities in bZang-ri are a hybrid host. The celebration devoted to these deities had none of the vitality and warlike aspect that were characteristic features of the same cult in Amdo.

The traditional religious protectors being styled as a *yul lha* with a distribution of *la btsas* is mainly evident in Central Tibet. This is certainly due to the Buddhist influence. The concept of *yul lha* is replaced by the cult of Buddhist religious protectors. The *lha mkhar* of dPal-ldan lha-mo on one of the roofs of Jokhang is a conspicuous example of this. She is the object of the *bsang* ceremony that is now a daily event at three points in the Barkor of Lhasa.

Let me now take up the question of the text that I mentioned earlier. As I have already indicated, its author is the A-lags. It is entitled *Lab tse dang dpa' mkhar sogs srid pa'i gsas mkhar gnyan po bzhengs par nye mkho phyogs bsgrigs* and has 13 folios. A detailed instruction on how to build a *la btsas* is given. It incidentally contains valuable insights into the tradition and cult of the local deities. The work is not published.

During the Cultural Revolution, most of the *la btsas* were destroyed in Rebkong like everywhere else in Tibet. The *yul lha* cult was singled out as *rmong dad*, 'inane faith' and its practice forbidden for two decades or more in many cases. At the beginning of the 1980s people wanted to rebuild *la btsas*, but only a few old people remembered how to do it. The A-lags was one of the people whose help was much sought. He therefore thought it would be useful to write a few pages giving guidelines for the reconstruction of *la btsas*.

His work is divided into thirteen brief parts. It begins with a general explanation of the term *lab tse*.

According to the author (f.1a), the term *lab tse* is of Zhang-zhung origin. He affirms that it denotes *pho brang*, palace or *rten gnas*, 'dwelling'. He further states that in some sources *lab tse* is presented as one of three types of 'cairn' (f.1b): *lab tse* is built on the top of a mountain, *dpa' mkhar* on the shoulder of a mountain and *cis te*[10)] on a plain.

It is uncertain, however, whether *lab tse* is a Zhang-zhung term. The author does not give any source for his statement. It is to be noted that the term *lab tse* is very common in recent writings by authors who live in Kokonor regions.[11)]

The earliest source, in which the form of *la rtsas* is found, is the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (Karmay 1998: 298):

mtho la rtsas kyi lha/ sma (dma') gru rtsas gyi lha/ (p.231)

"On the high level, there is the deity of the *la rtsas*, on the low, there is the deity of the *gru rtsas*."

In another passage of the same work the terms occur with a relatively clearer

meaning:
chu la gru (-rtsas) btsugs/ la la lab (la) rtsas brtsigs/ (p.254)
"On the river (side) the *gru rtsas* is established; on the pass the *la rtsas* is built."

The form *rtsas* is an old spelling for *btsas*. The term *gru rtsas* refers to the toll that was originally collected from the people crossing rivers with a coracle. It is probable that the term *la btsas* also refers to a landmark on a mountain top before it became a ritual term. In a Dunhuang manuscript, the term *btsas* is used as an honourific term for *yon*, 'fee':
la (lha) la ni btsas phul/ myi la ni yon phul nas/[12)]
"To deities an honorarium is offered; to men a fee is given."

The spelling *lab tse* is therefore evidently a corruption of *la rtsas/btsas*. In ritual texts other terms are also used for *la btsas*, for example, *dpa' mkhar, gsas mkhar and lha mkhar* which we have already met. The term *lha phebs* for *la btsas* in Nyemo is unusual in that it seems to suggest the connection between the local deities and their oracles.

The A-lags laid much emphasis on the importance of building the *la btsas* properly:
"If the *dpa' mkhar* is correctly built, men will live long, women will be glorious, the merits of men and women will be abundant, their power and prosperity will expand, they will have fewer enemies and thieves, less risk from wolves and there will be benefits to their posterity"(f.4b).

The following two hymns were dictated to me on the 27th of June 1999 by bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal, the man who reconstructed the lHun-grub mthong-smon-gling monastery in 1986 in bZang-ri. bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal is famous for his skill in calligraphy. Neither the authors of the hymns nor the dates of their composition are known.

Hymn I
sPrel dkar rgyal po'i 'dod gsol
sngon tshe bod yul bsam yas dbu rtse ru/
gsang ba'i dkyil 'khor rol pa'i pho brang du/
rdo rje slob dpon guru pad 'byung gis/
che mchog skur bzhengs dregs tshogs dbang du bsdus/
chos srung zhal bzhes dkor bdag srog gi bdag/
gnod sbyin gtso 'khor sprel dkar rgyal blon 'bangs/
tha tshig ma bsnyel rang mthun gser skyems bzhes/
dam rdzas gsang gi mchod gtor 'di bzhes la/
rnal 'byor ci bsam don rnams sgrub par mdzod//

Translation of the hymn I

The appeal to sPrel-dkar rgyal-po, the White Monkey King
Formerly, at the main building of bSam-yas in Tibet.
When the secret *mandala* of the palace was opened
Padmasambhava, the *vajra* master,
Manifested himself in the form of the divinity Che-mchog and overpowered all the arrogant ones.
They promised him to protect Buddhism and became lords of wealth and souls.
Oh! sPrel-dkar rgyal-po and your retinue who are of the *yakṣa* spirits
Do not forget your vow, and now drink the tea that is suitable for oneself and
Feast on the sacrificial cake which was the secret item when you pronounced the words of vow;
Accomplish all wishes of mine, the yogin!

Hymn II
zhi zhi dbang ldan gyi 'dod gsol
nye mo yul dbus dpal ldan bzang ri ru/
gsas mkhar nam lang bkra ba'i dus zhabs su/
sgrub gnas byin rtags gsas mkhar dkar po ru/
rme'u brgyud kyi bka' srung drag rtsal can/
rgyal po chen po zhi zhi dbang ldan la/
'khor du btsan phran du ma mang pos bskor/
klu mo na ra la sogs yul sa'i sman/
dam rdzas dkar mngar rgyun gyi gtor ma dang/
rtsi sman gser skyems gtsang ma 'di bzhes la/
bdag gis ci bcol las rnams sgrub par mdzod/
bar chod bstan dgra myur du bsgral bar mdzod//

Translation of the hymn II

The appeal to Zhi-zhi dBang-ldan, The Mighty Zhi-zhi
At the glorious village bZang-ri situated at the center of Nyemo
At the divine castle that has the aura of daybreak light,
A place endowed with the sign for spiritual realization
There dwells the fearful protector of the lineage of the family rMe'u
Called the great king Zhi-zhi dBang-ldan
Together with your entourage that includes many minor *btsan*
And *klu* including Nara who are the female types of the local deities.
Feast on the sacrificial cake which is garnished with the white and sweet items of the vows,
The tea that is brewed from pure medicinal crops.

Accomplish all the work that I entrust you to do.
Kill immediately the stumbling enemies of the doctrine!

It may be useful to point out the contrast in language and concepts in these two hymns. The first hymn involves the usual way in which Padmasambhave subdues the local spirits by transforming himself into divinities such as Che-mchog, a divinity of the *rNying-ma-pa* ritual cycle of the *sGrub pa bka' brgyad* (Karmay 1998: 19). It reminds the deity of the Buddhist vows he has taken and is urged to actualize the wishes of the yogin.

The second hymn is devoted to a deity who is identified as a protector of the rMe'u-tshang family, but propitiated by all the people of the village as their local deity. This hymn is markedly more autochthonous. It contains the concept of *yul sa*, a term that is found in Dunhuang manuscripts with the meaning of 'local land' and 'estate', but in Bonpo texts it has come to mean both local land and deity (Karmay 1998: 442). The hymn also has local spirits such as the *btsan* and *klu* as the entourage of the deity. Although the *yul lha* is generally associated with the cult of height its relation with subterranean spirits such as *klu* is often attested in propitiation texts such as the hymn II.

Conclusion

The concept of *yul lha* is an important component of Tibetan culture. It is not just simply a question of primitive belief in spirits. It is about the land surrounding one's habitat which one shares so to speak with the local deities who are often referred to in parental terms such as *a myes* indicating the inhabitants' closeness to them.

However, here the concepts of local land and deity are somewhat blurred by the term *yul sa*, since it connotes both the land and its deity as if they are the same phenomenon, and indeed in many respects it also expresses the telluric relation between man and his natural environment.

The *yul lha* oversees the local terrestrial domain above, intermediary and below as is indicated by the placement of the three types of 'cairn'. This cosmological layout is in line with the concept of the vertical axis of the 'three worlds' (*srid pa gsum*): *sa 'og*, 'under the earth', *sa steng*, 'on the earth' and *sa bla*, 'above the earth', a division of the terrestrial space which is the cosmomlogical basis in propitiatory rituals of earth.

Notes

1) For other ritual events in the area see the article by S. Nagano in the volume.
2) For an account of this monastery see the article by M. Mori in the volume.

3) *Gling ge sar rgyal po'i sgrung 'dzam gling spyi bsang,* Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1980, p.56:
nag po'i bdud kyi sa cha/ sa ri rtse dang brag rtse rno ba/ nags btsan sa/ mtsho dang chu phran 'khrugs sa/ bdud a chen rna ba khra leb kyi g-yas phogs/ gong (kong) po'i bon ri mthon po'i g-yon phyogs/ ri nag po dgu brtsegs kyi mdun ngos/ mi mgo'i lab tse (la btsas) rngams pa/ pags pa'i rlung rta g-yo ba/ rgyu rlon gyi dmu thag 'then pa/ tshil pa'i cod pan 'phyang ba/ 'chi bdag gshin rje'i pho brang la 'gran bzod pa'i gses (gsas) mkhar dmar po 'jigs rngams g-yo ba....
4) Cf. Drang-rje btsun-pa gSer-mig, *mDo gZer mig,* Krung ko'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1991, p.498
5) *rMa lho'i rig gnas lo rgyus kyi dpyad yig/* deb dang po. mTsho sngon zhing chen rma lho bod rigs rang skyong khul srid gros kyi rig gnas dang lo rgyus dpyad yig u yon lha khang nas bsgrigs/ 1992. For a general account of Rebkong see Marshall and Cooke, 1997.
6) The name of the village is sometimes spelt Zangs-ri (*sNye mo rdzong gi lo rgyus, Bod ljongs zhib 'jug,* 1990, No. 2, pp. 151, 157, 161), but in Bonpo texts it occurs as dPal-ldan bZang-po-ri, cf. Hymn II, below and *Legs bshad mdzod* (Karmay 1972: 138).
7) For a detailed account of this family see the article by Dondrup Lhagyal in the volume.
8) Macdonald, Imaeda 1979: Pelliot tibétain 1194, Pl..479, l.6.
9) Kan su'i mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989, pp.186-92.
10) This term, whose origin is unknown to me, is spelled *kye tu* in a recent article by rDo-je rin-chen. According to him, however, *kye tu* is built on the top of a mountain, *lab tse* on the shoulders and *dpa' mkhar* at the foot. His article is to be found in brTson-'grus rab-rgyas ed. *Krung ko bod kyi rig gnas sgyu rtsal kun 'dus zhal thang chen mo'i rnam bshad mthong grol kun gsal me long,* Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999, p.610.
11) For example rDo-rje rin-chen, referred to above.
12) Macdonald, Ariane, Imaeda 1978: Pelliot tibétain 126, l.131.

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Plate 1 A-lags Bon-brgya lHun-grub rgya-mtsho



Plate 2 *La btsas* in sMad -pa'i Khyung-po



Plate 3 dGra-'dul thogs-med-rtsal

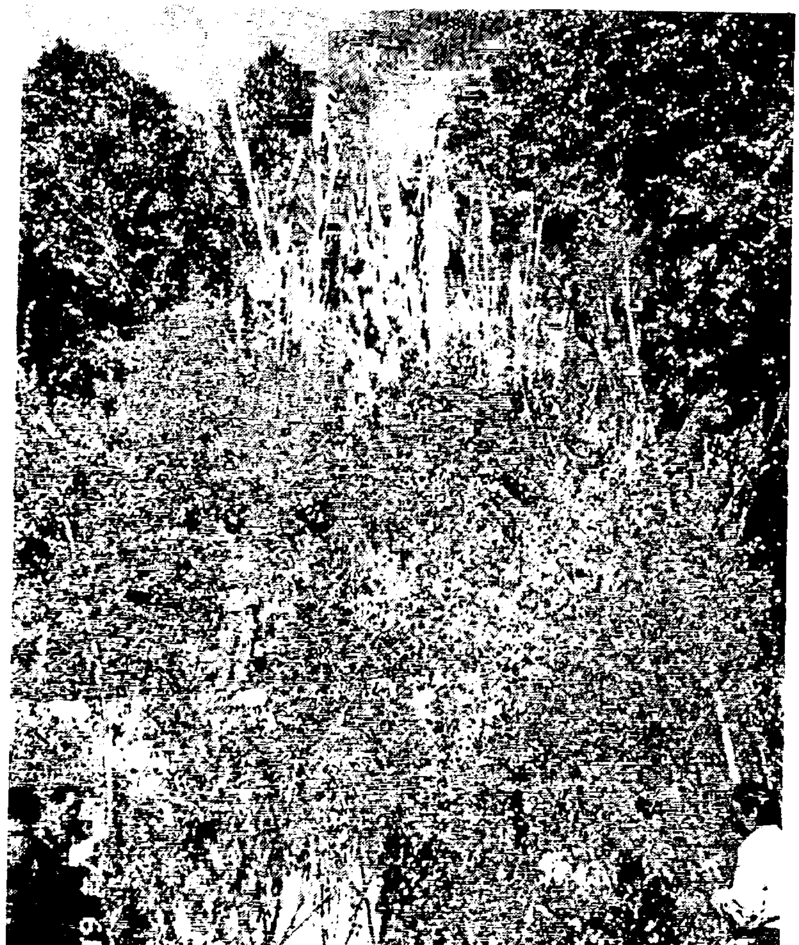


Plate 4 Birch branches

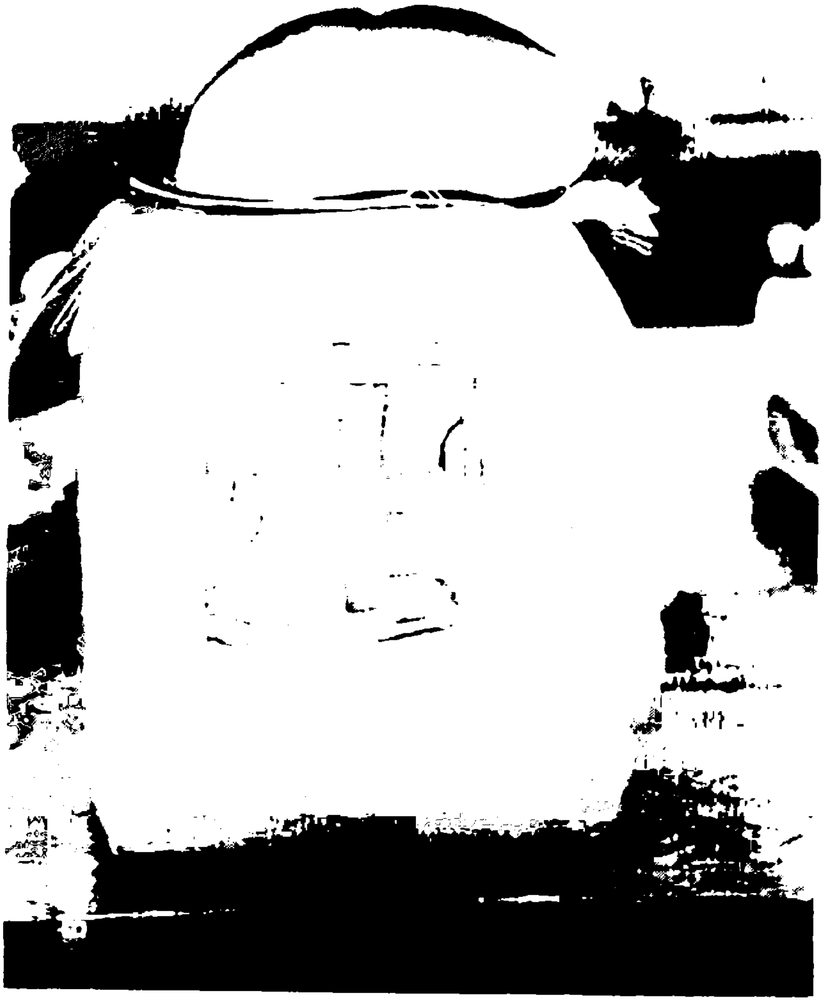


Plate 5 *g-yang rdzas*, "items of the quintessence of wealth"



Plate 6 Spinning of the *dmu thag*

Plate 6 Spinning of the *dmu thag*

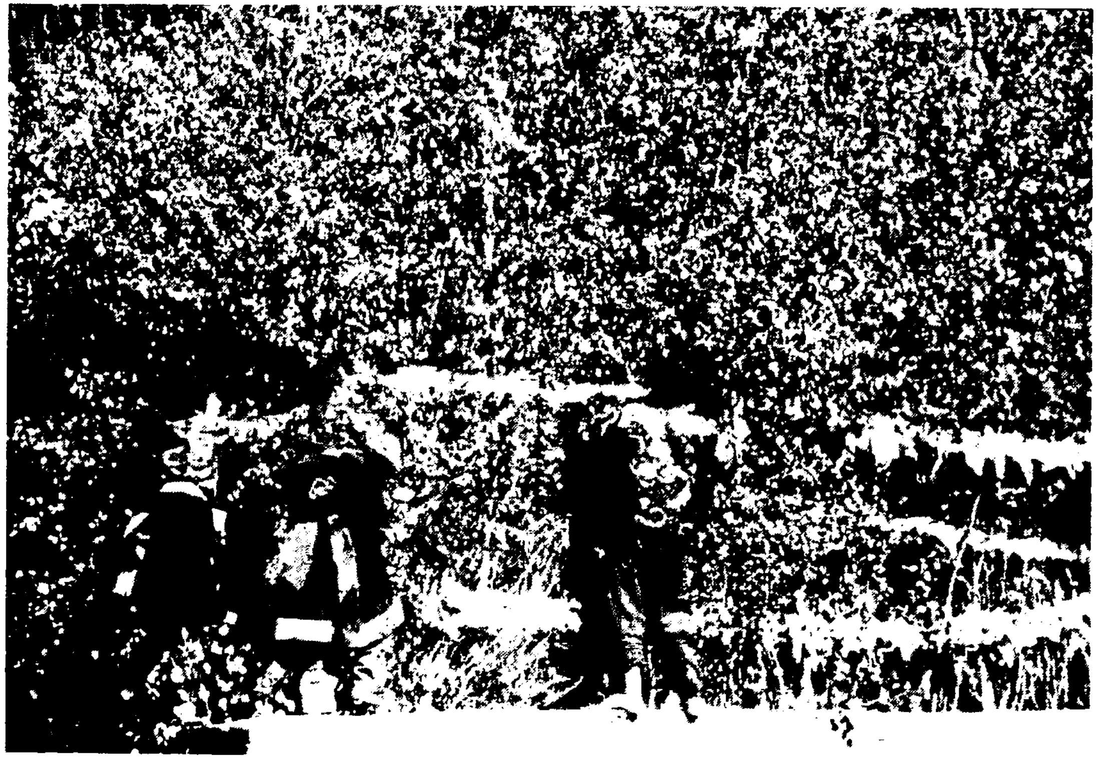


Plate 7 Winding of the *dmu thag* round the arrows and birch branches



Plate 8 Scattering of the "paper wind horses" into the air

A compa

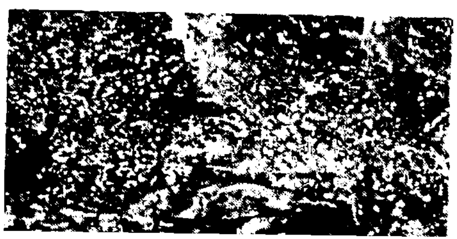






Plate 9 A-myes Thar-smug



Plate 10 One of the three sPos-te brothers (name is not known)



Plate 11 One of the three sPos-te brothers (name is not known)



Plate 12 One of the three sPos-te brothers (name is not known)



Plate 13 A-myes Bya-khyung (Plates 1-13, Rebkong, Samten Karmay 1997)



Plate 14 bZang-ri Village



Plate 15 lHun-grub mthong-smon-gling monastery and bZang-ri Village



Plate 16 lHa-phebs (=*la btsas*)



Plate 17 Zhi-zhi dBang-ldan



Plate 18 Women with *sle mo* basket

A





Plate 19 Two women carrying *sle mo* baskets and ladles
(Plates 14-19, Nye-mo, Samten Karmay 1999)

Monasteries and Lay Communities

The *bla ma* in the Bon religion in Amdo and Kham

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Introduction

In the early Bonpo tradition, the term *bon po* was used for those who believed in and practised the Bon religion, while the priests were called *gshen po*. After Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, *bon po* continued to be used for followers of Bon, whilst the adherents of the new religion were known as *ban dhe*. As the influence of Buddhism increased, the word *bla ma*, which translated the Indian term *guru*, "religious master", came to be used not only by Buddhists, but also by Bonpos for their own priests, instead of the older term *gshen po*. Thus the term *bla ma* in the context of Bon is a good example of the strong influence of Buddhism on Bon.

Concerning the term *bla ma* in Bon before Srong-btsan sgam-po (d. 649), there are no authentic sources, only various legends[1]. According to these legends, the first religious master (*gshen po*) in Tibet was sNang-ba mdog-can[2], although there were earlier masters in Zhang-zhung. All the ancient *gshen po* in Zhang-zhung and Tibet were lay people. They transmitted their teachings and rituals to their descendants so that specific traditions were passed on within a particular family lineage. As great importance was attached to such teachings and rituals, the masters often became prominent members of society. This was the origin of the *gdung brgyud*, the family lineage *bla ma*.

Until the coming of Buddhism, the family lineage (*gdung brgyud*) was the usual mode of transmitting religious teachings and rituals in Tibet. The family lineage is of course the normal way of reproducing the population, but if a family had special rituals and teachings, it could obtain a prominent social position. We do not know exactly when the Bonpos replaced the term *gshen po* with the term *bla ma*, nor whether the word *bla ma* existed in Tibetan before the introduction of Buddhism. However, it would seem that Bonpos quickly forgot the term *gshen po*, and early historical records, biographies, tantric texts and even some old prayer texts (*bsang yig*) refer to Bla-ma Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin and Bla-chen Dran-pa nam-mkha'. The family lineages are considered to be very important in Bon, and several such lineages still exist in Tibet. In Buddhism, too, several family lineages have been carried on until the present time.

A discussion of family lineages in Bon has to begin with that of gShen-rab Mi-bo, the founder of *gYung-drung-bon*, as it came to have an exemplary function.

According to the later textual sources of Bon, gShen-rab Mi-bo was born in the royal family of ancient Zhang-zhung. Before his final Enlightenment, he was a prince who had eight sons and two daughters. The Dunhuang manuscripts present a rather different figure of gShen-rab Mi-bo, probably much closer to the historical person, but it was the later version which came to dominate the Bon tradition completely. Bonpos believe that gShen-tshang[3)], the family lineage of gShen-rab Mi-bo, is the most sacred and important *bla ma* lineage in Tibet. Next to gShen-tshang, the most important lineages in Bon are those of Bru[4)], Zhu[5)], sPa[6)], and rMe'u[7)]. Except for gShen-tshang, members of all of these lineages were disciples of gShen-chen Klu-dga' (995-1035), the most important discoverer of Bonpo *gter ma*. While the Bru lineage came to an end after two Panchen Lamas had been born into it[8)], the Zhu, sPa, and rMe'u lineages still exist.

In the early period of Bon, 'family lineage' meant a lineage passing from father to son (*pha bu'i gdung brgyud*). This type of religious family lineage still exists, as e.g. the Kha-rag[9)] bla ma of Kha-rag monastery in Kham. Kha-rag is a very old place name in the history of Bon. Bonpos believe that it was one of the forty-five 'gathering-places' (*'du gnas*) founded by Mu-khri btsan-po, the second king of the Yarlung dynasty, and gShen Nam-mkha' snang-ba mdog-can who invited hundreds of Bonpo masters from Zhang-zhung to Tibet. The *Dran pa'i rnam thar g-yung drung gsang mdzod* and the *bKa' brgyad brgyud*[10)] mention Kha-rag as one of the *'du gnas* of the reign of Mu-khri btsan-po.

According to the *bKa' brgyad brgyud*, as recorded in the history of Kha-rag by Bya Tshe-ring, the founder of Kha-rag monastery was Ngo-zhu Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, one of the family lineage masters of Kha-rag. His family, known as Bru-sha rNam-sras spyi-ring, originally came from Bru-sha (Gilgit). It is difficult to establish dates for Ngo-zhu Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan and other *bla ma* of his lineage, so it is not known how many generations it encompasses. 'Jam-dpal blo-bzang rgyal-mtshan, the last Kha-rag *bla ma*, was born in the Earth-hare Year of the sixteenth *rab byung* (1939). He is currently training his son to be the next Kha-rag *bla ma*.

Mi-nub monastery in Nyag-rong in Kham is likewise ruled by the family lineage of Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med (1280-1337). The present lineage master is Khod-po Nyi-ma 'od-zer. In the same way, in Tsha-lung monastery in rMe-ba county in rNga-ba, Dza-rong Nam-mkha' rin-chen, the lineage master of the monastery, was seriously ill when I visited him in the autumn of 1998. He was still training his son, who was born in 1982, as the next *bla ma* of the monastery. In Shar-khog in Amdo, lCags-mdud Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan, the master of lCags-mdud monastery and holder of the 'golden throne' (*gser khri*) of the monastery, is the last master of his lineage.

However, after the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet and especially after the second propagation of Buddhism, the contrast between the *gdung brgyud bla ma*, who were married laymen, and the ordained monks became apparent, and the latter

came to be regarded as more holy not only in the eyes of their disciples, but also in the eyes of society in general. Consequently, some *gdung brgyud bla ma* took monastic vows, but thereby the problem of how to ensure the continuation of the lineage arose. The solution was that the *bla ma* kept the monk's vows, while his nephew, i.e. a son of his brother, continued the religious lineage and became the next *bla ma*. In this way, a new family lineage system was created, the *khu dbon gdung brgyud*, the *bla ma* succession from uncle to nephew. An example of this system is the sNang-zhig-tshang *bla ma* of sNang-zhig monastery in rNga-khog. The present sNang-zhig *bla ma*, born in 1983, is the thirty-ninth in this lineage. Another example is the Mar-lo-ba *bla ma* of Dam-pa rang-grol monastery in rTa'u county in dKar-mdzes prefecture. The present *bla ma*, Nor-bu dbang-chen, born in 1967, is a successor of his uncle, rDo-rje. Tshul-khrims bstan-'dzin, born in 1937, the present *bla ma* in Thang-rgang monastery, succeeded his uncle, Shes-rab tshul-khrims[11)].

While the shift from a lineage system passing from father to son took place successfully in some monasteries, such as sNang-zhig, in other cases it was supplanted by a system of reincarnation.

For example, in rTse-zhig monastery[12)], after succession from father to son during five hundred years, the system was changed to succession from uncle to nephew, starting with A-lags Shes-rab who was succeeded by his nephew rTse-zhig Drung-ram-pa. However, after only a few generations, the monastery adopted the system of succession by reincarnation under strong influence from Bla-brang and other Buddhist monasteries in the area. In northern Amdo, rTse-zhig and Khyung-mo monasteries are the only Bonpo monasteries which originally had a *gdung brgyud* system of succession and then changed to the system of reincarnation, which they have retained until today. In these cases, the evolution of Bonpo *bla ma* from *gshen po* to *pha bu'i gdung brgyud* to *khu dbon gdung brgyud* and finally to the *sprul sku* system has been completed.

To date the adoption of the reincarnation system in Bon in Kham and Amdo is very difficult to recount, as there are no direct sources. Nevertheless, some indications have been brought to light through the fieldwork of the present author in Kham and Amdo in 1996 to 1998. Thus, in the Kokonor region, the most important Bonpo lineage is that of rTse-zhig. According to Bon-brgya dGe-legs lhun-grub rgya-mtsho(b. 1935), the most important Bonpo lama in the region at the present time, there was no Bonpo reincarnation system in Amdo before the tenth *rab byung*, i.e. 1567-1626[13)]. This fits well with the fact that there is no reincarnation lineage in the Kokonor region which can be traced back more than five generations.

Likewise gTso-'phags, one of the 'Phags-pa rnam-gsum, the three great saints who were very important in the history of Bon in Amdo, was very active in the The-bo area. We can find many traces of his activities, and his descendants still live in the The-bo valley. According to *TGLG*, the succession of gTso-'phags was

carried on in the family lineage for many generations. Later he appeared as a reincarnation and founded several monasteries for monks who observed monastic vows (*'dul dgon*). These monasteries have only been in existence for four or five generations[14]. In other words, the reincarnation lineage of gTso-'phags may be traced back only approximately 300 years, a generation (in the case of reincarnation) being calculated at sixty years.

There are also several religious centres which have remained relatively independent, such as sNang-zhig in rNga-khog, mTsho-mtho and gYung-drung lha-steng in rGyal-rong, and dGu-skyang and sKyang-tshang in mDzod-dge. sNang-zhig still retains the system of succession by family lineage. Both mTsho-mtho and gYung-drung lha-steng were very important for the eighteen kings of rGyal-rong in former times. The Li-shu *bla ma* of mTsho-mtho is currently the ninth generation, but we do not know when this lineage adopted the reincarnation system. As for gYung-drung lha-steng, it was under a long succession of abbots (*mkhan po*), and has never had a reincarnation system. The present head of the monastery is Bon-slob Nam-mkha' bstan-'dzin (b. 1932) of rTogs-ldan monastery in rNga-khog, because a *bla ma* in his lineage was abbot of the monastery. Bon-slon has also organised the rebuilding of the monastery in the 1980s.

In the mDzod-dge region, sKyang-'phags, one of the three great saints, was very active. dGu-skyang was his main monastery. Unfortunately, there is no longer any descendant of sKyang-'phags in the monastery, but in sKyang-tshang, a monastery founded by one of his descendants, there is a reincarnation called Dri-med 'od-zer (b. 1935) who is the twenty-seventh generation in the succession from sKyang-'phags (sKyang-'phags *gdan rabs*) and the most learned scholar in the area at the present time. He claims that sKyang-tshang sKal-bzang mkhas-grub, the twenty-second in the succession of abbots (*mkhan rabs*) in the monastery, was recognised as a reincarnation of sKyang-tshang rGya-nag-tshang in the thirteenth *rab byung* (1756-1815)[15]. Presumably that would be the first incarnation in the sKyang-tshang lineage.

In Kham the *bla ma* lineage of the Khro-tshang monastery may be traced back five generations in the form of a reincarnation lineage, although the dates of the births and deaths of the *bla ma* are not clear. The last Khro-tshang *bla ma* is gTsug-phud 'od-zer. In sMon-rgyal monastery, six generations of reincarnations have succeeded one after the other, originating from a son of Kun-grol 'ja'-tshon snying-po (b. 1700). The present incarnation is gYung-drung gtsug-phud rnam-rgyal (b. 1983). In 'Bud-rmad monastery, there is a *dbon sprul* reincarnation lineage. The name *dbon sprul*, 'nephew-reincarnation', is due to the fact that the first reincarnation was a nephew of Kun-grol 'ja'-tshon snying-po. As far as I know, the reincarnations in rDza-khog mentioned above are those whose lineages have the longest history in Kham; the other monasteries either retain the *gdung brgyud* system, or have reincarnation lineages which only stretch back two or three

generations. In fact, the oldest would seem to be that of sMon-rgyal monastery, dating from the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In addition, there are a few special *bla ma* who do not fit into the categories discussed above: the *'pho ba grong 'jug bla ma*, the 'professional' *bla ma*, and the *rgyal tshab bla ma*. The first will be described below. The second, for which there is no particular term in Tibetan, is a *bla ma* chosen in certain monasteries where the family or reincarnation lineage had come to an end. For example, 'Bo-la monastery in Dar-rtse-mdo was a branch monastery of the 'Bar-khams monastery. The *bla ma* of the 'Bar-khams monastery was also the *bla ma* of 'Bo-la, but after the former was converted into the dGe-lugs-pa, the monks in 'Bo-la monastery, which remained Bonpo, had to select one among themselves to be their *bla ma*. The present *bla ma* is Tshul-khrims bstan-'dzin (b. 1952). Similarly, in rGyal-rong monastery in Brag-mgo county, the *bla ma* of the two monasteries changes every few years among the monks who have taken a monk's vows from sMan-ri monastery. Likewise, in Sa-'brug monastery in Shar-khog, gYung-drung blo-gros nyi-ma is the *bla ma* elected by the monastery. However, the difference between him and the two *bla ma* mentioned above is that the Sa-'brug *bla ma* was elected as a 'professional' *bla ma* and then approved by the monastery as the permanent *bla ma*. This means that gYung-drung blo-gros nyi-ma will begin a new lineage, either in the form of a *gdung brgyud* or as a reincarnation lineage after his death.

The 'professional' *bla ma* is called *khri pa* in some monasteries, the incumbent being changed every few years. An example is the *bla ma* of dGu-skyang monastery who has to be changed every two years. It may happen that a monastery prefers to have a lineage *bla ma* instead of selecting an ordinary monk to be their *bla ma*. An example of this is lDong-dpal g-yung-drung me-tog gling monastery in gZi-tsha sde-dgu which was founded by a *bla ma* of the sKyang-'phags lineage. When this particular branch came to an end in the middle of this century, the monks asked a *bla ma* of bSam-'grub monastery in mDzod-dge, who was also of the sKyang-'phags lineage, to be the master of their monastery, rather than electing one among themselves.

The last category is the *rgyal tshab bla ma*, of which there are three types.

1. When a master has passed away, it may be considered necessary that someone should take his place and position in society soon after his death, especially if the deceased was one who kept religious vows, rather than waiting, perhaps for many years, for a lineage *bla ma* to succeed him. For example the lineage of sMan-ri *mkhan po* are the *rgyal tshab* of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan. There is also a new *rgyal tshab* lineage starting at the hermitage of Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan, the present *rgyal tshab* being the *mkhan po* mThu-stobs rnam-rgyal (b. 1926).
2. When a *gdung brgyud bla ma* is too young to be the master of his monastery, the monastery may elect one of the monks to be the representative of the young *bla ma*. Thus, after the death of the 38th sNang-zhig *bla ma* bsTan-pa rab-rgyas (1930-61), there was no nephew to take his throne. The following sNang-zhig *bla ma*,

bsKal-bzang blo-gros rgya-mtsho, was born in 1983 and hence too young to take the responsibility of heading the monastery. Therefore the monks elected rGyal-'obs bsTan-'dzin to be the master of the monastery. He still has this position, although the young sNang-zhig *bla ma* was enthroned in 1988.

3. Similar arrangements can be quite convenient in the case of branch monasteries. Thus, a branch monastery of sNang-zhig is Cog-lo. Its head is the sNang-zhig *bla ma*, but since Cog-lo is quite far from sNang-zhig, the sNang-zhig *bla ma* cannot go there often, and a representative is chosen, the present one being Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (b. 1919). However, while the sNang-zhig *rgyal tshab* is temporary, the sNang-zhig representative in Cog-lo is permanent.

As Bon is believed to have been at one time vigourous all over Tibet, the family lineage tradition is also likely to have been present in the whole of Tibet. However, with the passing of time and especially with Lhasa becoming the religious, cultural, political and economic centre, the family lineage system was in many cases substituted by the reincarnation lineage system, especially in dBus and gTsang. This was the case not only with regard to Bon, but in the older Buddhist traditions as well. In some cases, a family lineage tradition could come to a sudden end, as in the case of the Bru family lineage after two reincarnations of the Panchen Lama were found in that family. In dBus and gTsang, where Buddhism gradually became entirely dominant, only three Bonpo family lineages remain, viz. those of gShen, rMe'u and Zhu.

In Kham, on the other hand, being far from the central power of Lhasa and the dGe-lugs-pa school, and being divided into many small states and kingdoms, it was possible for many of the earlier religious traditions to survive and indeed to flourish. Hence the *gdung brgyud* system is still widespread in Kham, not only in Bon, but also among the rNying-ma-pa, although the latter were more strongly influenced by the reincarnation system.

In Amdo, the situation is quite different. In the wide grasslands to the west of Lake Kokonor it is difficult to find traces of the Bon religion and the *gdung brgyud* system. There are some Buddhist monasteries, most of them being dGe-lugs-pa except for a few scattered rNying-ma-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa monasteries. East of Kokonor is the Tsong-kha area, where, not surprisingly, the dGe-lugs-pa is the most important tradition. Nevertheless, there are many traces of Bon in the area, and the Bon religion is still strong, especially in some agricultural communities in the valleys.

There are two Bonpo *bla ma* lineages in the Kokonor area, that of rTse-zhig and that of Khyung-mo. The former would seem to be the most important one in recent centuries. In the history of Bon in Kham and Amdo, there was a famous group of *bla ma* called the Eighteen Great *zhig* (Zhig-chen bco-brgyad), such as sTag-zhig, dPra-zhig, 'Bru-zhig, Shel-zhig, and sNang-zhig. According to the explanation of A-lag Bon-brgya[16], the first element of these terms (sTag, dPra etc.)

are the names of the tribes into which the *bla ma* were born, while the second element, *zhig*, which means "ruin" or "destroy", refers to the destruction by the *bla ma* of heretical views. Traditionally rTse-zhig is one of the Eighteen Great *zhig* in mDo-khams; to it belong the rTse-dbus *bla ma* and rTse-dbus mononastery, referring to the main lineage of the rTse-zhig tribe. The lineage of the rTse-zhig *bla ma* has been very active not only in the rGan-rgya pasture lands where the rTse-zhig monastery is located, but also throughout the Kokonor area, branch lineages of the rTse-zhig having spread to Bon-brgya and Ba-yan, and having generally exercised a strong influence on Bonpos in Khri-ka, Reb-skong, and rDo-sbis, rTse-zhig *bla ma* lineages being masters of several monasteries in those districts. A reincarnation of the lineage, called rTse-zhig *bla ma* Zhabs-drung bSod-nams g-yung-drung dbang-rgyal (1894-1949) was very active in the first half of the 20th century both in political and religious affairs in Amdo. He was the *gzhi dpon*, the family priest, of the Tenth Panchen Lama and his family in rDo-sbis (Xiong hua county in Qinghai), and he had very close relations with Ma Pufang, the war lord of Qinghai. Thus he received a seal from Ma Pufang stating that it is "the seal of rTse-dbus-pa who is the *bla ma* of all the monasteries and the lay people of Tantric Bon in the East" (*shar phyogs sngags bon dgon grong spyi'i bla ma rtse dbus pa'i tham ga*).

Another lineage is the that of the Khyung-mo in the sTong-che valley in Khri-ka county. The Khyung-mo have historically practised three different lineage systems. In the earliest period there was a *gdung brgyud bla ma*, because Sog-btsun *ston pa* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (14th century), the founder of Khyung-mo monastery, was a lay master and his lineal descendants remained the masters of the monastery for generations. Then, at a time which is not certain and for reasons which are not clear, the monastery adopted the system of *'pho ba grong 'jug* . Although this system is generally rare in Tibet, it became well-known in Khri-ka. When a Khyung-mo *bla ma* dies, his soul enters the mind of a young person who in this way is able to remember his former life in Khyung-mo monastery. He is subjected to very strict tests by the monastery, including identifying objects which were used by him in his preceding life. If he passes the tests, he is installed as the Khyung-mo *bla ma*. There are no restrictions as to race or birth place as far as candidates are concerned. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century, Khyung-mo sGrub-pa mthar-phyin was a Chinese from Xining, and it is reported that he was already sixteen years old when he came to the monastery to declare his status and that he did not speak a word of Tibetan. Nevertheless, he miraculously passed the examinations and spent the rest of his life in the monastery. The third period of the lineage is that of reincarnation. After the passing away of sGrub-pa mthar-phyin, the monastery adopted the reincarnation system. Thus the last two *bla ma* were rGal-'obs bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal and sTobs-ldan dbang-phyug, the latter being the present master of the monastery. We can see in this way that even a

remote valley was willing to adopt a new system, replacing their old tradition, the monastery thus complying with the dominant local culture.

Firstly, the function of the *bla ma* is still changing. In ancient Tibet, the division of labour was quite simple. The *gshen po* were priests, performing rituals and offering medical treatment. The *sku gshen* , the personal priests of the king, were likewise doctors. According to legend, Lha-Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal, the twenty-eighth king of the Yarlung dynasty, was without a son, so his two *sku gshen* practised 'the medicine of the *klu*' in the sMan-drang valley, finally enabling the king to have a son[17]. sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs, the thirty-first king, was blind; the *sku gshen* operated on his eyes and restored his sight[18]. Records of this kind show that the *sku ghsen* also functioned as medical doctors.

The *gshen po* in general were only part-time religious specialists and also had to look after their land and animals. The first change in their function was that they became full-time professional religious experts. Although all the *gshen po* belonged to family lineages, they gradually became connected with special sacred places, known as *gnas sde*, *'du gnas*, *gsas mkhar* and *gsas khang*, and later the *'du khang* of monasteries. According to Bonpo sources, many such holy places were established during the period of the Yarlung dynasty, such as 'the thirty-seven *'du gnas*', 'the thirty-six *sgrub gnas*', 'the twenty-four *gnas chen*', and 'the thirty-seven *sgrub sde*'[19]. In the course of the subsequent development of the the Bon religion, monasteries were built at the seats of the Bru, Zhu, sPa and rMe'u families, providing better opportunities for religious masters who no longer had to work as farmers or herdsmen.

Secondly, this change in the position of the *bla ma* caused many learned masters to appear. When a *bla ma* took religious vows – especially monastic vows – he could devote all his time to religious activities, including studies, gradually producing the mass of religious texts which have been preserved until our times. This certainly greatly increased their reputation. Likewise, the difference between religious and lay people was emphasized, resulting in two separate social groups. The *bla ma* are not only priests, but also scholars.

Thirdly, in the later development of Bon, the *gter ston*, 'Treasure-discoverers', have constituted another special group. According to Bonpo tradition, the *gter ston* do not have to be a *bla ma*, but could be herdsmen, farmers, or even thieves. Although some were illiterate, others became famous masters, such as gShen-chen Klu-dga' (995-1035). Discoveries made by *gter ston* have continued until our own time, a recent and typical example being the activities of mKha'-spyod dBang-mo in Kong-po[20].

Fourthly, the fact that people pay more respect to a *bla ma* who carefully keeps his religioius vows than to a lay *bla ma* was the single most important factor for change in the evolution of the position of the *bla ma* in Bon. This also had the consequence that many monks (*grwa pa*) converted to Buddhism, as the latter religion was considered to uphold religious vows and monastic discipline more

strictly. Furthermore, the idea became universal that the lay tantrics (*sngags pa*) could only help people resolve problems of their present life whereas the *grwa pa* who kept religious vows could help people with regard to their next life, viz. help to ensure a rebirth in sTag-gzig 'Ol-mo lung-ring, the Bonpo equivalent of Shambhala.

In the spiritual life of Tibetans, whether Buddhist or Bonpo, religious practitioners who keep religious vows enjoy greater respect than those who do not. The gradual ascendancy of the monastic institutions where vows are strictly observed is, therefore, not surprising. Thus, the lCang-lung monastery in dPal-yul in Kham has several villages constituting its *lha sde*. However, since the monks of this monastery do not keep their religious vows, they are gradually loosing influence. For example, the sDong-thog tribe with thirty-five families and the sBas-gong tribe with seventeen families were formerly completely Bonpo and two of the main tribes acting as patrons of the monastery, but nowadays they invite Bonpo monks only for resolving problems related to disease, hail, misfortune etc., whereas for funerary rituals they invite Buddhist monks who are considered to be more diligent in keeping their vows. In the Bonpo monasteries of sNang-zhig and rTogs-ldan the monks are known to keep their vows strictly, which is certainly one of the reasons why both monasteries are among the biggest in the Tibetan cultural area today. On the other hand, although the Kha-rag monastery has perhaps the oldest history in the Bonpo tradition, and the Kha-rag *bla ma* is one of the most important Bonpo *bla ma* at the present time, the monastery is not able to expand as the monks are believed to be lax in keeping their vows.

It is interesting to study the political situation of the Bonpo *bla ma*. Bon and Buddhism are of course two different religions in Tibet even if they have profoundly influenced each other. In Chinese policy, the Bon religion also belongs to the Association of Buddhists, and there is no separate association for Bon. There are few Bonpo representatives in the leading bodies of the Association of Buddhists in the Tibetan area. At this point, it must be mentioned that there is a difference in the names of the association in Chinese and Tibetan. In Chinese, Fojiao Xiehui is literally "the Association of Buddhists", which might suggest that the Bon religion should not be included. This name is used by the government administration and appears in all official documents. However, in Tibetan this name is rendered Nang-bstan lhan-tshogs, "the Association of the 'Interior Religion'" and not, as might be expected, Thub-bstan lhan-tshogs. Nang-bstan is defined as a religion the disciples of which have from sincere belief accepted the Three Precious Ones (*dkon mchog gsum*), i.e. *sangs rgyas, chos* and *dge 'dun* by formally taking refuge in them. The later Bon religion firmly maintains that it, too, accepts the Three Precious Ones and is thus to be counted as *nang bstan*, although it naturally substitutes Bon for Chos. It is probably for this reason that the Bonpos have never requested the authorities to be allowed to form a separate association.

Many would accordingly consider Bon to be a sect of Buddhism rather than a separate religion. Furthermore, in Buddhism, and especially in the dominant dGe-lugs-pa school, the majority of the *bla ma* are reincarnations, rendered in Chinese official terminology as *huofo*, "living Buddha". This may be understood as the continuation of the same soul in successive bodies, but not as a family lineage from father to son. Therefore, many family lineage *bla ma* are not recognized as *huofo*, but are classified simply as laymen. Even if they are officially recognized as "living Buddhas", their social influence is smaller than that of reincarnations. Even in the Bonpo community, the reincarnations, as we have seen, have a better reputation and greater access to resources than family lineage *bla ma*.

The gradual change of the status and function of the *bla ma* in Bon which has been described above, and especially the spread of the reincarnation system and that of monastic discipline (*'dul khrims*), has as far as Bon is concerned resulted in the loss not only of adherents but also of a distinct Bonpo identity, so that Bon is becoming increasingly indistinguishable from Tibetan Buddhism. This will beyond doubt lead to a gradual merging of religious feeling between the two religions.

* All information concerning *bla ma* of Bonpo monasteries in Amdo and Kham in the present paper is based on field work carried out in 1996-98 as part of the Bon project by Professor Yasuhiko Nagano, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan.

Abbreviations:

KGBJ: *sTod skyang zhes su grags pa A skyid skyang tshang dgon bkra shis g-yung drung dar rgyas gling gi byung ba cung zad brjod pa shel dkar me long* by Dri-med 'od-zer, MS.

KZGG: *gYung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung phyogs bsdus* by dPal-tshul, Lhasa (Bod-ljongs mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang), 1988

LShDz: *Legs bshad rin po che'i gter mdzod* by Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan, Beijing (Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang), 1985

TGLG: *gTso tshang dgon pa'i lo rgyus* by lDong-rigs A-skal, MS. written in 1983 from memory

TSLD: *rTse zhig gi lo rgyus mdor bsdus* by Bon-brgya dGe-legs lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, MS.

Notes

1) All of *bsTan 'byung*, the history of Bon religion, have recorded the legends concerning the history of lineage of Tibet's Kings before Srong-btsan sgam-po.
2) *KZGG*, p.112.
3) gShen-tshang is the lineage of gShen-rab Mi-bo, the last gShen-tshang *bla ma* is Nam-mkha' dbang-ldan (1956-). The seat of gShen-tshang is Dar-lding village in bZhed-mthong-smon county of gZhis-ka-rtse Prefecture inTAR.
4) The seat of Bru-tshang was in 'Khrungs-gzhis village in rNam-gling County of gZhis-ka-rtse Prefecture inTAR.
5) The seat of Zhu-tshang is in Ri-zhing valley in rGyal-rtse County of gZhis-ka-rtse Prefecture in TAR.
6) The seat of sPa-tshang is in La-phug village of sKyid-rong County of gZhis-ka-rtse Prefecture in TAR.
7) The seat of rMe'u-tshang is in bZang-ri village in sNye-mo County of Lhasa in TAR.
8) The second Panchen Lama Blo-bzang ye-shes, 1663-1737, and the fifth Panchen Lama bsTan-pa'i dbang-phyug 1854-1882. See Samten Karmay 1998 General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon, in his *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, p.119., Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.
9) Kha-rag monastery is in 'Dzin-khog valley of dPal-yul County in dKar-mdzes Tibetan Autonous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.
10) The History of Kha-rag Monastery by Bya Tshe-ring, MS. p.4.
11) *Bon gyi 'dus sde chen po sNang zhig rgyal bstan phun tshogs gling ngam bkra shis g-yung drung gling gi chags rim lo rgyus mdor bsdus shel dkar phreng ba* by bsTan-'dzin phun-tshogs and 'Jam-dbyangs brtson-'grus, MS, p.20-24.
12) *TSLD*, p.4-6.
13) *TSLD*, p.6.
14) *TGLG*, p.6.
15) *KGBJ*, pp.72-73, 150.
16) *TSLD*, p.3.
17) *LShDz*, p.133.
18) *LShDz*, p.133, and *DGSG*, p.159.
19) KZGG, pp.491-499.
20) Span Hanna 1994 Vast as the Sky: the Terma Tradition in Modern Tibet, in Geoffrey Samuel, Hamish Gregor and Elisabeth Stutchbury, eds., *Tantra and Popular Religion in Tibet*, pp.1-13, New Delhi: Pradeep Kumar Goel.

Bonpo family lineages in Central Tibet

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Introduction

According to Tibetan historians, before Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, the Bon religion was the only religion in Tibet. Among the Bonpos, there were various classes according to one's position in society. The *sku gshen*, who performed the daily ritual for the royal family, held the highest position. From the first king of Tibet up to King Khri-srong lde-btsan (eighth century A.D.), the position of *sku gshen* had been maintained, and was even gradually strengthened. The *sku gshen* took part not only in the religious realm but also in political life. Indeed, the *sku gshen* was in the process of becoming a new aristocracy. Their position was almost equal to that of the king. In the course of time, the *sku gshen* posed a threat to the royal throne. So when King Khri-srong lde-btsan was ruling the country, he felt that the Bonpo priests represented a threat. He decided to persecute Bon and to favour Buddhism. Although most historical texts claim that the Bon religion was persecuted during the reign of this king, the Buddhists usually preferred to adopt rituals of the Bonpos rather than to persecute them. On the surface, Bon seemed to be persecuted, Bonpo saints were compelled to flee from Central Tibet, and Buddhism took root. In fact, Buddhism could not have been established without adopting the ritual activities of Bon. So while the Buddhists persecuted the Bon religion, they also gradually adopted the Bonpo ritual system. There was a great debate between the two religions during the reign of King Khri-srong lde-btsan. The *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang* says:

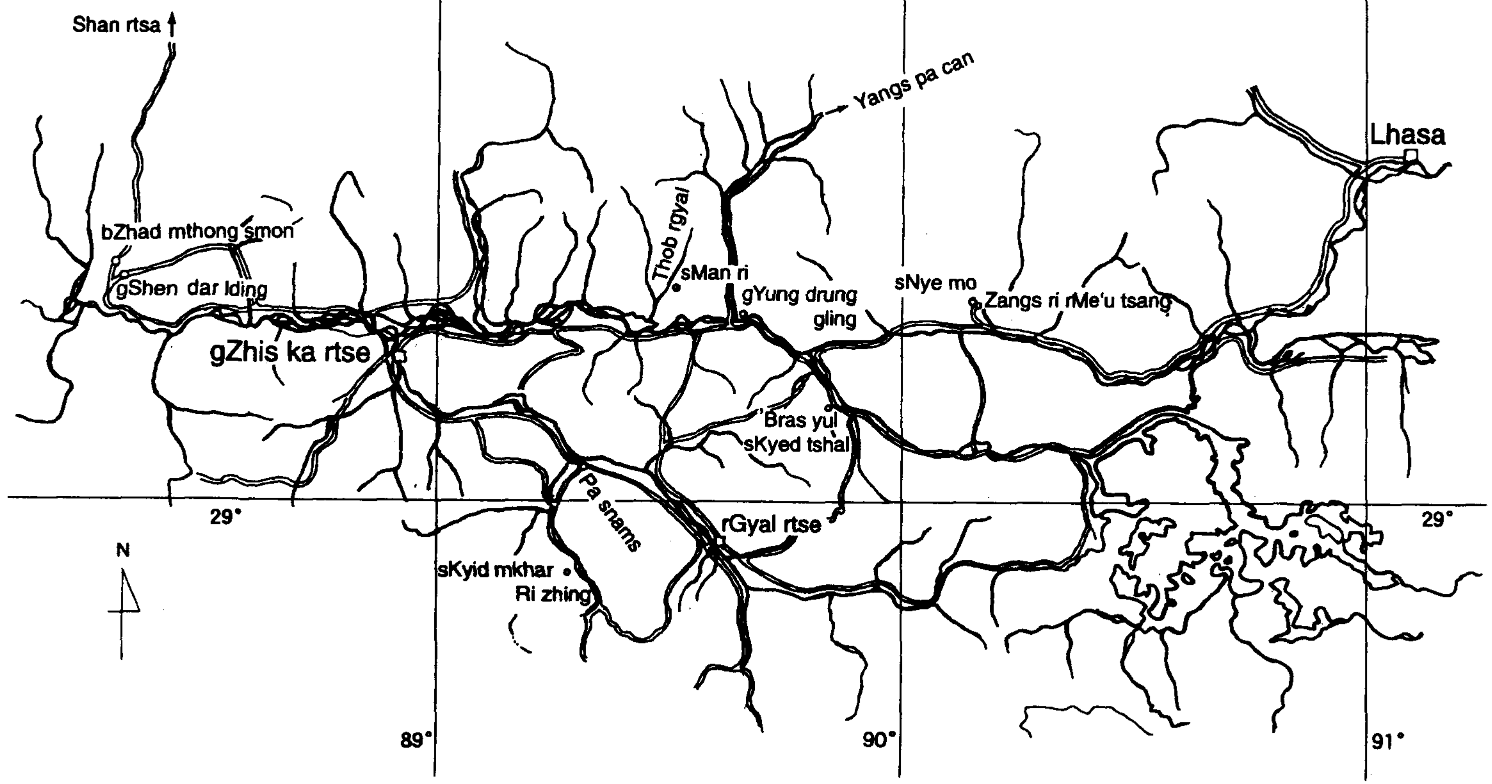
"Once again, all Bonpo priests said that you Buddhists cut your hair which has been given by your own father, and you change your clothes which have been given by your own mother, and you hold a beggar's stick and bowl." "Then Li-shu stag-ring said that the word *bswo* which we Bonpos recite is the sound of the original Bon of creation. We use instruments such as the *phur pa,* the *gshang* and the drum in order to conquer the devil and establish a link between gods and humans *'dre* and *srin*."[1)]

Thus the conflict between the two religions started and has lasted from generation to generation. The Abbot of Samye played the role of *sku gshen* at that time. The monks in the monasteries were given a very special position; the abbots became the new aristocracy. In this way, the old political conflict arose again. Some noble families took advantage of this situation. So King Khri Dar-ma, whom

Buddhist historians call Glang Dar-ma, carried out the so-called persecution of Buddhism. That was, however, not only a persecution of religion but rather a conflict between the royal family and the monastic power. Then lHa-lung dPal-gyi rdo-rje, the Abbot of Samye, murdered the king, and the Tibetan Empire collapsed. About a century later, Buddhism was once more introduced from India. Many Tibetan Buddhists visited India and Indian scholars were invited to Tibet. Buddhism first rose again in western Tibet. Meanwhile Bon also rose in Central Tibet. This is known as 'the Restoration of Religion' (*bstan pa phyi dar*). Bonpo texts had been hidden since King Khri-srong lde-btsan had banned Bon in the eighth century. The restoration of Bon started when Bonpo textual treasures were discovered in the tenth century.

In the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the monastic order was not so prominent in Tibet, even among the Buddhists. Temples were on a small scale. Because there were no monasteries to function as centers of learning and practice of the doctrine, masters always taught in their own homes. Thus the combination of religious figure and family member was not characteristic of Bon only. It is easy to find a similar system in Buddhism also at that time. Although Atisha's (982-1054) insistence on the rule of celibacy had been promulgated in Central Tibet, people did not care much whether a lama was married or not. The family lineage, rather than spiritual succession from master to disciple, was considered important. Indeed, within a spiritual lineage, the master was usually the paternal uncle of the disciple. The idea of family lineage was also strong in Bonpo communities. gShen, one of the six Bonpo family lineages, was considered to have many famous treasure discoverers (*gter ston*). gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035 *STNN*), the most famous and influential Bonpo textual treasure discoverer, was born at 'Bri-mtshams in Tsang. He was considered to be a descendant of gShen-rab Mi-bo, the founder of the Bon religion. Having discovered numerous Bonpo texts in the year 1017, he transmitted them to the Bru, Zhu, and sPa lineages. The latter three wrote commentaries on the texts which had been discovered by gShen-chen. The *sNang srid mdzod phug* was commissioned to Bru Nam-mkha' g-yung-drung, and his son Bru-sha Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan composed a commentary on this texts. He also established the doctrinal tradition of the Metaphysical Teachings *(mtshan nyid kyi bshad srol btod)*, which later on developed into a teaching system at the monastery of dBen-sa-kha in gYas-ru. The Tantric Teachings *(gsang sngags)* were commissioned to sPa-ston dPal-mchog, and he composed a commentary on the *Thig le dbyings 'chad* [2)] and established the tradition of the Tantric Teaching *(gsang sngags kyi bshad srol btod).* The Mental Teachings were commissioned to Zhu-g-yas Legs-po. His son Zhu sKyid-po composed a commentary to the *Byang sems gab pa*[3)] and established the doctrinal tradition of the Mental Teachings *(sems phyogs kyi bshad srol btod*). One may think that rMe'u is also one of the famous disciples of the great gShen. According to reliable Bonpo historical sources, rMe'u was just a disciple of Bru, Zhu and sPa, but not a direct disciple of gShen-chen.

Location of Bon-po monasteries in Central Tibet



These are later known as gShen, Bru, Zhu, sPa and rMe'u, and they are the most influential Bonpo family lineages in Tibet. These five family lineages were considered as the most important ones, and therefore won a very important position in Bonpo society. So far the earliest source in which the five families are given referred to as lama lineages is *TN* by sPa bsTan-rgyal bzang-po (1477). At the time, the Khyung-po lineage is not referred to as a lama lineage. So this lineage became as a lama lineage later. Not only these five figures but also their family lineages became very important in the later religious development of Bon. Indeed they are important both with regard to religion and the Bonpo community as a whole.

From the twelfth century onwards Bon and Buddhism established their monastic power. At that time, Buddhist monasteries were not only the place where Buddhist doctrines could be learnt, but were also the centre of economy and politics. So the combination of secular and monastic power had already been established in Tibetan society. The power was usually held by one family. The Sakya principality was the most successful among both Buddhist and Bonpo traditions. Along with the gradual rise of monastic power, the idea of *sprul sku* was established. The first *sprul sku* was acknowledged in the Karma bka'-brgyud tradition. There are two very important aspects of the *sprul sku* system. Firstly, this system can freely spread religion and increase the religious power in society; secondly, it can also bring huge wealth and power to religious realm. The Bonpo tradition, however, did not pay much attention to the *sprul sku* system, but instead continued the tradition of family lineages. In Bonpo tradition, there are only five clans, which can have lineage lamas. One who is born in one of these five clans is considered as a holy person, and has a high position in Bonpo society. This is a remnant of pre-Buddhist thought or is at least older than the *sprul sku* system. In the later development of Bon, the idea of *sprul sku* was also adopted, but it did not develop to the extent that it did in the Karma bka' brgyud pa and dGe-lugs-pa traditions. So the five family lineages remained the main way of succession in Bon in Central Tibet until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Each family founded its own monastery. At the beginning, family and monastic life were combined. The early period of the monastic system of Bon did not follow the celibate rule, so people who came to the monastery to study Bon did not have to receive the vows of a monk. Dam-pa rgyal-tshab, who founded the monastery of the gShen family, had not received the vows of a monk, and the monastery was run by lay lamas for several generations after him. With the growth of new Buddhist schools which emphasized the keeping of the vows of a monk and which reformed monastic life, the Bonpos were criticized for not obeying the monastic discipline. Then, in fact, the conflict between the two religions started again.

Buddhism as well as Bon found a theoretical basis for their own systems. The Bonpo tradition is based its system on the texts, which were discovered by the later treasure discoverers (*gter ston*). Those discoverers lived in between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Even though Bonpos maintained the family lineage system,

they also adopted the idea of *sprul sku* and the monastic system. The Bonpo texts which were discovered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries claim that all of Bonpo discoverers are reincarnations of the ancient Bonpo saints (*rig 'dzin*), and the five families lineage are considered as descendents of some sort of divinities or of sTon-pa gShen-rab. The emergence of the idea of *sprul sku* in Bon was a sign that Bon had begun to adopt Tibetan Buddhist ideas. However, the lineage system had not been abandoned, although the impact of the new monastic system could not be avoided. Interaction between the two religions was taking place in the form of an acute and complex struggle. During this conflict not only was Bon assimilated to Buddhism, but Buddhists also adopted a large number of Bonpo beliefs and practices. This actually started as early as the reign of King Khri-srong lde-btsan. Even though Bon and Buddhism are assimilated to one another, the conflict has been maintained for many centuries, even in modern times. The acute conflict caused the Bonpo population in Central Tibet to diminish. The Bonpo community was gradually to a large extent driven away from Central Tibet. Bon had the most difficult time during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82). The Mongolian troops, who were his patrons, destroyed many Bonpo monasteries. Indeed they destroyed not only Bonpo monasteries, but also other Buddhist schools. Even though many Bonpo monasteries were destroyed, the typical Bonpo tradition, namely that of the old family lineages, was maintained. In a certain sense, these family lineages played an important role in Bonpo tradition. Nevertheless, they could not spread the Bon religion as widely as the Buddhist schools, which were characterised by the *sprul sku* system. The Bonpo monasteries in Central Tibet were unable to extend their monastic influence much; the number of monks diminished. For example, in the time of its prosperity, there were three colleges (*khams tshan*) in the Zhu seat at sKyid-mkhar, each college having more than one hundred monks. However in the beginning of this century, there was only one college left with about thirty monks[4)]. The decline of the monastic life of the Zhu lineage started in the seventeenth century, namely, during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama. It has been a regular feature that lamas from these family lineages visit northern and eastern Tibet yearly in order to get economic resources to support their monasteries in Central Tibet. They usually go to areas where Bonpos are settled such as Hor, Khyung-po, and parts of Kham and Amdo. The duration of their visits usually depends on how far they will travel. Sometimes their visits last one or two years, so that they even take up residence in the area. In the gShen lineage, the first one who went to Bonpo areas to get economic support was gShen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan (b. 1360). He was the abbot of Dar-lding, a monastery of the family. Before his visit to Dang-ra in Hor, Dar-lding was still very small, almost like a hermitage. He built two more temples in Dar-lding when he came back from Dang-ra (see Part I).

The sPa lineage entirely moved to the Hor area in northern Tibet. It sometimes happened that a lama founded a monastery during his visit to a particular place, but

it would not necessarily be run by his lineage afterwards. Even though the monastic system had been completely adopted by the Bonpos, people were still willing to support the five great lineages. Therefore, Bonpos respected lamas from these lineages in the same way as the *sprul sku* was respected by Buddhists. The *sprul sku* system even caused the Bru lineage to completely disappear in the latter part of the 19th century. However, the other four lineages have survived in Central Tibet.

The development of the five family lineages mentioned above can be divided into two phases. The first is a period of combination of mythical and legendary accounts. Each family claimed divine descent. Although such accounts lack historical validity, it is still very important to take them into consideration. The gShen family, for example, is said to be related to sTon-pa gShen-rab. After his enlightenment, his descendants became the imperial priests (*sku gshen*) in Central Tibet. The Bru family, too, is said to have descended from the sky to the earth and became priests in Bru-sha, west of Zhang-zhung. Some scholars have identified Bru-sha as Gilgit. Zhu is considered to be the descendants of 'Bri which was a famous family lineage during the reign of King Gri-gum in Central Tibet. sPa and rMe'u are said to be of divine descent. For the second phase, some sources are available in which we find accounts of historical events from the tenth century up to the present day. We have comparatively abundant sources for this period. Accounts of both stages are insufficient from the Buddhist side. As we know, historians belong to different schools seldom quote one another. This is especially true with regard to Buddhist historians when dealing with Bon. Thus, it is extremely difficult to bear out an event on the basis of accounts from other traditions.

In the later development of Bon, these five great lineages not only exercised secular power, but also monastic power. Each family maintained its own family lineage. Meanwhile, an extensive monastic system was established. In the early thirteenth century, gShen Kun-mkhyen Ye-shes blo-gros founded a monastery called Ri-rgyal at Dar-lding in Tsang, Bru-sha rJe-btsun founded a monastery known as dBen-sa-kha at gYas-ru in Tsang, and Zhu Ye-shes rin-chen founded dBang-ldan lhun-grub-sgang at sKyid-mkhar in Tsang. The sPa and rMe'u also founded their own monasteries in Central Tibet. With the growth in influence of the religious orders, succession to power in these families took effect at two levels or two lines. A married brother transmitted the secular power from father to son; another brother, a monk, passed on the religious power. Many famous Bonpo scholars were from these five family lineages, especially in the early development of Bon. Bon religious rituals have been influenced by the five family lineages, some of whom have evolved a special ritual style. These different styles were adopted by Bonpos, and were established wherever Bonpos settled. These ritual styles are known as *lugs*: *Bru lugs, gShen lugs* and so on. Thus the same ritual texts can be performed in different ways according to the different styles.

Although all the lineages are found today except Bru, our sources only provide incomplete lists of each family lineage. Especially, many primary sources were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Information about the family lineages during the last two centuries is therefore rather vague, as we only have oral sources. Most families did not compile very detailed genealogies; in addition the families were divided into several branches. There were not many interactions between those branches, so it is very seldom that they refer to each other.

Textual and Oral Sources

The sources I am using can be divided into written and oral ones. The written sources are historical texts whereas the oral ones are interviews. The history of the family lineages is based on written sources and that of modern families is based on oral sources. The written sources can be divided into two groups according to their contents. Those texts in which the events before King Khri-srong lde-btsan's persecution of Bon are recorded mainly belong to the first group, and when these sources talk about the Restoration of Bon they are always referring to the prophecies of Dran-pa nam-mkha', Li-shu stag-ring and other Bonpo masters. Among sources which belong to this group are the *bsGrags pa rin chen gling grags*, the *'Dul ba gling grags*, the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang rnam thar chen mo*, and the *Dran pa'i lde mig 'bring po*. These texts mostly appeared around the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Those, in which the rediscovery of the Bonpo texts is recorded, belong to the second group. They principally quote from the sources belonging to the first group, and some later events are dealt with in greater detail than is the case in the first group. Sources which belong to the second group are the *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* by Khyung-po Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, the *Dar rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me* by sPa-btsun bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, the *Sang rgyas bstan pa spyi yi 'byung khungs* by Kun-grol grags-pa, the *Legs bshad rin po che'i gter mdzod* by Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan, and the *gYung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung phyogs bsdus* by dPal-tshul. The chronological order of these texts is as follows:

(1) The earliest source is the *Bon chos dar nub gi (kyi) lo rgyus rgyas pa rin chen gling grags ces bya ba dmongs pa blo'i gsal byed*. According to *LShDz*, it was discovered by mTha'-bzhi Ye-shes blo-gros *alias* mTha'-bzhi 'khrul-gsas from bSam-yas dbu-rtse[5], but *SGK* indicates that it will be discovered in Bum-thang in Lhasa (Lha-sa bum-thang). Karmay points out that this text is also called *bsGrags byang* (Karmay 1972: 17). The *gYung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum,* which is published in *Sources for a History of Bon,* also has the marginal title as *bsGrags byang.* This term can thus refer to any one of several related texts, dating from the 13th century[6].

(2) The *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang rnam thar chen mo* is the second eldest source available so far. According to later historical texts, it was discovered by Gyer Thogs-med also known as Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med in the year 1302 (*STNN*), and it is believed to be a prophecy of Dran-pa nam-mkha' and Li-shu stag-ring (eighth century). An account of the famous debate between Buddhists and Bonpos in the eighth century is given in this text in detail. No source recorded the great debate in as great detail as this text. It is obvious that this passage can provide no evidence of monastic vows in Bon at that time, as the Bonpo priests were just yogis or ritual performers. Later Bonpos repudiate this fact, so they never give the quotation of the relevant passage in their own works. In fact, this indicates that this text may be earlier than the *bsGrags byang*. But what we have now is not the original one. It seems to have been revised by later writers, because it mentions some figures who came five generations later than gShen-chen (995-1035 *STNN*).

(3) *Dran pa'i lde mig 'bring po* is one of the three versions of the prophetical texts of Dran-pa nam-mkha' (eighth century) namely the longest, the medium length and the short. They were passed on orally to Blo-ldan snying-po (b. 1360 *STNN*) by Dram-pa nam-mkha' (Karmay 1972: 72). It seems to have been available by the thirteenth century because no lama is mentioned later than that century.

(4) *'Dul ba gling grags*. The full title of this text runs: *'Dul rgyud bsgrags pa gling grags*, but in short it is referred to as *bsGrags pa gling* or *'Dul ba gling grags*. It was discovered by Slob-dpon Gang-zhug thog-rgyal in Mang-mkhar lcags-'phrang. It is published in *Sources for a History of Bon*, Dolanji, 1972.

(5) *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* by Khyung-po Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan. The passage called 'the Duration of the Coctrine' runs: 'King Khri-srong lde-btsan was born in the horse year. Buddhism was established when he was twenty-one. Bon was persecuted when he was forty-five and he died at tha age of fifty-six. Four sixty-year cycles and fifty-two years had passed when gShen Klu-dbang discovered Bon doctrines in the snake year. When another two hundred and seventy-six years had passed the temple of gShen Dar-lding was built. Then ninety-seven years passed I composed this chronicle'. According to *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, King Khri-srong lde-btsan was born in 790 A.D. which is the same as that given by our author. The building of Samye monastery started in the year 810. This fits with the year which our author gives as that of the establishment of Buddhism. Then in the year 834 the persecution of Bon began, and the king died in the year 846. Since then two hundre and ninety-two years had passed, which brings us to the year

1137. This was the year that the great gShen discovered Bon doctrines. Then four hundred and twenty-two years passed, which brings us to the year 1559. This was the earth-sheep year in which our author wrote his chronicle. This date is justified by the *bstan-rtsis* of Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (b. 1783)[7] A different date for the *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* is given by Kvaerne (1985:243) and Karmay (1977:118), viz. 1439.

(6) *bsTan pa'i rnam bshad dar rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me* by sPa-btsun bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, is the most important text among the second group of historical texts which pay particular attention to the Restoration of Bon, especially describing the rediscovery of the doctrine. This text is often quoted by later sources. There are two main points in this text. The first is relevant to gShen-sgur. It says that there are different versions regarding his discovery of Bon texts, but that his own version of the events is the correct one. It shows that there was an autobiography of gShen-chen which was available to sPa-btsun. The second main point is about the monastic lineages of the five great families. These monastic lineages were continued until the author's lifetime. Concerning the date of the writing of the text, the last paragraph reads as follows: 'Seven sixty year cycles and forty years had passed after the discovery of Bon texts by gShen-sgur in the fire-snake year when I wrote this work in the wood-bird year'. In other words, four hundred and sixty years passed after discovery of thext by gShen-chen, he wrote this chronicle. We have two most influential points of view for the date of the discovery of gShen-chen so far, one is the year 1017 given by Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (b. 1813), and the other is the year 1137 given by gShen Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (b. 1738). According to the first source, the year of the writing this chronicle would be 1477, and the latter would be the year 1597. As no information is to be found in this text concerning gShen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan contemporary with mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415, *STNN*), the first date would seem to be more probable than the latter one. There are two editions of this text, Dolanji 1972 edition, and Beijing 1991. There are some differences between the two editions. Especially, the date of writing the work is given differently. The Beijing edition gives the year as the wood-mouse year, while the Dolanji edition says it was written in the wood-bird year. So it is clear that there are several manuscript copies of this text.

(7) *Sang rgyas bstan pa spyi yi 'byung khungs yid bzhin nor bu 'dod pa 'jo ba'i gter mdzod* by Kun-grol grags-pa, composed in 1742 (Kvaerne 1990: 156, note 41), dealing not only with Bon, but also with Buddhist schools. There is a passage in which a brief list of five great Bon family lineages is made. It

just mentions the name of the lamas, but does not provide further information.

(8) *'Dzam gling gangs ti se'i dkar chag tshang dbyangs yid 'phrog dgos 'dod* by dKar-ru grub-chen bsTan-'dzin rin-chen, written in 1844 in Khyung-po. There are two editions of this text. one is found in *mDzod phug rtsa ba dang spyi don dang gangs ri ti se'i dkar chag*, published at Dolanji in 1973, and the second is published in Serie Orientale Roma, volume LXI, edited by Namkhai Norbu, 1989.

(9) *Legs bshad rin po che'i gter mdzod* written by Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan in 1972, pays particular attention to the discovery of texts and the five Bon family lineages. Most quotations in this text are from *SGK* and *TN*. It has been translated by Karmay (1972).

(10) *gYung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung phyogs bsdus* by dPal-tshul in 1960s, is the only historical text in which an account of monasteries and brief biographies of lamas are given. However, it does not mention which sources are used.

1. The gShen Lineage

1.1 The origin of the gShen family

According to the biography of gShen-chen Klu-dga', the word *gshen* was not the name of the clan from which gShen-rab was descended. Originally, the term *gshen* meant 'priests' in general. It just indicated a person who performed the religious ritual. There were many types of *gshen* in ancient Tibet, such as *lha gshen, srid gshen, phywa gshen, dmu gshen* and so on. Among the *gshen*, *dmu gshen* were the most important, as they performed rituals for the royal family only. Later they were known as '*gshen* of the king's body' (*sku gshen*). The dMu clan played a very important role in ancient Tibet. Since the first king, the priestly lineage lasted up to King Srong-btsan sgam-po, the thirty-second king of Tibet, and the main priests came from the dMu clan. The *dmu thag* is a supernatural rope. It was believed that it established a link between the king and heaven. The dMu are considered to be one of the six original tribes of ancient Tibet[8]. sTon-pa gShen-rab was born in the dMu clan. The dMu clan is also the same clan from which the first mythical king of Tibet descended. Different chronicles give, each in its own way, legendary accounts of the dMu clan. According to the *GRB*, from the first dMu family to gShen-rab Mi-bo fifteen generations succeeded each other:

dang po lha dang gshen gyi rgyud rabs ni/ sgra 'grel [9] *las/ sang po dang chu lcam gnyis las/ sras ming sring bco brgyad do/ de'i gcen srid rje 'brang dkar/ lha*

za gung grags gnyis 'tshos pa las/ sras bco rgyad sras mo bco brgyad byung ba'i che ba/ lha rab gnyen rum rje bya ba lha yi skye ba yin/ de'i sras gnam lha dkar po/ de'i sras gnam 'then rje la sogs 'then dgu gcig brgyud du byung/ lta ba khyung chen lding ba'i rgyud [10] *las/ mu rje lha rgyud 'od gsal lha las chad/ dang po ye mu la 'then/ de nas dmu sangs la 'then/ de nas pa la sangs g-yen la 'then/ de nas g-yen sangs phywa la 'then/ de nas phywa sangs 'ol la 'then/ de nas 'ol sangs yum la 'then/ (de nas yum sangs rgod la 'then/)*
de nas yum sangs 'od la 'then/ de nas rlung sangs 'od la 'then/ de nas 'od gsal dmu la 'then/ 'then dgu 'od kyi snyig ma la / rgyal po dmu phyug gi rab bzhag/ rgyal po sangs kyi gdung 'dzin pa/ thar byed ston pa rgyal po'i/ dmu rgyal lam pa phyag dkar bzhag/ [11]

The dMu clan was a descendant of the *'od gsal lha*. The dMu clan first counted nine generations called *'then,* followed by six *bzhag.* The term *'then* means to be descended from and *bzhag* has a similar meaning. *STBK* gives a similar account concerning the ancestor of gShen-rab Mi-bo:

srid pa yab yum las brgyud pa'i/ phywa dmu gtsug dang gsum du srid/ dmu las dmu rje btsun po dang/ de las dmu rabs 'then dgu srid/ de nas stag cha 'al 'ol sogs/ 'al 'ol gsum grol stag cha las/ phywa rgye yab bla bdal drug byung/ srid pa'i phywa rabs mched bzhi byung/ [12]

The dates of gShen-rab are as obscure as his birthplace. His biography contains a remarkable episode, namely his action in Tibet. According to the *mDo 'dus*, he married five women, one of whom, rKong-bza', was a princess from Kongpo (rKong-po). It is quite possible that this event took place because Kongpo was a well-known place before King Srong-btsan sgam-po in Tibet. According to the stone inscription (eighth century) in Kongpo, the ruler of Kongpo was called rKong-rje dkar-po, and there was a relationship between the Yar-lung king and rKong-rje dkar-po after the killing of Gri-gum btsan-po[13]. A son of Gri-gum btsan-po supported Bon in Central Tibet. sTon-pa gShen-rab was, perhaps, a famous priest in the Gri-gum btsan-po era, who had good relations with rKong-rje dkar-po. According to the *gZer mig*[14], a biography of gShen-rab, before gShen-rab went to Kongpo, the demon Khyab-pa, a Kongpo chieftain, had stolen the seven horses of gShen-rab. gShen-rab was chasing him to Kongpo, where they had a conflict. Finally gShen-rab conquered Khyab-pa, and the people of Kongpo were converted to Bon. So this was, perhaps, the main reason why he married rKong-bza'.

rKong-bza' gave birth to a son, named rKong-tsha dBang-ldan. The dMu clan was able to keep its high position and good relations with the royal family until the eighth century. There are only four generations of which there are detailed accounts from sTon-pa gShen-rab to King Khri-srong lde-btsan (eighth century)[15]. According to *LShDz*, after sTon-pa gShen-rab, the dMu lineage can be divided into three lineages, known as *che rgyud*, *'bring rgyud* and *chung rgyud.* The line which leads down to dMu-gshen Nam-mkha' snang-ba mdog-can is the *che rgyud* lineage. The line from which Dran-pa nam-mkha' descends is the *'bring rgyud.* The line of

The line of descendants of the family of dMu-gshen in Tsang is the *chung rgyud* [16]. As a consequence of Khri-srong's persecution of Bon, many Bonpos were compelled to leave Central Tibet and go to far-away places or convert to Buddhism. At that time, not only the dMu family but also many other Bonpos were obliged to flee from Central Tibet or convert to Buddhism. Dran-pa nam-mkha', for example, converted to Buddhism:

"He (Dran-pa) put his *gshang* (flat bell, a Bonpo ritual instrument) on his head three times and said: Now I will convert to Buddhism and give up the magic practices of Bon. Then the *gshang* was hidden. He held the *dril bu* (bell, a Buddhist ritual instrument) and said, I have converted to Buddhism. He touched the *dril bu* to his brow three times, took a knife from his pocket, and cut his hair and put it on the Mandala; he was named Bra-ka dPal-chen-po (sic). Then Dran-pa nam-mkha' became a Buddhist monk and studied and taught Buddhism[17]."

It might have caused the *'bring rgyud* line of the dMu clan to become extinct. Under those circumstances, the *chung rgyud* line of the dMu clan migrated as far as Tsong-kha[18], in north-eastern Tibet. There is no information about the activity of this clan in Amdo, but according to later genealogical texts[19], the dMu clan in Amdo, too, converted to Buddhism, as will be discussed below. Some sources claim that the move of the gShen family took place during the reign of King Gri-gum bTsan-po[20]

1.2. The rise of the gShen family in Central Tibet

About one century after King Khri-srong's persecution of Bon, bKra-gsal rgyal-po, from the dMu family in Amdo, made a pilgrimage to U-tsang. His mother was a descendant of the sGa clan, one of the six ancient tribes of Tibet. He settled at 'Bri-mtshams[21] in Tsang. According to a genealogical text of the gShen clan[22], bKra-gsal rgyal-po was a Buddhist *sngags pa*. There is a short account about how his descendants became Bonpo. The story says that dPal-mgon-gsas, the third generation from bKra-gsal rgyal-po, married a woman from a Bonpo family. She was the last descendant from her family, and after dPal-mgon-gsas married her they carried on her family. Since then the dMu clan became Bonpo again[23]. They had three sons, Klu-dga', Klu-rtsegs and Ge-khod. Klu-dga', the eldest, was born at 'Bri-mtshams in Tsang, and was later known as gShen-chen or gShen-sgur. Accounts of him are comparatively numerous. According to sPa-btsun bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, there are several biographies of gShen-chen. The autobiography was considered the most reliable among them. sPa-btsun quotes a passage from the autobiography of gShen-chen, saying "It is the only reliable one because it was told by gShen-sgur himself, but apart from that, several accounts of him are all invented[24]". Thus it seems that an autobiography of gShen Klu-dga' in sPa-btsun's lifetime existed. The biographies are available to us are genealogical texts. Who the authors of those texts are is not clear, nor the dates of writing (see the Introduction).

There are two important events during the lifetime of gShen-chen. One is the discovery of Bonpo texts when he was twenty-one years old. This event was the most influential one for the later development of Bon. The other is his family's move to Dar-lding. There is some uncertainty concerning his moving from mTsho-rnga-brag to Dar-lding, nor do we know if his whole family moved. According to rGya-mtsho who used to be a monk of Ri-rgyal at Dar-lding, after gShen Klu-dga' discovered Bonpo texts, he wanted to found a new seat (*gdan sa*), so he threw a white scarf (*dar kha*) into the sky. The white scarf flew to Dar-lding, and accordingly he made up his mind to found a seat there. Since then the place has been called Dar-lding which means "a scarf floating in the air". This story giving the reason for the move has been handed down orally. The seat which was founded by gShen-chen was called dGe-lding gSer-sgo khra-mo. It is just three kilometers away from the place where the modern gShen family is located[25]. It might be the antecedent of the seat later known as Dar-lding gSer-sgo khra-mo, the main seat of this family. There are different versions concerning the date of gShen-chen's discovery of the Bonpo texts. Most sources claim that when he was twenty-one-years old he discovered them in 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar.

gShen-chen was the famous master of the lineages of Bru, Zhu and sPa. According to the genealogical text of the gShen lineage, Zhu-g-yas Legs-po heard that gShen-chen had discovered Bonpo texts in 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar, and he went to meet him. When he first met gShen-chen, he himself was thirty years old, and gShen-chen thirty-six[26]. gShen-chen's autobiography, which is quoted in sPa-btsun's chronicle, has a similar statement. It says that when he was twenty-one years old, he discovered the Bonpo texts. After one twelve-year-cycle (in other words when he was around thirty-three years old), Me-nyag Na-gu and Zhu-g-yas Legs-po came to him to receive Bon doctrines[27]. After Legs-po had received many doctrines from gShen-chen, he went back to his home and looked for a place where he could practise the doctrines. Legs-po found gSas-mkhar Zo-bo khyung-lag in sKyid-mkhar, west of Gyantse, and he practised meditation there. After some time, Legs-po met Atisha (982-1054)[28] near Gyantse, and they discussed Buddhism and Bon[29]. That was, perhaps, when Atisha was on his way to dBus (Central Tibet). So Legs-po was at least active around the years 1042-54. Me-nyag and Legs-po were the first Bonpos who received Bon from gShen-chen Klu-dga'. So gShen-chen's discovery of the Bonpo texts must have taken place before Legs-po met Atisha. Not long after that, sPa-ston dPal-mchog also heard about gShen-chen's discovery of the Bonpo texts, and came to meet him. When he met gShen-chen, the latter was very sick, and could not preach Bon. He just gave sPa-ston some texts and recommended him to 'Dzi-ston dBang-gi rgyal-mtshan, after which gShen-chen passed away[30]. So gShen-chen Klu-dga' perhaps lived forty years as is stated by Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin. There are several different versions concerning the date of his birth. The date which Nyi-ma bsTan-'dzin gives is probably close to the facts. So gShen-chen was born in 996, discovered the Bonpo texts in 1017 and died in

1036[31]. The *GRB* and *TKDD*, however, give the date of gShen-chen's discovery as 1137 A.D., but other sources do not seem to confirm this date.

As already discussed above, around the eleventh and twelfth centuries some Bonpos received Buddhist texts from Buddhist lamas in Central Tibet. The conflicts, on the other hand, between Bon and Buddhism become more and more fierce. Especially the discovery of numerous Bonpo texts took place one after another, and the discoverers became more and more famous. On the Buddhist side, this was a cause for concern. gShen-chen was the most famous Bonpo discoverer in U-tsang, and many Bonpos came to him to receive Bonpo texts. His fame perhaps caused him to move his family to Dar-lding. But it could not help him avoid the fierce conflicts between the two religions. Finally he was poisoned by Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug, a Buddhist, in Dar-lding at the age of forty[32].

gShen-chen Klu-dga' married Na-ga-za dPal-sgron when he was twenty, and had two sons. Since then the main family of gShen has been settled at Dar-lding. We do not know if he had any daughters. In genealogies, women are usually not mentioned. This causes considerable trouble when attempting to identify women. According to rGya-mtso, there was a nunnery at Dar-lding, which used to belong to the gShen family. Each generation of this lineage had at least one nun. rGya-mtsho could give neither the name of the founder of the nunnery nor the date of founding. Nor have we been able to find any sources in which information concerning this nunnery is found.

1.3. Foundation of Monastic life

When a family has more than one child, especially, more than one son, the successor of the main family lineage is usually open to question. Even though the eldest son normally is the successor, sometimes the traditional rule is not followed. In the case of the gShen family, everyone who is born in this lineage must be a man of religion, and automatically has a high position. After gSen-chen's death, the gShen family separated into several branches, which settled in different places around 'Bri-mtshams. Dam-pa rgyal-tshab, for example, the third generation from gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035), was the first person who separated from the main family. The date of his birth is also uncertain. According to the genealogical texts of the gShen lineage, he was a disciple of Zhu sGrol-ba gshen-rgyal and Bru-sha Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan, and the latter received many Buddhist texts from Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge (1099-1169) in the monastery of gSang-phu ne'u-thog. So gShen Dam-pa rgyal-tshab must have been active in the first part of the twelfth century. Consequently his birth date which is given in *TKDD* as 1238 seems to be too late. He founded the first monastery (*gdan sa*) of this lineage at Bo-dong-kha near 'Bri-mtshams. It is not certain whether there was a real monastery or just a temple at that time, but in later times it developed into a monastery. We do not have clear information as to whether Dam-pa rgyal-tshab himself separated from the main family of gShen. The sources that we have just mentioned state that he

founded a seat at Bo-dong-kha. He did not receive the vows of a monk, but he was married and had four sons[33)].

Jo-bkra, the eldest son of Dam-pa rgyal-tshab, likewise moved to 'Ol-mo stag-tsang in mJed near Bo-dong-kha and had three sons. One of them, gShen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan, had his first meeting with Yar-me-ba[34)] when he was twelve years old, and received the vows of a monk from him. Having followed Yar-me-ba as a master for twelve years, he composed a biography of his teacher. He is considered to be the first ordained monk of the gShen lineage, and the monastic lineage of the gShen family known as *gShen gyi 'dul brgyud* originated from him. He was also the head of a monastery at Bo-dong-kha. At that time the monastery had become quite big, but we have no information about the main family at 'Bri-mtshams in that period. sPa bsTan-rgyal bzang-po counted eight lamas who formed the monastic lineage of the gShen family starting with gShen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan. Among those lamas, only three generations lived at Bo-dong-kha, while the others lived at Dar-lding. Our sources do not mention any reason why the monastery at Bo-dong-kha disappeared from the historical stage after it had lasted for three generations. Since Dar-lding took the place of Bo-dong-kha, the main family lineage has remained at Dar-lding up to the present day. From gShen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan the gShen family established their own monastic system and have their own monastic lineage (*'dul brgyud*), but the family lineage is still considered to be more important. Even if one receives the vows of a monk, one may give back one's vows if that is necessary to preserve the family lineage. Abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin gives his dates as 1094-1169, which seems too early; it is more likely to be the second half of the twelfth century.

Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan's elder brother Jo-rtse had three sons, of whom the eldest, Ye-shes-rgyal, received monastic vows from his uncle Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan. He became the second monk of the monastic lineage of his clan at Bo-dong-kha. Jo-rgyal, the youngest son, had two sons, of whom Blo-gros seng-ge became the third monk of the monastic lineage. Shes-rab-rgyal had two wives. One of them was from the Zhu family. We will discuss this family lineage in more detail below (see 2.2). Zhu-za gave birth to three sons, of whom Khri-skyong dar-po, later known as Kun-mkhyen Ye-shes blo-gros, received the vows of a monk. Another wife also gave birth to three sons, of whom Rin-chen-'bum, later known as 'Gro-mgon Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, became the fourth monk in the monastic lineage of the gShen family.

Kun-mkhyen Ye-shes blo-gros was one of the most important figures in this lineage. According to the majority of Bonpo *bstan rtsis*, he founded gSer-sgo khra-mo at Dar-lding as the seat of his family. Before founding gSer-sgo khra-mo, there was no temple at Dar-lding. Actually, there is not much information concerning Dar-lding from the period of gShen-chen to Kun-mkhyen. There was probably no permanent seat for the gShen family before the founding of gSer-sgo khra-mo by Kun-mkhyen. On the other hand, Dam-pa rgyal-tshab, the third generation from

gShen-sgur, founded a monastery in Bo-dong-kha in Tsang. It lasted for at least three generations after him. So it would seem that gSer-sgo khra-mo was a new seat for this lineage. According to the brief history of the monastery at Ri-rgyal, Kun-mkhyen was also the founder and first abbot of the monastery. We will call it simply Ri-rgyal. It was of course a small hermitage at that time but it later became a monastic center for the gShen lineage. So there must be some confusion between Kun-mkhyen's founding of the monastery at Ri-rgyal and gShen-chen's founding of the seat of the gShen clan at Dar-lding. Kun-mkhyen was not only famous for the founding Ri-rgyal, but he was also a great scholar who composed many Bon texts. There are various versions regarding the date of the Kun-mkhyen's birth. gShen Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan stated that Kun-mkhyen was born in the year 1312 and founded gSer-sgo khra-mo in 1354[35)]. This is more close to the fact than what is given by bsTan-'dzin dbang-grags viz. 1192 and 1233. The Abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin placed the founding of the temple as far back as 1173. Kun-mkhyen is suggested to have composed a prayer in 1235 following the *bstan rtsis* by Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (Karmay 1977: 158)[36)]. In my reckoning he must have been active during the first part of the fourteenth century.

Khro-'bum, one of Kun-mkhyen's elder brothers, had a son named dPon-gsas Seng-ge-grags. He had two sons, bSod-rgyal-dpal and dPal-'od-dar. bSod-rgyal-dpal is counted as the second abbot of Ri-rgyal and the sixth lama in the monastic lineage of the gShen clan[37)]. He composed a gShen genealogical text, which was available to later Bonpo historians. (Concerning his biography see the Introduction). As a monk of a monastic lineage, he must have received the monastic vows from his master. Nevertheless, according to the biography of the gShen lineage he had descendants[38)]. rNam-dag dri-med, one of his sons, was counted as the seventh lama in the monastic lineage of the gShen clan, and was also counted as the third abbot of Ri-rgyal.

dPal-ldan rnam-rgyal *alias* bDag-po-dpal, a nephew of gShen bSod-rgyal-dpal, was the only person in this clan who had been to China from where he received some support. *LShDz* runs as follows:

dpal 'od dar gyi sras bdag po dpal ldan rnam rgyal/ kun dga' dpal ldan gnyis/ dpal ldan rnam rgyal rgya nag tu phebs nas yig tshang tham ka blang shing/ dge lding gi pho brang lcags ri dang bcas pa gsar bskrun mdzad/[39)]

1.4. Religious Conflicts and Family Division

gShen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan, the sixth generation from Kun-mkhyen Ye-shes blo-gros was born at Dar-lding. He was another very important figure in this lineage. At the same time he was different from previous gShen lamas. He was not only famous as a great scholar, but he was also well known among the lay community of Bonpos. No lama was as popular among lay Bonpos since gShen-chen. Kun-mkhyen, on the other hand, was a great scholar, but not as popular as gShen Nyi-ma among the lay community of Bonpos, perhaps because of the

latter's successful struggle with the Buddhists. During his lifetime, the conflict between Bonpos and Buddhists was still rather acute. There is a story about how gShen Nyi-ma defeated a Buddhist *sngags pa*. This story is known to all people who follow the Bon religion in Tibet. According to rGya-mtsho, the story runs as follows: There was a small monastery of the Sa-skya tradition to the west of Dar-lding. It was called Mu-gle'u-lung and there was a *sngags pa* there called Rol-tsho sngags-pa. Buddhists usually called him sNgags-'chang Yo-mo, but Bonpos called him Mu'i wa-mgo. One day a local noble family held a wedding ceremony for their son, and the family invited the lamas from both the Ri-rgyal and Mu-gle'u-lung monasteries. Rol-tsho sngags-pa attended as a representative of his monastery, and gShen Nyi-ma took part as a representative of his monastery. The host asked the two lamas to compete in magic power. Rol-tsho sgnags-pa lost the competition, but was unwilling to admit defeat. Then he sent a wild yak (*'brong*) to destroy the seat of the gShen family in Dar-lding. When the magic wild yak was charging towards gSer-sgo khra-mo, gShen Nyi-ma hurled a magic *gshang* at the yak. The *gshang* hit it in the middle of the head, and it was killed. After conquering the evil wild yak, the relations between gShen and Rol-tsho got worse. Rol-tsho sngags-pa meditated in order to obtain his revenge. He competed in magic power with gShen Nyi-ma again, and once more he lost. gShen Nyi-ma conquered the evil yak and its skin was stuffed. This specimen was hung in the gallery of the main temple of gSer-sgo khra-mo until the 1960's. rGya-mtsho had personally seen it.

This is the second detailed story about conflict between the two religions in Central Tibet. gShen Nyi-ma built two more temples in Dar-lding to enlarge the monastery at Ri-rgyal. In order to enlarge it as well as gSer-sgo-khra-mo, he visited the Dang-ra district in northern Tibet. There is a story concerning his visit to Dang-ra. According to the *GRB*, a temple was built two hundred seventy-six years after gShen-chen had discovered the Bonpo texts in 1137, in other words, in 1413.

In the year 1639, however, the gShen lineage split into two branches[40)]. rNam-par rgyal-ba, the fifth generation from gShen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan (15th century), was born at Dar-lding. He had two sons, gYung-drung nyi-ma'i rgyal-po and lHun-grub dpal-bzang. The latter moved to sKyid-gzhong[41)] and founded another gShen seat called lHun-grub bde-ldan pho-brang. In the following two centuries, this new seat of the gShen family was prosperous. Several abbots of Ri-rgyal were from this seat. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was a dispute between the sKyid-gzhong and the Dar-lding seats. bKra-shis lhun-po, the residence of the Panchen Lama in Shigatse, came to settle the dispute. Finally, bKra-shis lhun-po confiscated the whole property of the sKyid-gzhong seat and the larger part of the property of the Dar-lding seat as well. Only seven families were left for the gShen family in Dar-lding[42)]. The sKyid-gzhong seat was given to a dGe-lugs-pa monastery called bKra-shis dge-'phel which is near Dar-lding. Since then the sKyid-gzhong seat was an estate of the dGe-lugs-pa monastery. Phun-tshogs dbang-rgyal, an eighty year old monk of Ri-rgyal, said: "One at autumn,

when I was about ten years old, I saw a tax-collector of bKra-shis dge-'phel monastery come to sKyid-gzhong estate to collect tax. At that time the sKyid-gzhong estate no longer belonged to the gShen family, and another noble family was running it." So towards the end of the nineteenth century both Dar-lding and sKyid-gzhong seats were extinct. According to rGya-mtsho, there was a lama named gShen Phun-tshogs bstan-'dzin rnam-dag in Dar-lding at that time. He married two women, but neither of them gave birth to a child, and he himself died in Lhasa. The second wife remarried a man from the Zhu family. They had a daughter named Tshe-ring. At that time, in fact, there was no heir at all in the gShen clan at Dar-lding and sKyid-gzhong after gShen bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag's death. However a branch of the gShen family had survived in bKra-gdong, a place near 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar. It must be the first place where the gShen family settled when it came from Amdo. According to historical texts, the gShen seat in Dar-lding was founded by gShen Kun-mkhyen Ye-shes blo-gros, but no text says that his whole family moved with him. Before founding gSer-sgo khra-mo in Dar-lding, he lived in Bo-dong-kha with his five brothers. This place, too, is close to 'Bri-mtshams. So we can infer that the gShen of bKra-gdong could be the descendants of one of Kun-mkhyen's five brothers. Having founded gSer-sgo khra-mo and Ri-rgyal in Dar-lding, people paid less attention to the gShen family in Bo-dong-kha and bKra-gdong as well. Tshe-ring married 'Dzam-gling rin-po-che who was from the gShen family at bKra-gdong.

2. The Bru Lineage

2.1 The Origin of the Bru clan

The Bru lineage is considered to be the second greatest clan in the Bonpo tradition. There are two different accounts of the origin of this clan, one Buddhist, the other Bonpo. According to Buddhist texts, the Bru clan is one of the six ancient tribes from which the Tibetan people were derived. These six tribes arose from the coupling of a monkey and an ogress in Tsetang[43)]. According to the Bonpo tradition, however, there is a different account concerning the origin of the Bru clan. In Bonpo texts, this clan is usually called Royal Bru (*rgyal rigs bru*). Perhaps it received this name because the ultimate source of this lineage is related to the king of Bru-sha west of Tibet. According to *STBK* this clan is of divine descent:

rgyal rigs bru yi gdung rabs la/ gnam bru dang ni sa bru ste/ sa bru dpal ldan sa skya pa/ yin te 'og na chos grar ston / gnam bru sku gsum sang rgyas mchog/ thugs rje'i sems can don la dgongs/ lha bu 'od zer mdangs ldan zhes/ 'og min sdug (stug) po bkod pa nas/ bar lha 'od gsal gnas brgyud de/ 'dzam gling mi yul 'byon dgongs nas/ rtsa gsum lha yi gnas su babs / lha yi dbang po rgya sbyin sras/ lha bu dri med mdzes pa zhes/ lha sras mang po'i 'khor dang bcas / rol chen glu gar bsgyur ba la / ma chag ri rab zur la byon/ gling bzhi gling phran yongs la gzigs/

khyad par 'dzam bu gling chen gyi/ o rgyan bru sha thod gar yul/ bdud rje ngam len nag po zhes/ gtso dang 'khor du sprul par bcas/ rkang gnyis mi dang rkang bzhi phyugs/ blo (glo) bur ye 'brogs sna tshogs gtong/ sad ser btsa' 'bu'i gnod pa gzigs/ de dag 'dul ba'i gnyen po ru / rdzu 'phrul rtsal gyi rnga la bcibs/ mdang gsal gshen gyi sna drangs te/ mtshe gco gshen gyi (gyis) sku rten nas/ rol mo sgra bcas mi yul du/ o rgyan bru sha thod dkar po'i/ gsas mkhar rtse mor mngon par bab/ de la rgyal po sad wer gyis / sku mkhar nang du gdan drangs te/ bram ze gsal 'bar khyod kyi (kyis) ni/ lha sras 'di yi mtshan rtags nas/ don dang 'brel ba'i mtshan zhig thogs /
gsungs bzhin bram ze'i mtshan btags pa/ phyi nang mtshungs pa'i rten 'brel la/ gnam nas sa la brul b'i bru/ lha brug gsha'mar 'dug pas sha/ tshangs bug dbyings su dod pa
yi/ bru sha gnam gsas spyi rdol gsol/ de nas bru sha gnam gsas kyis/ bdud rje ngam len nag po bsgral/ zhing khams thams cad bde bar byas/ de tshe o rgyan tho dkar dang/ bru sha'i yul gyi 'gro rnams la/ thegs pa chen po'i bon bstan nas/ rtogs shar
grub thob mang du byon/ khyad par o rgyan thod gar gyi/ rgyal po sad wer gsal 'bar yang/ 'khor ba'i las la zhen pa log/ rgyal srid btsun mo sras 'khor bzhi/ bru shar yul nas yul rje mdzad/ de rjes btsad po bya sde dang/ mnga'ris skor gsum sa mtshams
nas/ dmag 'dren len (lan) bzhi tsam byas mthar/ bru sha gnam gsas rgyal khab thob/ rtsod sde'i rgyal po btson du bzung/ de la 'khor 'bangs sde bcas kyi (kyis)/ gser dang rgyal po mnyam bkyag bslus/ bru sha gnam bon spyi rdol lam/ bru sha gnam gsas 'phrul skyes te/ gser gyi bys ru can lngar sprul/ phyag cha g-yu rnga bcibs nas byon/ rtsod (btsan) po rtsod (btsad) sdes gus btud nas/ rgyal po bla yi mchod gnas mdzad/ bzhi po
slar la byon tshul bstan/ bru sha gnam gsas yul der bzhugs/ sku sras lha bu gsas khyung 'khrungs/ de sras lo tsa chen po ste/ mtsho btsan skyes zhes bya bar grags/ de la sras dgu 'khrungs pa yi/ gcen lnga bru sha'i yul du bzhungs/ gcung bzhi btsan pa (po) btsad sde yi/ mnga' rir spyan drangs bzhugs su gsol/ mnga' ris skor gsum man
chad nas/ bod yul ru bzhi yan chad bkur/ gcung bzhi' gcen po g-yung rgyal mtshan/ gtsang du mar byon bzhungs pa yi/ sras gnyis gcen po khyung nag 'dzin/[44]

An abridged translation is as follows:

The lineage of the Royal Bru can be divided into two lineages, viz. Bru of the earth *(Sa bru)*, and Bru of the sky *(gNam bru)*. The Bru of the earth is the Sa-skya-pa, which later converted to Buddhism. The Bru of the earth is the manifestation of 'the excellent enlightened being'. He did not have any attachment to heaven but he intended to be of benefit for sentient beings. When he went to O-rgyan, Bru-sha and Thod-gar to conquer bDud Ngam-len nag-po who caused suffering to people,

he mounted the drum of magic power, and was led by the *gshen* mDang-gsal and accompanied by the *gshen* of mTshe and gCo. When he descended to the top of the temples (*gsas mkhar*) of O-rgyan, Bru-sha and Thod-gar, King Sad-wer invited him into his castle, and the king let the Brahmin give a name to the boy. The Brahmin gave him the name Bru-sha gNam-gsas spyi-rdol. After some time, Bru-sha gNam-gsas spyi-rdol 'released' the demon Ngam-len nag-po. Thereafter there was fighting four times between Bru-sha and mNga'-ris skor-gsum. Finally Bru-sha won the war and the leader of the Tibetan army was taken into prison. The subjects collected gold equal in weight to the king (of Tibet). Because Bru-sha gNam-gsas spyi-rdol helped the king of Bru-sha to win, the king made him his superior offering priest. Bru-sha gNam-gsas had a son named lHa-bu gsas-khyung. The latter had a son named mTsho-btsan-skyes. The latter had nine sons. The five elder brothers remained in Bru-sha. The four younger brothers were invited to mNga'-ris by bTsan-po bTsad-lde. The eldest of the younger brothers, *gYung-rgyal*, went to Tsang and remained there.

This short story tells how the first Bru clan appeared on earth and came to Central Tibet. In the story there are some events that remind us of similar episodes which are found in historical texts.

Firstly, when Bru-sha gNam-gsas spyi-rdol came down to earth, he was led by the *gshen* mDang-gsal[45] and accompanied by the *gshen* of mTshe and gCo. This reminds us of the first king of Tibet coming down to earth. The *sGrags pa rin chen gling grags* says:

rje (gNya'-khri) de gshegs pa'i dus su/ sku srungs kyi bon po nam mkha' las sprul pa ni/ dmu bon ye then rgyud las 'tshe mi rgyal du sprul/ phya bon the lag rgyud las bco(gco) gshen phyag dkar sprul te bon po de gnyis kyis rje'i phyag g-yas dang g-yon rten nas/ yar lung sogs dkar (sog kar)
gshegs pas/[46]

When King gNya'-khri btsan-po, the first king of Tibet, was coming down to earth, he was also led by two divine boys. One was 'Tshe-mi rgyal who was manifestation of dMu-bon Ye-then rgyal, the other one was gCo-gshen Phyag-dkar who was manifestation of Phya-bon The-lag. Likewise, the descent of the divine youth gSal-ba, one of three brothers who goes down to earth to be born by a human mother as the Bonpo teacher and the savior gShen-rab.

Secondly, we read that bTsan-po Bya-sde led an army from mNga'-ris to Bru-sha four times. The leader of the Tibetan army was taken prisoner and his subjects collected gold equal in weight to the king. This reminds us of the similar event which happened at the beginning of the eleventh century on the frontier region between mNga'-ris skor-gsum and Bru-sha. According to the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, mNga'-ris skor-gsum is identified as Mang-yul, sPu-rang and Zhang-zhung. These three were ruled by three sons of Khri Nyi-ma-mgon *alias* sKyid-lde nyi-ma-mgon who was the grandson of 'Od-srung, the elder son of Glang-dar-ma (ninth century):

dpal mgon la mang yul gtad / bkra shis mgon la spu rang gtad/ gtsug lde la zhang zhung gtad pas stod mnga'ris skor gsum de tsho lags/[47] *yab ni lha bla ma ye shes 'od ces bya'o/ khong rang yang rgya gar du byon pas/ lam du gar log gi dmag gis bzung ste/ bod kyi gser bsdus nas slu bar brtsams pa na'ang / sku lus tsam gcig rnyed pa la dbu tsam gcig ma rnyed par dkrongs/*[48]

lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, the king of the one of the kingdoms of mNga'-ris skor-gsum, was caught by the army of Gar-log, a non-Tibetan tribe which resided in the west of Tibet in the first part of the eleventh century. Even though his subjects had already collected gold equal in weight to his body except his head, he was killed. Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las identified Gar-log as Bru-sha in his commentary on the *Deb dmar*.

The *lDe'u chos 'byung* makes a similar statement:

gcen po rtse lde zhes pa mnga' bdag byang chub 'od kyi phu bo ste 'o lde'o/ de'i sras bsod nams lde/ de la sras gsum ste gcen po bkra shis rtse dang/ de 'og mnga' thang skyong gnyis gar log gis bkrongs / chung ba 'od 'bar lde ga log gi yul la bzhugs te/[49]

This work does not say that rTse-lde himself was taken prisoner but two of his grandsons were killed in Gar-log or Bru-sha. However, if we combine all these events which are given by different sources, they correspond to what is stated in *STBK* quoted above.

2.2 The Bru clan in Central Tibet

The Bru family lived for three generations in Bru-sha since gNam-gsas spyi-rdol, the first man of the Bru clan who came down to earth. mTsho-btsan-skyes, the third generation of the Bru clan, had nine sons. Four of them were invited to mNga'-ris by King rTse-lde. This must have taken place in the eleventh century because King rTse-lde, *alias* 'Od-lde, was the elder brother of Byang-chub-'od who invited Atisha to mNga'-ris in 1042[50]. One of them, gYung-drung rgyal-mtshan, migrated to Central Tibet and settled in La-stod Ga-ra ngo-mang in Sa-skya[51]. The family had lived for four generations in La-stod, when Bru Nam-mkha' g-yung-drung left the La-stod Bru family. He came to Tsang and founded another Bru seat in sMon-dkar dge-lding, also known as Nya-mo bon-gnas. It developed into a fairly big Bonpo centre before the founding of dBen-sa-kha, the first real monastery of this clan. Bru-sha Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan was born in the Bru family in Ga-ra ngo-mang. Both his father Bru Nam-mkha' g-yung-drung (994-1054 *STNN*) and himself were disciples of gShen-chen (996-1036 *STNN*). Particularly he was one of the four "commissioned disciples" (*bka' babs kyi slob ma*) of gShen-chen. According to the genealogical text of the Bru family, he also

received the *Byams chos sde lnga* texts from Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge (1099-1169)[52] in gSang-phu ne'u-thog which had been founded by rNgogs Legs-pa'i shes-rab in 1073[53]. Bru-sha Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan had followed Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge for thirteen years. According to the *Deb ther dmar po*, there were eight famous disciples of Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge, of whom bSod-nams seng-ge is from the 'Bru-zha family[54]. It is clear that 'Bru-zha is another way of spelling Bru-sha, the form which is usually used in Bonpo texts. bSod-nams seng-ge was the name which Bru-sha Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan used when he studied Buddhism with Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge. When Bonpos go to Buddhist monasteries to study Buddhism, they often use a new name in order to conceal their Bonpo identity. Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan finally founded a temple (*gsas khang*) in Ga-ra ngo-mang[55]. It was very small, but his famous commentary on the *Byang sems gab pa* and the *mDzod phug* were finished there. He traveled in almost all parts of Tibet, to Se-rib, sPu-rang, Ru-thog and Gu-rib in mNga'-ris, southeast to Kongpo and Brag-sum, and to some parts of Khams. He must have been active in the first part of the twelfth century.

After two generations, the family moved to gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha. Bru-sha rJe-btsun *alias* Bru gYung-drung bla-ma, a nephew of Bru-sha Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan, a contemporary of rJe-btsun Khro-tshang 'brug-lha, was born in gYas-ru dge-lding. Since his uncle Khyung-gi rgyal-mtshan was the disciple of Phya-pa (1099-1169), he must have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century. He received the vows of a monk from gNyos Lag-drug. lCo-mo Dung-skyongs-ma, the wife of Klu-rgyal gzi-chen, invited him to dBen-sa-kha as he was a famous Bonpo master in gTsang, and she offered a *dgon sa* to him. We can not identify which family this couple was from, but they must have been a noble family in gYas-ru at that time. The word *dgon sa* does not mean an actual monastery but just a building or group of houses. This could be the antecedent of the later famous Bonpo monastery known as gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha. That is perhaps the reason why later Bonpo historians claim that gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha was founded by this lama. This monastery gradually became the biggest in Central Tibet before the founding of sMan-ri in 1406 (*STNN*). From the founding of this monastery by Bru-sha rJe-btsun in the twelfth century onwards, there were eighteen abbots, known as the Eighteen Teachers of gYas-ru (*g-yas ru'i ston pa bco brgyad*). Bru-sha rJe-btsun was also the first in the monastic lineage of this clan, called the monastic lineage of Bru (*Bru'i 'dul brgyud)*. Starting with him, the Bru family settled in gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha. Since then dBen-sa-kha was regarded as the main seat of the Bru clan. Thereafter, the Bru clan started to wane. The Abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin gives the date of birth of Bru-sha rJe-btsun as the year 1040 and the date of the founding dBen-sa-kha 1072, but this seems too early, as has been pointed out above.

Among the clans, Bru was particularly active in establishing religious centers. dBen-sa-kha developed into a large monastery. It was not only the seat of the Bru clan, but also a general Bonpo monastic center. Many Bonpos went there in order

to study. For example, the eminent Bonpo lamas gYor-po Me-dpal, 'A-zha bDud-rtsi rgyal-mtshan, 'A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan etc. *A khrid*, one of the three traditions of the great Perfection of Bon (*bon gyi rdzogs pa chen po*), developed in this center. This tradition was later known as the *A khrid* teaching of gYas-ru (*g-yas ru'i a khrid*), even though the teaching lineage did not originate from the Bru clan nor from gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha.

Bru 'Dul-ba *alias* 'Dul-ba rgyal-mtshan, the fourth generation from Bru gYung-drung bla-ma, was born in gYas-ru, probably in the first part of the fourteenth century. He took the vows of a monk from 'A-zha Blo-gros[56)], an abbot of dBen-sa-kha, and also received the *A khrid* teachings from him. He received some other Bonpo texts from Zhu Khang-gsar-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. According to *A khrid thun mtshams bco lnga*, after giving teachings, 'A-zha Blo-gros passed the throne of the monastery to Bru 'Dul-ba who was the Abbot of Ben-sa-kha for few years. He became tired of being in a situation which was full of conflict. The main conflict seems to have been between Bon and Buddhism. Bru 'Dul-ba left the monastery in order to lead the life of a yogi. While he was meditating in the lHo-brag mkhar-chu hermitage, he was invited back several times by his family and dBen-sa-kha as well. However, he never returned to his monastery again. He replied to the invitation:

dgon de na tshig rtsub mtshon cha rno/ mi bdag gi bzod pa'i phub chung srab/ phyis g-yo sgyu'i rme skran byung dog gda'/ bdag da rung phyogs med ri khrod 'grims/[57)]

'So bad words in the monastery (dBen-sa-kha), I am not able to be patient with them; (I am) worried about crafty trouble from outside, so I had better keep my hermit life.'

This short statement indicates that during Bru 'Dul-ba's lifetime, there was still very serious conflict between Bon and Buddhism. It was not only an internal monastic conflict, but his answer refers to society outside the monastery as well. The term *phyis g-yo sgyu'i* refers to something outside of his own clan, especially, outside of the Bon religion. He was not the only one who became tired of such conflicts. The fourteenth century was one of the most turbulent period in Tibetan history. Finally he died at the age of fifty-one in lHo-ma ngon-lung which probably is in lHo-brag[58)].

Bru rGyal-ba g-yung-drung was born in gYas-ru dBen-sa-kha as the youngest brothers of four sons in the family[59)]. He took a monk's vows from his elder brother Bru 'Dul-ba. He received the most important Bonpo teachings from Bru 'Dul-ba, especially those of the *A khrid* tradition. He mainly lived in dBen-sa-kha, and sometimes in mKhar-sna, a hermitage near dBen-sa-kha. He originally wanted to receive the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* from Yang-ston rGyal-mtshan rin-chen, the founder of the monastery known as bSam-gling in Dolpo[60)]. He dispatched a messenger to Yang-ston in bSam-gling and asked to be taught the *sNyan rgyud*. Yang-ston sent several *rdzogs chen* texts to him and said "There is a

'practical instruction' (*nyams rgyud dmar khrid*) for this tradition, but we are so far away from one another. It is a single teaching lineage (*gcig rgyud*), it has never been written before. Thus I cannot break the rule of this teaching tradition. I have already transmitted it to rTogs-ldan Dad-pa shes-rab, so you should try to meet him and receive it from him[61]." rTogs-ldan Dad-pa shes-rab was invited to dBen-sa-kha when he was on his way to gNam-mtsho, and as Yang-ston's had suggested, Bru rGyal-ba received the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* teaching from him. Bru rGyal-ba was the most important figure in the Bru clan. He played a very important role not only in the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* teaching lineage, but in the *A khrid* teaching lineage as well. Indeed, he systematically developed those two traditions. Firstly, the major part of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* tradition had never been written down before Bru rGyal-ba, but had been transmitted orally according to the rule which Yang-ston had said. He had, however, revised the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* according to the ideas of the previous masters, and composed a profound commentary. It was a revolution in this tradition that now developed a complete teaching system. Secondly, he systematized the *A khrid* tradition into the fifteen meditative stages (*thun mtshams bco lnga*). Since he revised the *A khrid* teachings, it has later known as *A khrid* of gYas-ru (*g-yas ru'i a khrid*). The Abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin gives 1242 as the date of birth of Bru rGyal-ba, but, as we have seen above, this date is open to discussion. The *NYNT* says that when Bru 'Dul-ba, a brother of Bru rGyal-ba, was in the lHo-brag mkhar-chu hermitage, rTogs-ldan Dad-pa shes-rab came to meet him. *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* says:

bla ma rtogs ldan dad pa shes rab kyis/ dgung lo lnga bcu rtsa lnga lon pa'i dus/ dbus gtsang gi grwa sa grub gnas gnas chen kun bskor zhing/ khyad par du lho brag tu mtshan ldan 'dul ba'i drung du gtugs nas/ rdzogs chen a khrid dmar byang/ dri med lhan skyes dbang ye dbang chen mo las sogs pa'i lung
rnams zhus dus/ snyan rgyud kyi gsung gling(gleng) mang du byung bas/ mtshan ldan pa'i zhal nas/ khyed la snyan rgyud kyi lung rdzogs par 'dug pas/ nga rgad po ni zhus kyang so mi bsod(gsod) pa las med/ khyed kyis lung 'di rgyal ba g-yung drung la phog dgos/[62]

'It is very important that you have received the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* tradition, I want to get it from you but now it is too late for me. Please transmit it to Bru rGyal-ba g-yung-drung'.

This implies that rGyal-ba g-yung-drung was much younger than Bru 'Dul-ba. As we have seen above, Bru 'Dul-ba must have lived in the first part of the fourteenth century. So it is possible that rGyal-ba g-yung-drung's year of birth as 1302, one *rab byung* later than that given by the Abbot Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin.

2.3 The End of the Bru Lineage

Five generations after Bru rGyal-ba, the 'brothers of the Bru family'[63] offered the two colleges of dBen-sa-kha (dBu-rtse dkar-po and dBu-rtse dmar-po) to mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415 *STNN*), who were then regarded as the chief of the Bru. Not long after dBu-rtse dkar-po and dmar-po had been offered to Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, dBen-sa-kha was destroyed by flood. Although Bonpos claim that the monastery was destroyed by flood, this was still not a sufficient reason for its disappearance. Usually a monastery is rebuilt after having been destroyed, unless there is an official order not to rebuild it. Therefore, besides the flood, its disappearance must have been due to other factors. *LShDz* says that "dBen-sa-kha had been destroyed by flood owing to the jealousy of the Buddhists [64]".

After the destruction of the monastery, the Bru family started to wane. And even though the family lineage was maintained, from then on no great scholar was born to it. In addition, in 1663, a boy was born in the Bru family in a village near dBen-sa kha. When this child was four years old, he was recognized, under the Fifth Dalai Lama's supervision, as the incarnation of the fourth Panchen Lama[65]. He was enthroned in rGyal-mtshan mthon-po, the place of the Abbots of bKra-shis lhun-po, and given the name Blo-bzang ye-shes (1663-1737) by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Since the Fifth Panchen Lama was born into the Bru family, the village was called 'Khrungs-gzhis. Not long after that, sPyan-gsal dgon-pa, a dGe-lugs-pa monastery, was founded in 'Khrungs-gzhis village. The people of the village had to sponsor this monastery instead of sMan-ri, a Bonpo monastery, which had been founded by mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan in 1405(*STNN*) just after the destruction of dBen-sa-kha. Almost two centuries later, in 1855, rNam-rgyal dbang-'dus rgyal-mtshan(1855-81) was born in the Bru family. When he was six years old, he was recognized as the incarnation of the Seventh Panchen Lama and enthroned with the name Blo-bzang dpal-ldan chos-kyi grags-pa bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug. According to Tibetan tradition, the family name should be retained by the paternal side of the family. If there is no married son in the family, the lineage will come to an end. Two Bru lamas' being recognized as the Panchen Lama caused the Bru lineage to completely disappear. Because of the disappearance of the Bru lineage and the founding of the sPyan-gsal monastery at the 'Khrungs-gzhis village, the entire village was converted to dGe-lugs-pa order.

3. The Zhu lineage

3.1 The Founding of the Zhu seat

In contrast to the other old Bonpo families, this clan has no tradition of being of divine descent. Indeed Zhu is not the original name of the clan. According to *STBK* it was originally called 'Bri, one of the two famous clans in western Tibet

during the reign of King Gri-gum. This family is not known for its monastic lineage as much as the gShen and the Bru clans, but for its ritual tradition especially the *'dur* ritual, namely the three hundreds and sixty *'dur phug* ritual (*'dur phug sum brgya drug cu*). The family was later known as Zhu-tshang due to its having lived in the place called Zhu-yi ba-mo[66)]. Since then, wherever the family has moved, it was called Zhu-tshang. Among the Bonpos, this lineage is traditionally known as dBang-ldan zhu. People think that this name refers to power. Actually it is just a name of the place where the Zhu family lived. Sometimes it is also called Ri-zhing zhu or sKyid-mkhar zhu. All these names point to the places where the Zhu family lived, as will be explained below.

After some time, some of the family members migrated to Central Tibet. Zhu-g-yas Legs-po (b. 1002 *STNN*) was born in Shab ba-mo-che in Sa-skya. He is the first historical figure of this clan. There are several versions concerning this man. The major sources state that he was a disciple of gShen-chen. When he went to meet gShen-chen and asked to be accepted as a disciple, gShen-chen tested him in many ways to see whether he had pure faith and let him experience hard physical work for eight years. Finally gShen-chen knew Legs-po had pure faith, and he understood it was time to transmit the Bon doctrines to Legs-po[67)]. Thus Legs-po received many Bonpo teachings, especially concerning the *sems phyogs* doctrine. He became one of the four commissioned disciples (*bka' babs kyi slob ma*) of gShen-chen. There is, however, a biography of Legs-po which contains a different version concerning how Legs-po received the teachings from gShen-chen[68)]. It states that he came to gShen-chen and asked to bestow on him certain texts. gShen-chen told him that the texts which he wanted were still hidden underground. There were many things, which needed to be collected in order to discover them. If he were able to do so, all the texts would belong to him. The things they needed in order to discover the texts were one yak-load of hoes and pickaxes, thirteen strong men (*gyad pa mi rgod*), six yak-loads of paper and ink, a hundred writers, several kinds of vases which were to be put in the place of the texts that were taken out, and silk of high quality.

Legs-po went back to Shab ba-mo-che, where his family lived, collected all the things required and returned to gShen-chen. They discovered the texts together at mTsho-rnga-brag, also called 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar. While he was with gShen-chen, he also received a prediction from the goddess Srid-pa rgyal-mo. She told him to find the sKyid-mkhar sngo-phug cave in order to practise the doctrine there. He left in order to look for this cave, and asked many people but no one could tell him where it was. Finally, he arrived at dBang-ldan, a small valley near Gyantse. The people of dBang-ldan asked him to stay there. While he was living in dBang-ldan, he received a prediction from goddess again, who told him how to get to the cave from there, and accordingly he found it at sKyid-mkhar. He was a native of dBang-ldan and local people began to call him dBang-ldan zhu. This name has been retained by the Bonpos. The main Zhu family lived at sKyid-mkhar

to the west of Gyantse, since Legs-po established its seat there in the eleventh century. According to the Bonpo sources, the Zhu family had lived for five generations at Zhu-yi ba-mo and Shab ba-mo-che in Sa-skya before Legs-po founded the new seat at sKyid-mkhar.

3.2 The Monastic Life of the Zhu clan

Zhu Jo-'bar, the fourth generation from Legs-po (b. 1002 *STNN*), was perhaps the first who migrated with his family to sKyid-mkhar. He had a son named Khro-rgyal-'bar. When the latter was eight years old, he received a monk's vows and the name Ye-shes rin-chen from gShen-ston Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan and Yar-me-ba (1058-1132 *STNN*). He founded dBang-ldan lhun-grub-sgang at sKyid-mkhar as the first monastery of this clan. He was also known as Sangs-rgyas Zhu-chen, and was the first abbot of lHun-grub-sgang and the first monk of the monastic lineage of the Zhu family (*Zhu yi 'dul brgyud*). During these two generations, the Zhu seat at sKyid-mkhar split into two branches, namely the West Seat and the East Seat (*bla brang nub ma dang bla brang shar ma*). The West Seat is also called Khang-gsar. The Zhu family started to split into several branches after five generations.

mKhan-chen Grags-rgyal, the sixth generation after Zhu Ye-shes rin-chen (12th century), visited many parts of Khams in order to enlarge his monastery at sKyid-mkhar. This must have taken place in the first part of the fourteenth century. Meanwhile, an outstanding man was born in the Zhu lineage, namely Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig. There were two figures named Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig in this lineage. The biographies of both are available. The first Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig, a grandson of Legs-po was born when his father was eighty-five years old. His father felt ashamed that he had a son when he was so old: *pha mgo skya la bu rkang dmar byung ba ngo tsha/* [69] So the father pretended that the baby was born to his own son Jo-mkhar and gave him a secret name, 'Bum-me. When 'Bum-me was eight years old, his father passed away. He left his home when he was fourteen years old. Having studied Bon for ten years under the master Jo-gshen[70], he started his yogi career. Later he was known as Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig[71]. This is the first Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig who resided at the sNgo-phug cave at sKyid-mkhar and in La-stod. However, the second Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig was born in Yar-'brog. When he was five years old, he went to sKyid-mkhar to meet his father. The name of his father is not given in his biography. Having received some Bonpo teachings from his father, he went to the mountain called rTsib-ri in La-stod in order to meditate there. He received the teachings of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* from Yang-ston Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan who was a contemporary of Bru rGyal-ba g-yung-drung (b.1302). After having meditated nine years in rTsib-ri, he made a pilgrimage to Amdo. He had many disciples there, among whom some were his own descendants.

According to the *sNang zhig gdan rabs*, besides the five or six old Bonpo families in Central Tibet, there are eighteen other well-known Bonpo families. They are called the Eighteen Zhig-po Lineages (*zhig po bco brgyad*), namely

sNang-zhig, 'Bru-zhig, lDong-zhig, Gling-zhig, Shel-zhig, rGa-zhig, Nag-zhig, gYu-zhig, sTag-zhig, sKyang-zhig, Se-zhig, Bri-zhig, rGya-zhig, 'Ga'-zhig, Ba-zhig, Co-zhig, rTse-zhig, Ur-zhig[72)]. Some of them are considered to be the descendants of the Zhu clan. For example, sNang-zhig Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, the founder of the sNang-zhig monastery, the largest Bonpo monastery in Amdo, is considered to be both son and disciple of the second Zhu-sgom 'khrul-zhig (14^{th} century)[73)]. According to *NZDR*, the second Zhu-sgom 'Khrul-zhig is said to have lived three hundred and sixty years. This source must have confused him with the first Zhu-sgom who probably was active in the twelfth century.

The Zhu lineage is the most widely spread among the five old Bonpo family lineages in Tibet. There were three main seats of the Zhu lineage, viz. the Upper, the Middle and the Lower Seat (*gdan sa gong ma bar ma 'og ma*). The Upper Seat is situated at sKyid-mkhar in Tsang, while the Middle one, which no longer exists, was called Sog gYung-drung-gling and was located in Sog in northern Tibet. We do not know who founded it and when, but it certainly existed until the seventeenth century. It was destroyed by Mongolian troops (Jungar) who were usually considered to be the supporters of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682). According to Bonpo historians, after the destruction of this monastery, Sog Tsan-dan-dgon, a dGe-lugs pa monastery was founded nearby. Mongolian troops destroyed not only Bonpo monasteries, but also those of other Tibetan Buddhist sects except the dGe-lugs-pa ones. Moreover, many Bonpo families were converted to the dGe-lugs-pa order. At the same time, the Bonpo tradition was strongly influenced by the dGe-lugs-pa order. Especially the Bonpo monastic order became almost a replica of the dGe-lugs-pa. After the destruction of Sog gYung-drung-gling, the family Zhu in Sog fled to Nag-shod in eastern Nag-chu. This Zhu family then founded a monastery at gSa'-mda', which was maintained until the Cultural Revolution. Khra-rgan nyi-phug, the Lower Seat of the Zhu lineage, was founded in Kham by Khra-chag-med bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan in the fifteenth century[74)]. Even though he was not from the Zhu lineage, all the subsequent heads of the monastery were from that family and therefore this monastery became a Zhu seat in Kham. Besides the three main seats already mentioned, there are many other small seats of this lineage in Central Tibet and Kham, e.g. 'Jed sPang-lung, Shang, sNye-mo, sTa-nag, Nag-shod Bur-rdzum, and Se-tsha, some of which are still in existence.

According to Zhu Tshe-ring rdo-rje[75)], there was a famous Zhu master named Zhu bsTan-'dzin nyi-rgyal, who was a contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682). He enlarged lHun-grub-sgang (also called Zhu Ri-zhing) into three colleges (*khams tshan*), viz. the East, the West and the Middle. He went to China where he received valuable gifts. During the Fifth Dalai Lama, this monastery received an official seal, which gave it a permit for grazing rights all over Tibet. This seal was preserved until the 1960's. However, we cannot find this master in our written sources. According to bSod-nams 'od-zer[76)], in the Fifth Dalai Lama's time there were three colleges in lHun-grub-sgang, each with one hundred monks.

The monastery also had thirteen estates. But when he was a monk in this monastery in 1950's there was only one college with fifty monks. After the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) there is nothing now but a huge ruin. There is no information about the other Zhu seats in northeastern Tibet, but they existed until modern times.

4. The sPa Lineage

4.1 The Origin of the Lineage

Each of the five old family lineages has a different account of its origin. Likewise, their development and way of succession are quite different. Accordingly, each lineage is given a special title. Traditionally the sPa lineage is called the Yogi sPa (*grub thob spa*). This might be because initially this lineage paid more attention to the practice of tantric doctrine than monastic life. In *STBK* there is an origin account of the clan similar to that of the Bru clan. This seems to be the earliest source in which the origin of the sPa clan is recorded. It reads as follows:

grub thob chen po spa yi brgyud/ grol tshul lo rgyus cung 'chad na/ dang po 'od gsal lha yi gnas/ sangs po chu lcam las grol ba'i / lha bu spa la mdzes pa zhig/ rtsa gsum lha yi gnas su babs/ lha rnams 'dus nas bon 'khor skor/ de tshe yul la gzigs pa'i tshe/ lho gling zhang zhung yul khams su/ bon gyi stan pa gzug('dzugs) par dgongs/ zhang zhung rnam rgyal lha rtsar babs/ sprul pa mi 'dra du mar ston/ ti se gangs kyi shel phug tu/ lo gsum sgrub pa mdzad pa'i tshe/ mgon po gsum dang dbye ru med/ khri men bya ru can zhes grags/ sa las zhang zhung rgyal po che/ gnam las lha bu spa bas mdzes/ grub thob spa tshang de la grags/ [77]

As we can see from this text, the sPa clan, like the Bru lineage, descended from the Divine Realm of the Thirty-three Gods (*rtsa gsum lha yi gnas*) specifically from the Gods of Clear Light (*'od gsal lha*). Having propagated Bon there, the divine son sPa proceeded to rNam-rgyal lha-rtse in Zhang-zhung.

Even though there are very few sources concerning Zhang-zhung, it is clear that Zhang-zhung was an ancient kingdom on the Tibetan Plateau. According to Bonpo sources the Zhang-zhung kingdom was composed of three parts namely sGo-pa, Phug-pa and Bar-pa. sGo-pa was considered as Khyung-po, northeastern Tibet, and Khyung-po rtse-drug was its centre. Phug-pa was considered as mNga'-ris, and its centre was Mount Ti-se. Bar-pa was considered as Dang-ra in northern Tibet and its centre was Dang-ra khyung-rdzong. According to *GTKC*, there were eighteen kings bearing the name Bya-ru-can in the Zhang-zhung kingdom[78]. One of them, Phra-man 'od-kyi bya-ru-can, might be the same figure that appears in the text. When this king was ruling Zhang-zhung, a saint who was the son of Sangs-po 'bum-khri and Chu-lcam rgyal-mo came from the Divine Realm of the Thirty-three Gods. He was the first man who came down to earth in the sPa lineage. There

are two different versions of his name, viz. sPa-ba spa-thog and sPa-ba spa-mdzes. Sangs-po 'bum-khri is a very important figure in Bonpo tradition, and he is always connected with the cosmological myth. Karmay translates the passage on him in *LShDz* as follows:

"They (i.e. Sangs-po and his spouse) came from eggs and are said to be the original parents of man and animals. Sangs-po is called the King of Phenomenal Existence (*yod khams srid pa'i rgyal po*) and stands in opposition to the king of Nothingness (*med khams stong pa'i rgyal po*). These two kings represent white and black, right and wrong, and thus god and demon who are born together with every human being[79]."

LShDz and *YBSB* seem to think that sPa-ba spa-thog is the same figure as Khri-men lcags-kyi bya-ru-can. This must be due to a confusion of the two.

Before the Zhang-zhung kingdom was annexed in the seventh century A.D., the sPa lineage priests in Zhang-zhung played a role as important as the *gshen* priests in Tibet at that time. Having played an important role in the royal family of Zhang-zhung, the sPa family disappeared in that country. In the eighth century, however, sPa Ji-phrom dkar-po, a sPa yogi, appeared in Central Tibet. The *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* says:

"There were many yogis in Zhang-zhung. One of them, Tso-men gyer-chen, lived when King Lig-mi-rkya (rhya) was ruling the country. There were also many yogis in Tibet. One of them, sPa Ji-phrom dkar-po, lived when King Khri-srong sde-btsan was ruling the country[80]".

sPa Ji-phrom dkar-po is the first member of this clan to appear in Central Tibet. This indicates that this lineage had already extended to Central Tibet in the eighth century. Thereafter, it was, just as the other lineages, was not mentioned until gShen-chen Klu-dga' discovered the Bonpo texts in Tsang in the year 1017 (*STNN*).

4.2 The sPa clan in Gung-thang

Gung-thang is located between mNga'-ris and Tsang and it is also called La-stod lho. It was a quite famous place in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. There were many famous yogis both Buddhist and Bonpo who were active there in that period, for example, Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha (956-1077 *STNN*), an outstanding Bonpo yogi, Mi-la ras-pa (1040-1123), Ma-cig lab-sgron (1031-1129) and Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, an Indian yogi who came to Tibet three times, the last time being in the year 1113[81].

The first historical figure of the sPa clan was sPa-ston dPal-mchog, who was born in 1014 (*STNN*). The place where he was born is not clear. But there are certain accounts in which his activities are mentioned in sources such as *TN* and *YBSB*. These accounts provide some information about him. When he was meditating at sNye-nam dwags-kyi yang-dben, a small hermitage in Gung-thang, he heard that gShen-chen had discovered Bonpo texts in Tsang. He came down to 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar to meet gShen-chen. On gShen-chen's recommen-

dation, he received the complete tantric teachings from 'Dzi-ston who was an outstanding disciple of gShen-chen. Having done that, he returned to sNye-nam dwags-kyi yang-dben. He had practised the tantras for some time when he composed the famous commentary on the *Thig le dbyings 'chad,* a Bonpo tantric text. He had many followers. Among them four were the most famous disciples, namely, gShen Dam-pa rgyal-tshab, rMe'u lHa-ri gNyen-po, rMe'u Dam-pa ri-khrod and sPa Dar-ma-dpal.

He had close relations with Pha-dam-pa who used to meditate in the Ding-ri area. He suggested to his disciples to meet Pha-dam-pa. Later in his life, he decided to take a monk's vows from Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha. He went to Khro-tshang and asked him to shave his hair. Khro-tshang said to him 'you have already achieved a high level of tantric practice, I cannot shave your hair, please keep it and continue your meditation as before[82)]'. Since then the sPa lineage has been famous for the practice of tantra.

During this period, there were two lineages in the sPa family. One was the lineage in which a disciple could receive tantric doctrine without taking the vows of a monk. This lineage carried on the family line as well. The other one was the lineage in which a disciple recieved the doctrine together with monastic vows. It is usually called the Monastic Lineage (*'dul brgyud*). Both lineages are discussed in detail in *TN.*

sPa 'Od-gsal rgyal-mtshan, a nephew of dPal-mchog was the first monk in the sPa clan. He received vows from Yar-me Shes-rab 'od-zer (1058-1132 *STNN*), and thus he became the first monk in the monastic lineage of this clan. There were complete teaching systems among the sPa lineage, but no monastery had been founded yet. Disciples received teachings in different places according to the place where their masters were meditating. Several places are mentioned in *TN* such as sNye-nam, Rin-chen-sgang, lHa-yul, Ri-khud and so on. All these places are actually in Gung-thang. Ri-khud, also known as gNas-chen Ri-khud bde-sgang, had already developed as a monastery when sPa dPal-ldan-bzang-po, the fifth monk figure in the monastic lineage from sPa 'Od-gsal rgyal-mtshan (12th century), was born in the sPa family. According to the *YBSB*, the father of this man founded the monastery, but it had already existed as a hermitage for several generations before that. Thus it is difficult to point out who founded it and at what specific time. It seems to have been gradually developed as a monastery and became the main seat of the sPa family in the following centuries. It is known as sPa La-phug.

Thereupon, according to *YBSB*, there were thirteen masters bearing the name bZang-po (*bzang po bcu gsum)* in La-phug. sPa-btsun bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, one of these teachers, was born in La-stod. He was the eighth generation from sPa-ston dPal-mchog, and the seventh of the monastic lineage of the sPa clan. He was not only famous in his own clan, but also one of the greatest scholars in the whole Bonpo tradition. Unlike previous generations he did not concentrate only on the tantric practice in a small hermitage, but paid more attention to the scholarly study

of the Bonpo history. He had several masters, among whom Glan-ston bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan and Kar-tsha bSod-nams blo-gros were the most important. From the first master he took the vows of a monk, and from the latter he received the complete teachings of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*. It is not clear when he was born, but according to his own work, *TN*, he finished it when four hundred and sixty years had passed since gShen-chen had discovered the Bonpo texts. This suggests that he must have been active in the year 1477. He not only appeared in his own monastic lineage, but also in the lineage of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* teaching. The lineage of the *snyan rgyud* teaching can be divided into six branches according to the regions where the masters came from, for example, sTod-lugs, sMad-lugs, Byang-rgyud, lHo-rgyud and so on. bsTan-rgyal bzang-po himself belonged to the lHo-rgyud to which Bru rGyal-ba g-yung-drung also belonged. He was the fourth figure from Bru rGyal-ba in this lineage. He composed several texts, but only two of them are available. First is the famous histtorical work: *TN*. This work is the first chronicle in which the discovery of Bonpo texts is described in detail. Likewise, the five Bonpo families are described as lineage families. It was probably written in 1477 (see Introduction). Two years later, he composed a biographical work on the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* teaching lineage. There is a short biography of himself in this text which seems to have been written by one of his disciples and inserted in the text after his death. Both works were finished at gNas-chen bde-sgang, also called sPa La-phug.

After sPa bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, a few generations lived in La-phug in Gung-thang. During that time, members of the sPa family frequently moved between western and eastern Tibet. The *YBSB* says:

> *de rjes dbus gtsang la sogs yar mar du/ lhun grub dbang ldan zla ba grags pa dang/ lhun grub dbang rgyal tshe dbang 'od zer sogs/ bstan 'dzin skyes su (bu) 'ga' byon de tsam na/ gtsang stod la phug phyogs kyi gdung rgyud phra/ bar skabs gdung 'dzin kha cig mdo smad phyogs/ byon brgyud spa ston g-yung drung rgyal po'i sras/ dgra 'dul bstan rgyal bsod nams dbang grags bcas/ 'di dus yar byon hor sde ye tha'i nang/ gzhis chags bzhugs shing de dag gi sras dbon/* [83]

This is the only account of what happened between sPa bsTan-rgyal bzang-po and the founding of the new sPa seat in the Hor area. The author did not give the reason why the sPa family disappeared in Gung-thang and migrated to eastern Tibet. But according to the general Bonpo history, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bonpos had a very difficult time, especially in Central Tibet. Many Bonpos were forcibly converted into Buddhists, and many Bonpo monasteries in Central Tibet were faced with a crisis, because they were losing support. Thus some Bonpo families had to migrate from Central Tibet. The sPa family was apparently one of those families. After the sPa family's migration, La-

phug existed as a small hermitage with some twenty monks, but it was no longer managed by the sPa family.

4.3 The sPa family in the Hor area

The so-called Hor area is located in northern-eastern Tibet. Before 1959 there were thirty-nine tribes in that area, all of them Bonpo. Hor Ye-tha was one of them. We do not know the exact time of the migration of the sPa family to eastern Tibet, but *STNN* states that in the year 1847 a sPa master founded a monastery in Hor Ye-tha, known as gYung-drung rab-brtan-gling or simply sPa-tshang dgon. The founder was sPa-ston Nam-mkha' bzang-po whose grandfather came from mDo-smad.

In the year 1854, sPa Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal was born in Hor Ye-tha. He received the vows of a monk from Zhu rGyal-mtshan nyi-ma and mKhan-chen sKal-bzang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma. He became the Abbot of sPa-tshang. During his time as abbot, the monastery was improved and became the largest Bonpo monastery in the Hor area with four hundred monks. Two teaching sections were established, namely, the philosophy teaching (*mtshan nyid bshad grwa*) and the tantric teaching (*sgrub grwa*).

Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan states in his *LShDz* that he once met this sPa Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal and received teachings from him[84)].

sPa Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal had numerous disciples. One of the most famous was sPa-ston bsTan-pa 'brug-grags who was born in 1892 in Hor Ye-tha. He composed many works, not only concerning religious matters but also concerning linguistics and medicine. He passed away in 1951 in Hor Ye-tha.

During the time of these two sPa masters sPa-tshang became very important in the Hor area. In 1959 it was completely destroyed. After some twenty years later the sPa family restored it.

5. The rMe'u Lineage

5.1 The Origin of the rMe'u clan

This lineage, like the other lineages, was considered to have descended from the Divine Realm (*'od gsal lha*). It is the only lineage which came directly to Tibet. *STBK* gives an account of its origin myth as follows:

mi rgyud lha las yas mar chad/ srid pa sangs po 'bum khri yi/ rgyud las grol ba lha yi sras/ 'od kyi khye'u dkar po zhig/ 'od gsal lha nas yas mar babs/ yig tshang can gyi sdong las chad/ de sras rma dang rme'u gnyis/ rme'u ngam len skyor po yi/ lha rgyud mi rabs dbu bzungs nas/ gsang sngags dbal phur nag po sgrub/ phur pa'i lha tshogs zhal yang gzigs/ grub rtags rdzu 'phrul dpag med mnga'/ g-yu 'brug sngon po rta ru zhon/ phyag phreng rag shas lcags byas nas/ ti se gangs la thur du rgyug/

lha ri gyang tho'i rtse ru byon/ gnya' khri btsad por dbang skur zhing/ bla yi mchod gnas dam par skur/[85)]

According to this text, the first man of the rMe'u clan is called Ngam-len skyol-po, the descendant of Sangs-po 'bum-khri in heaven of the *'Od gsal lha*. After having meditated on Mount Ti-se for a while, rMe'u Ngam-len skyor-po went to the top of Mount lHa-ri gyang-tho in Kongpo. It is one of the three summits of the Bonpo holy mountain Bon-ri. He became a priest of King gNya'-khri btsad-po, the first king of Tibet who also came down to the top of the mountain from heaven[86)]. Two of Ngam-len skyol-po's manifestations went to gYas-ru Shang in Tsang. After many generations had passed, rMe'u Rog-dbal-bon was born in Gur-zhog in Tsang. He was the first historical figure of this clan and a contemporary of rJe-btsun Khro-tshang 'brug-lha (956-1077 *STNN*). He had a son, lHa-ri gnyen-po.

5.2 The rMe'u clan in Central Tibet

lHa-ri gnyen-po was born in 1024 in Gur-zhog in Tsang. According to *TN*, he himself did not meet gShen-chen, but he met all masters of the other three lineages who had received teachings from gShen-chen. He particularly studied the Bonpo philosophical doctrine. At the same time, his paternal uncle Shakya-brtan[87)] had a son known as dGongs-mdzod ri-khrod-pa, who was born in 1038. The latter received teachings from Bru-ston gYung-drung bla-ma (12th century), Zhu sGrol-ba gshen-rgyal, sPa-ston dPal-mchog (b. 1014) and his own cousin lHa-ri gnyen-po. During the lifetime of these two men a monastery was founded in Gur-zhog and gathered many Bonpos to study there. Since then this clan has been known as the Scholarly rMe'u (*mkhas pa rme'u*).

dGongs-mdzod ri-khrod-pa, also called Dam-pa ri-khrod, was not only famous in the clan, but also important in the whole Bonpo tradition. He was the founder of the *A khrid* teaching and the first monastic lineage master of all the five old Bonpo families. He had numerous disciples, but the most outstanding was Yar-me-ba Shes-rab 'od-zer (1058-1132). rMe'u lHa-ri gnyen-po (b. 1024) had a son named Tshul-khrims dpal-chen, also called the schcolar dPal-chen (mkhas-pa dPal-chen). He was born in 1052 in Gur-zhog. He took the vows of a monk from Sum-ston Tshul-khrims bla-ma, and went to Nyang-stod gNas-rnying, a Buddhist monastery, to study philosophy. Later he founded a Bonpo monastery in sNye-mo which perhaps was the antecedent of the present Zang-ri rMe'u-tshang monastery in sNye-mo.

According to *YBSB*, this monastery was quite large, with one thousand monks. In spite of having been founded by the rMe'u family, this monastery did not exclusively belong to the family. rMe'u Tshul-khrims dpal-chen let sPa 'Od-gsal rgyal-mtshan carry on its tradition. After him the monastery was looked after by other people who were not members of the rMe'u clan.

6. The contemporary situation of the five families

6.1 The gShen family

Since the dGe-lugs-pa school gained control over Tibet, monastic institutions were strengthened, and the family lineages became gradually weaker. After a remarkable history, the five old Bonpo families became less prominent. One of them has even become extinct. During the last several centuries the founding of a monastery was not easy, especially for the Bonpos, who had to present an application to the Government in Lhasa. At the same time the monastery had to be affiliated with another main monastery. Even then it was difficult to obtain the necessary permission. So continuing the family lineage instead of founding a monastery was the easiest and most practical way to preserve the tradition. Since most Bonpo communities were in north-eastern Tibet, the Bonpos who lived in Central Tibet were in a difficult political and economic position. They had to go to where there were larger Bonpo communities live in order to get some support for their monasteries. Even though historians paid more attention to monastic matters than those of the lineage masters, a historical account of these old Bonpo families has been retained by their own descendants.

The Bonpos think that they have a great responsibility for preserving those clans. As we have discussed above, however, in the 17th century the gShen family itself had split into two seats, namely the gShen of Dar-lding and the gShen of sKyid-gzhong, and both were extinct by the end of the 19th century. Since the people of Dar-lding thought that it was very unfortunate that this great clan had become extinct, they looked for a solution to this problem.

gShen Nyi-zla tshe-dbang a member of the family lived as an ordinary Tibetan around the beginning of this century in bKra-gdong, a place in western Tibet (see 1.4). He was asked to give his son to Dar-lding in order to carry on the gShen family there. He let his son gShen 'Dzam-gling dbang-'dus go to Dar-lding to take over the gShen seat. 'Dzam-gling dbang-'dus married Tshe-ring, a woman of the Zhu family who had been in charge of the gShen seat since the clan had become extinct there. However, she did not give birth to any child. 'Dzam-gling dbang-'dus usually visited northern Tibet in order to get some support for his own family and the monastery in Dar-lding. The lamas who are from the five great clans are respected wherever they go. He once visited the Bar-tha area near Nag-chu-kha and there he produced a son. This son became therefore the only successor to the gShen clan at the time. After a year, the little boy was brought to Dar-lding and named gShen Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal. He in turn became the father of the present gShen Nor-bu dbang-rgyal[88)]. People usually call Nor-bu dbang-rgyal gShen-sras Rin-po-che.

When gShen-sras was three years old, his father went to visit the Hor area. It was in 1959, and the uprising had begun in Tibet. gShen Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal was on his way to Sog-sde in north-eastern Nag-chu-kha. sKyang-nag mTha'-yas rgya-mtsho, a lama from Amdo who was the Abbot of sTag-rtse monastery in Kongpo,

was accompanying him. One day in the early morning they were attacked by the PLA. gShen Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal was injured, unable to move, he asked lama sKyang-nag to take care of his son and a few minutes later he passed away. sKyang-nag and other Bonpo monks who were with him cremated his remains at that very place, and the ashes were taken to Kongpo in order to deposit it on the famous holy mountain, Bon-ri[89].

Because of the earthquake in the Kongpo area around the year 1958 many monasteries were destroyed, and sKyang-nag had to take care of the restoration of the sTag-rtse monastery. In addition, there was a very tense situation in Tibet at that moment, and people were not allowed to travel much. He could not go to Dar-lding to take care of the child. Five years later sKyang-nag was arrested and he was kept in detention for fifteen years. But he had never forgotten what gShen Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal once asked him. It was in 1981 that sKyang-nag was released. First of all, he began to search the boy who had been lost for fifteen years. A-khu Yi-dam, who used to travel with the father of the boy and sKyang-nag when they visited the Hor area, lived in Lhasa. He was asked to go to Tsang in order to look for the boy. A-khu Yi-dam went to Shigatse twice, but nobody could tell him where the boy was although everybody still had fresh memories what had happened to themselves during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) and to the people who had relations to lamas or monasteries. It was in 1982 that A-khu Yi-dam finally found the boy in Shigatse. He took the boy to lama sKyang-nag who then lived in Lhasa.

The young boy was illiterate and he was in a very poor physical condition. Since sKyang-nag took care of him and started to teach him everything, they trusted each other. The boy accepted sKyang-nag as his master. The boy told him his own story of how he had lost his father when he was three years old, and how, when he was six years old, all the members of his family were attacked, the property of the family was confiscated, and their houses were completely destroyed. His mother died during a struggle session. Afterwards, he became completely homeless.

Even though he had been through such terrible experiences, it was good news for the Bonpos that he was alive in spite of everything. The news was spread to every place where Bonpos lived, even as far as the Bonpo community in India.

In the year 1985, lama sKyang-nag wrote the first letter concerning gShen-sras to Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin, the Abbot of the Bonpo monastery in India. The Abbot immediately replied to say that he should take care of gShen-sras. But unfortunately he was not so well-behaved, he began to drink a lot and was frequently drunk. This made sKyang-nag very anxious, and he had no idea what to do. So he had to write a second letter to the Abbot to ask what he should do about gShen-sras. The Abbot suggested to him to arrange for gShen-sras's marriage as soon as possible.

sKyang-nag called some senior Bonpo lamas in Central Tibet together. They nominated seven girls from different Bonpo communities, and their names were sent to Dolanji. A special ritual for this important marriage was held in the Bonpo monastery at Dolanji for a week. At the end of the ritual, the girl Nyi-ma mtsho-mo was chosen to be the spouse of gShen-sras Rin-po-che.

Following the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution, the People's Republic of China gradually permitted the renewal of religious activity. According to the recommendation of dGe-slong Shes-rab bstan-'dzin, an old monk of gYung-drung-gling who first managed to restore this monastery in 1981, gShen-sras Rin-po-che was on the board of the Buddhist Association of Shigatse District. Thereupon he undertook the restoration of gSer-sgo khra-mo which was the main seat of his family and which had been completely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. gSer-sgo khra-mo was restored but its size is only half of what it had been before. There are only six monks in the temple. It has become more like a small monastery rather than a seat of the gShen family, because gShen-sras himself usually lives in Lhasa with his family. A few years later, he became a vice-chairman of the Board of the Tibetan Buddhist Association of TAR.

He has four children, two daughters and two sons. They were born respectively in 1986, 1988, 1992 and 1994 in Lhasa. His two sons are living with their parents in Lhasa, and the two daughters mostly live with their maternal aunt who married bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma in Nag-chu-kha. bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma has been one of the most active Bonpo lamas in Nag-chu since the renewal of religious activity was allowed from the beginning of the 1980s.

bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma has cooperated with gShen-sras Rin-po-che to undertake the publication of the Bonpo brTen-'gyur. They collected more than three hundred volumes of Bonpo manuscripts from all over Tibet, and arranged for Bonpo scholars to edit them. The new edition is available from 1998. gShen-sras is not like other Bonpo lamas who frequently take charge of religious rituals in their daily lives. This is perhaps because of his special experience in his early life and because he has been with his master for too short a time, sKyang-nag having passed away before he finished passing on to gShen-sras the necessary knowledge of religion. But Bonpos from all over Tibet give great respect to him, and always ask for his blessing.

At the seat of sKyid-gzhong which we have already discussed above (see 1.4), a wall painting of the eighteenth century when the seat still belonged to the gShen family, has escaped the destruction of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. The building was confiscated by the Government and assigned to seven other families. The third floor of the building was removed. Fortunately, however, the second floor on which the wall painting is found has been preserved.

6.2 The Zhu family

On the historical stage, the Zhu lineage was the most widespread clan among the five old Bonpo lineage families. This was the only family lineage which had three main seats during the same period. However, at the beginning of this century, the lineage became very weak. After the Cultural Revolution, it became nearly extinct. For example, the Zhu of Khra-rgan used to be one of the three main seats of the Zhu clan in Kham, but now there is only a small monastery, which is no longer carried on by this lineage. The Zhu of gSa'-mda', in the Hor area, is practically extinct. The Zhu of sKyid-mkhar which was the largest and most important one still remains.

In the 1890s, there were three sons in the Zhu family at sKyid-mkhar, namely, Rig-'dzin g-yung-drung, gYung-drung grags-rgyal and Khri-chen Rin-po-che. The latter two took monastic vows. Khri-chen Rin-po-che later went to Gro-mo in order to look after the monastery at Pad-mo-sgang. Traditionally this monastery belonged to the Zhu lineage. gYung-drung grags-rgyal took care of Ri-zhing which is located at sKyid-mkhar, and he visited the Hor and Kham area several times. Rig-'dzin g-yung-drung, the eldest son, was married and had four children, namely, Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, Tshe-dbang rin-chen, Tshe-dbang thogs-med and bKra-shis lha-mo. The first son received monastic vows and took charge of Ri-zhing. He visited the Hor area as his uncle had done. His visit lasted for seven years and during those years one of his disciples, bSod-nams 'od-zer, who was seventy-three years old in 1996, accompanied him. In 1959, lama Tshe-dbang rab-brtan was arrested and a few years later he died in detention[90)].

Tshe-dbang rin-chen, the second son, married A-nan who was born in 1920. They had six children, three daughters and three sons. Chos-mdzad bstan-dar, the eldest son, became a Buddhist monk in Gling-bu monasterty which belonged to the dGe-lugs-pa tradition in Gyantse, and he has lived in Lhasa during the last twenty years. Tshe-dbang mi-'gyur, the second son, was born in 1946. When he was ten years old he met a Buddhist lama who was on his way to Mt. Ti-se. The lama gave him a Buddhist name Tshe-ring rdo-rje. Since then he has used this name. During the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, his family buildings were confiscated and assigned to five other families. His land was shared out as well. His father, Tshe-dbang rin-chen, fled to India after he was released from prison in 1965 and he died in India in 1982. Tshe-ring rdo-rje has never seen him again since 1965. His monastery was destroyed and he himself and his mother had to do all kinds of heavy labour.

Following the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution, a liberal policy was implemented in China in the early 1980s. Zhu Tshe-ring rdo-rje recalled what two families of his village said to him: 'You are the descendant of the Zhu lineage, if you can arrange to restore Ri-zhing, it will be very useful for the whole village.' I replied 'Of course I can, actually, that is my monastery and I have great responsibility for restoring it.' At that time bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag, a Bonpo lama

living in Nepal, was visiting Central Tibet. He also asked him to restore the monastery after he had visited its ruins and the cave of gYu-'brang phyug-mo[91)].

Thereupon Zhu Tshe-ring rdo-rje took care of restoring the cave, and local people offered their labour. Having done that, it was in 1987 that he first visited the Hor area in order to arrange for the restoration of Ri-zhing. In the same year even though he was married and had children, he received monastic vows from a Bonpo lama from Amdo, in order to take better care of his monastery. Following that he served on the board of the Buddhist Association of Shigatse District.

The old Ri-zhing was situated on the top of the mountain in which the gYu-'brang phyug-mo cave was located. It was impossible to rebuild the monastery in the same place, so he rebuilt it at the foot of the mountain, and it is only a single-storey building with a small courtyard. There were ten monks in the new monastery in 1996.

6.3 The rMe'u Family

In the 1920s[92)] there were two children in the rMe'u family in bZang-ri, sixty kilometres west of Lhasa, a son and a daughter. The son was named A-bo. He married two women, one from Lhasa and the other from dPal-mgon in northern Tibet. Neither of them gave birth to a child. Eventually, he himself passed away in bZang-ri. His sister had been a nun, but because of the death of her brother, she had to marry in order to carry on the rMe'u family in bZang-ri. She married a local *sngags pa*. Traditionally, when an aristocratic family lineage is in danger of becoming extinct, it is possible to find another suitable person to continue the family, and the new descendants can retain the name of the old family lineage. The sacred lineage, however, does not function like that. It has to be succeeded on the paternal side. Even if a suitable person is found to carry on the lineage, nobody would regard him as a decendant of the clan. If there is only a daughter in the family, the clan is thus regarded as extinct. So at that time, the rMe'u lineage was extinct at their main seat of bZang-ri. Meanwhile, rMe'u bSod-nams dbang-grags was living in rDza-dmar which is one of the thirty-nine tribes of the Hor area (*hor tsho so dgu*) and rMe'u bSod-nams dbang-'dus was living in rGyal-shod, another Hor tribe. These two branches of the rMe'u family did not found any monastery in their home areas but continued the family lineage there. So the *sngags pa*, who married the daughter of the rMe'u family, went to the Hor area to invite a rMe'u male descendant to bZang-ri.

rMe'u bSod-nams dbang-grags refused to come to bZang-ri, but bSod-nams dbang-'dus accepted the invitation. He came to bZang-ri and lived at the main seat of the rMe'u family. Thereupon he married and had three sons, Rin-chen dbang-grags, Nyi-zla dbang-grags and Kar-ma grub-skyes. The eldest son was born in bZang-ri in 1939 and died in 1959. Nyi-zla dbang-grags, the second son, was born in 1942. Kar-ma grub-skyes, the youngest son, was born in 1948. Both are still living.

Like the other family lineages, this family had been through every struggle campaign during the 1960-70s. Tragically their parents died during the compaign. After the deaths of his parents and elder brother, Nyi-zla dbang-grags, the second son, had to take care of all family matters early in his life. In 1986, he undertook the restoration of the monastery of rMe'u-tshang in bZang-ri. Since then he has visited the Hor area almost every year. He married and has four sons and a daughter. sKal-bzang dbang-rgyal, the eldest son, took monastic vows from Kun-gsal blo-gros, the chief teacher in the monastery of gYung-drung-gling in Tsang, and since then he has been studying there. At the request of the local people of the rDza-dmar area, in 1986 he gave his second son, Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin, to them when he was ten years old. A few years later, at the instance of the rGyal-shod people, his third son, Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal, was given to them and became the head lama of the monastery of Ga-ru in rGyal-shod.

The yougest son and the daughter live with their parents in bZang-ri.

Abbreviations

BTBK	*gYung drung bon gyi bstan pa'i byung khungs nyung bsdus*
DLG	*'Dul ba gling grags*
DMB	*Dran pa'i lde mig 'bring po*
GL	*Bon chos dar nub gi lo rgyus rgyas pa rin chen gling grag ces bya ba dmong pa blo'i gsal byed.*
GRB	*rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas*
GTKC	*'Dzam gling gangs ti se'i dkar chag tshangs dbyangs yid 'phrog dgos 'dod*
KBNT	*rJe btsun khro tshang 'brug lha'i rnam par thar ba mu tig phreng ba*
LSh	*Legs bshad rin po che'i gter mdzod*
MSDR	*dMu gshen lha yi gdung rabs dbyar rnga'i sgra dbyang*
NYNT	*sNyan rgyud bla ma'i rnam thar*
NZDR	*sNang zhig bkra shis g-yung drung gling gi gdan rabs*
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLNT	*dPal ldan bla ma'i rnam thar mu tig phreng ba*
SGK	*Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang rnam thar chen mo*
STBK	*Sangs rgyas bstan pa spyi yi 'byung khungs yid bzhin nor bu 'dod pa 'jo ba'i gter mdzod*
STNN	*Sangs rgyas g-yung drung bon gyi bstan rtsis ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba*
TAR	Tibetan Automous Rigion
TKDD	*gShen gyi rtsis gsar rnam dag las bsTan rtsis bskal ldan dang 'dren*
TN	*bsTan pa'i rnam bshad dar rgyas gsal sgron*
YBSB	*gYung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung phyogs bsdus*
ZYNT	*'Gro ba'i mgon po rgyal sras Zhu gYas legs po'i skyes rabs rnam thar*

Notes

1) *SGK* 69r-71r.
2) Karmay 1972: 137: "A commentary on *Tig le dbyings 'ched*, a tantric text (*KTDG*, p.8), is said to have already been found, together with the text, by gShen-chen Klu-dga', but *KTDG* (pp. 16-17) does not mention any commentary on the text."
3) Karmay 1972: 51: "Tib. *sems-smad sde-dgu*. They are the *Byang-sems gab-pa dgu-skor (Byang-sems gab-pa or Gab-pa)* which is listed under three textual treasures, then *the Khu-byug*, and lastly the seven small texts called the *Sems-phran sde-bdun* making nine in all."
4) Interview with bSod-nams 'od-zer in sKyid-mkhar
5) *LShDz* pp. 246-247.
6) Kvaerne 1990: 154.
7) Kvaerne 1990: 159.
8) Tucci 1949: 713.
9) Karmay, 1972: 8, "*sGra 'grel, bDen pa bon gyi mdzod sgo sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde mig*, attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (8th century), known in short as *mDzod sgra 'grel* or *sGra 'grel* is regarded as of special importance among the commentaries. 'According to the colophon it appears to have been rediscovered by rMa Jo-lcam who was also known as rMa lCam-me and was a son of rMa-ston srol-'dzin (b.1092 *STNN*). However, our author (Shar-rdza) makes no mention of it either in the list of rMa lcam-me's discoveries or Northern Textual Treasure. Thus since rMa lcam-me's discoveries took place in Byang gsang-brag rgya-bo we may safely say that the text was rediscovered by rMa lcam-me, a fact which escaped our author's eye though he used it as one of his principal sources."
10) *lTa ba khyung chen lding ba'i rgyud* was discovered by rMa-ston Srid-'dzin at Yar-lha sham-po.
11) *GRB* pp. 67-69.
12) *STBK* pp. 273-274.
13) *Bod kyi rdo ring yi ge dang dril bu'i kha byang*, pp. 77-79
14) sTon-pa gShen-rab's life-story is available in three versions. Karmay 1972: 4, note 1: "*'Dus pa rin po che'i dri ma med pa gzi brjid rab tu 'bar ba'i mdo* (often referred to simply as *gZi brjid*) is the long version (*mdzad mdo rgyas pa*) in twelve volumes with sixty-one chapters. It is said to have been transmitted orally to *sprul sku* Blo-ldan snying-po (b.1360 *STNN*) by sTang-chen dMu-tsha gyer-med (eighth century).
'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud gzer mig (myig) (often referred simply as *mDo gzer mig* or *gZer mig*) is the medium-length version (*mdzad mdo 'bring po*) in two volumes with eighteen chapters. It is said to have been translated into Tibetan from Zhang-zhung by Vairocana. Later it was discovered by Drang-rje btsun-pa (contemporary of rMe'u lHa-ri gnyen-po) at bSam-yas khri-thang dur-khrod.
Dus gsum sangs rgyas byung khungs kyi mdo (often known as *mDo 'dus*) is the short version (*mdzad mdo bsdus pa*) in one volume with twenty-four chapters. It is said to have been translated by sNya-chen Li-shu stags-ring (eighth century) from sTag-gzig. It was discovered by Sad-gu Rin-chen grags-pa (contemporary of rMe'u lHa-ri gnyen-po) and Dre'u-rgya ra-dza at bSam-yas mchod-rten dmar-po."

15)*STBK* pp.107r-v.
16)*LShDz* p.141.
17)*SGK* pp. 96r-v.
18)*STBK* p. 108r.
19)*TN* pp. 205-206.
20)*YBSB* p. 348.
21)There are various names for this place. *TN* (p. 205) gives lCog-ro 'bri-mtshams, but in the *Bla ma gshen chen po'i rnam thar* (p.59) we find 'Bring-mtshams gnyen-rtse gad-dmar, and *LShDz* (p.250) gives 'Bri-mtshams mtha'-dkar.
22)*MSDR* f. 6.
23)*TN* p. 206.
24)*TN* p. 211.
25)dGe-lding is now no longer a Bonpo seat, but there is a town where mThong-smon rdzong, a local administrative, is located.
26)*ZYNT* pp.10r-11v.
27)*TN* p. 213.
28)Atisha came to Tibet in 1042. He had stayed in mNga'-ris for three years before he came to Central Tibet where he died in 1054.
29)*ZYNT* pp. 10r-11v.
30)*TN* p. 213.
31)E.Gene Smith in his introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture* states:
"The literature of the 11th and 12th centuries is filled with the struggles of Bon and Buddhism; we read of contests to death between such names as Lo-chen Rin-chen bzang-po (958-1055) and Klu sKar-rgyal. This personage (the latter) is probably to be identified with gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035) whose rediscovery of the Bon-po abhidharma text, the srid pa'i mdzod phug, in 1017 at 'grig-mtshams mtha'-dkar marks the beginning of the Later Spread (*phyi dar*) of Bon". (Śatapitaka series, vol.80, p.6)
32)*MSDR* p. 7
33)*YBSB* p.349.
34)Yar-me-ba Shes-rab-'od-zer, according to *STNN*, was born in the year 1058, and died in 1132, but *TKDD* gave the date two *rab byung* later.
35)gSer-sgo khra-mo is usually called the temple of gShen.
36) Karmay 1977: 158.
37)*TN* p. 191
38)*YBSB* pp. 350-351.
39)*LShDz* p. 257.
40)Kvaerne 1990: 152.
41)This place is a village beside Dar-lding village. Between these two villages there is a hill on which the Ri-rgyal monastery is situated.
42)There were two villages with about hundred families belonging to the gShen family before the confiscation.
43)Tucci 1980: 713-716.

44) *STBK* pp. 415-419.
45) In Hoffmann's (1969, p.138) transcription the term *ya ngal gshen* is used instead of the term *mdang gsal gshen.*
46) *sGrags gling,* fol. 10r.
47) *lDe'u chos 'byung,* pp. 380-381.
48) *Deb ther dmar po,* pp. 42-43.
49) *lDe'u chos 'byung,* p. 384.
50) *Deb ther dmar po,* pp.326-328.
51) There are two different versions regarding the location of Ga-ra ngo-mang. One is La-stod Ga-ra ngo-mang (*YBSB*). Historical sources usually distinguish between south La-stod and north La-stod, both in Sa-skya. The other one is Sa-skya Ga-ra ngo-mang (*PLNT*). Perhaps this place lay in the between La-stod and Sa-skya. So sometimes it is called La-stod Ga-rango-mang, and sometimes Sa-skya Ga-ra-ngo-mang.
52) In the *Deb ther dmar po* this name is also spelled Cha-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge.
53) Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin and *Deb ther dmar po* both also give the date of founding this monastery as 1073.
54) *Deb ther dmar po,* p. 68.
55) *PLNT* p. 69.
56) He was a disciple of 'A-zha bDud-rtsi rgyal-mtshan (b.1198 *STNN*), and he enlarged the dBen-sa-kha monastery into two colleges, viz. dBu-rtse dkar-po and dmar-po. These two masters were later known as 'Gro-mgon sku-mched.
57) *A-tri Thun-tsam Cho-nga,* p. 38.
58) There are two versions concerning his life. One is in the *A-tri Thun-tsam Cho-nga dang cha-lag che,* and the other one is in the *PLNT.* There are no big differences between these two versions.
59) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud,* p. 98, There are three versions of the biography of rGyal-ba g-yung-drung. The longest is found in the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud.* The middle one is in the *A-tri thun-tsam cho-nga* and the short version is in the *rGyal rigs bru'i gdung rabs rgyas pa ltar bla ma bru chen nam mkha' g-yung drung rnam thar,* found in *PLNT.* There is no mention of the author of these biographies, except that the longest is compiled by sPa bsTan-rgyal bzang-po, the author of *TN.* According to the short version, he had not four, but five brothers.
60) Karmay 1998: xvii.
61) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud,* p.100.
62) *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud,* p.99.
63) *LShDz* (p. 265) says "The two brothers of the Bru clan offered the dBu-rtse dkar-dmar monastery to him (mNyam-med)". We did not find the names of these two brothers.
64) *LShDz* p. 265.
65) There are two different points of view regarding the Panchen Lama's lineage; one is that this Panchen Lama counted as the third, and the eighth Panchen Lama is counted as the Fifth.
66) *STBK* pp. 420-421.
67) *YBSB* pp. 361-362
68) *ZYNT* fol. 3r-v.
69) *PLNT* p. 284.
70) Jo-gshen also called sGrol-ba gshen-rgyal, was from the Zhu family.

71) *PLNT* pp. 284-286.
72) *NZDR* p. 27.
73) *NZDR* pp.27-28.
74) *YBSB* says that this monstery is in mDo-smad. mDo-smad is considered as north eastern Tibet, namely Amdo, but Khra-rgan nyi-phug monastery is actually located in Kham.
75) A Zhu lama who has managed to rebuild the gYu-'brang phyug-mo temple in sKyid-mkhar after it had been destroyed during the Cultrural Revolution.
76) He used to be a monk of Ri-zhing monastery.
77) *STBK* fol. 114r-v.
78) *GTKC* pp.70-72.
79) Karmay 1972: 9-10, n. 6.
80) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud las rje ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan*, p.248.
81) *rGya bod tshig mdzod chen mo.*
82) *TN* pp.214-215.
83) *YBSB* p.371.
84) *LShDz* p.260.
85) *STBK* p. 423.
86) *Bod kyi rdo ring yi ge dang dril bu'i kha byang*, p.77
87) In *LShDz* this master is referred to as lHa-ri gnyen-po's grandson.
88) Interview with rGya-mtsho who used to be a monk of Ri-rgyal monastery in Dar-lding.
89) Interviews with rGya-mtsho, Phun-tshog dbang-rgyal, a monk of Ri-rgyal monastery, A-khu Yi-dam, a man from Amdo, Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin, the Abbot of the Bonpo monastery in Dolanji, India.
90) Interview with 'Od-zer who used to be a monk of Ri-zhing monastery in Gyantse.
91) Interview with Tshe-ring rdo-rje, the lama of Ri-zhing monastery.
92) Interview with Nyi-zla dbang-grags, the head of the rMe'u family in bZang-ri monastery in sNye-mo and bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal, an old monk of the same monastery.

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Bla ma zhu sgom 'khrul zhig gi rnam thar.
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Table 1 The gShen Family

Table 1 The gShen Family

a. the gShen family in Dar-lding

- Ye-smon-rgyal
  - dMu-rgyal
    - dMu-rgyal Phya-dkar
      - dMu-rgyal bTsan-pa gyer-chen
        - dMu-rgyal Thog-rje-btsan
          - dMu-rje rGyal-bon thod-dkar
            - gShen-rab mi-po
              - gTo-bu 'bum-sangs/ dPyad-bu khri-shes/ Lung-'dren gsal-ba/ rGyud-'dren sgron-ma/ gShen-za ne'u-chung/ Mu-cho ldem-drug/ 'Ol-drug thang-po/ rKong-tsha dBang-ldan
              - rKong-tsha dBang-ldan
                - 'Od-kyi rgyal-po
                  - dMu-bon A-ru-ring
                  - dMu-rje Thum-thum
                  - dMu-rje rGyal
                - Thog-gi rgyal-po
                  - Dran-pa nam-mkha' (8th cen. A.D.)
                - 'Brug-gi rgyal-po 'Gar-bu-chung
                  - dMu-bon Yo'u-bstan
                    - dMu Thang-lha
                      - dMu-bon sKyes-tshal
                        - dMu-bon Grol-ba, or Kha-po mi-po
                          - (missing)
                            - bKra-gsal rgyal-po
                              - dBang-phyug mgon-po
                              - Mi-gyo mgon-po
                                - dBal-mgon-gsas
                                  - Klu-dga' (996-1035)
                                    - Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan
                                      - sMan-rgod
                                        - Dampa rgyal-tshab (12th cent.)
                                          - Jo-bkra
                                            - Jo-rtse
                                              - Ye-shes-rgyal
                                              - lHa-rje-rgyal
                                              - Jo-rgyal
                                                - dPon-gsas Shes-rab-rgyal
                                                  - Khri-rje-'bum
                                                  - Khro-'bum
                                                    - dPon-gsas Seng-ge-grags
                                                      - bSod-rgyal-dpal (14th cent.)
                                                        - dPal-ldan bsod-nams
                                                        - rNam-dag dri-med
                                                      - dPal-'od-dar
                                                        - bDag-po-dpal
                                                        - Kun-dga' dpal-ldan
                                                          - A-skyid-dpal
                                                            - dMu-gshen mChog-legs rgyal-mtshan
                                                              - gShen Nyi-ma rgyal mtshan (15th cent.)
                                                                - Nyam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan
                                                                - Nyi-ma'i rgyal-po
                                                                  - Khri-'od rgyal-mtshan
                                                                  - rGyal-tshab nyi-'od
                                                                  - rGyal-ba lhun-grub
                                                  - Khri-skyong dar-po *or Kun-mkhyen Ye-blo (14th cent.)*
                                                  - 'Od-'bum
                                                  - 'Bum-dar
                                                  - Rin-chen-'bum or 'Gro-mgon blo-rgal
                                                - Blo-gros seng-ge
                                            - Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (12th cent.)
                                            - gSung-chen-pa
                                          - Jo-'brug
                                            - Don-grub-'bum
                                              - 'Bum-dar
                                          - 'Bum-me
                                            - Byang-chub blo-gros
                                              - Legs-byang-chub
                                          - 'Od-rgyal
                                      - Tha-ru
                                        - Khyung-rgod
                                          - Jo-'khor
                                            - Jo-bo Bla-ma-'od
                                            - Bon-zhig khyung-nag
                                    - Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan
                                  - Klu-rtsegs
                                  - Ge-khod
                                - 'Brug-gsas
                                - rGod-gsas
                              - rDo-rje mgon-po

Khri-rje-'bum | Khro-'bum | **Khri-skyong dar-po or Kun-mkhyen Ye-blo (14th cent.)** | 'Od-'bum | 'Bum-dar | Rin-chen-'bum or 'Gro-mgon blo-rgal

dPon-gsas Seng-ge-grags

bSod-rgyal-dpal (14th cent.) | dPal-'od-dar

dPal-ldan bsod-nams | rNam-dag dri-med | bDag-po-dpal | Kun-dga' dpal-ldan

A-skyid-dpal

dMu-gshen mChog-legs rgyal-mtshan

gShen Nyi-ma rgyal mtshan (15th cent.)

Nyam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan | Nyi-ma'i rgyal-po

Khri-'od rgyal-mtshan | rGyal-tshab nyi-'od | rGyal-ba lhun-grub

bSod-rgyal | ? | ?

gYung-drung bstan-rgyal | gTsug-phud 'od-zer

Khri-'od tog-gi rgyal-mtshan | rNam-par rgyal-ba | rNam-rgyal tshul-khrims | Tshe-dbang lhun-grub | ? | ?

lHun-grub dpal-bzang (17th cent.) | gYung-drung nyi-rgyal

gYung-drung btsan-pa'i gtsug-rgyan | bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal | bSod-nams-'dul

Tse-dbang rnam-rgyal

Mi-'gyur dbang-rgyal | bSod-nams phun-tshogs dbang-rgyal

Tshe-dbang bsod-nams bstan-rgyal | rGyal-ba

gYung-drung phun-tsogs bstan-dar | gYung-drung bstan-dbang

Phun-tshogs dbang-rgyal | Drang-srong-che | Tshul-khrims bstan-dbang

dPal-ldan rnam-rgyal

(missing)

Nyi-zla tshe-dbang

'Dzam-gling dbang-'dus (20th cent.)

Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal

Nor-bu dbang-rgyal (1956-)

b. the sShen family in sKyid-gzhong

rNam-par rgyal-ba

lHun-grub dpal-bzang (17th cent.) | gYung-drung Nyi-ma'i rgyal-po (at the Dar-lding seat)

lHun-grub rgya-mtsho | ?

lHun-grub rgyal-po | dMu-gshen rGyal-dbang gtsug-phud

bsTan-'dzin tshe-dbang lhun-grub

Tshe-dbang lhun-grub rnam-rgyal | Khri-gtsug bstan-'dzin

gYung-drung nyi-ma'i rgyal-po

- lHun-grub dpal-bzang (17th cent.)
- gYung-drung nyi-rgyal
  - gYung-drung btsan-pa'i gtsug-rgyan
  - bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal
    - Tse-dbang rnam-rgyal
      - Mi-'gyur dbang-rgyal
      - bSod-nams phun-tshogs dbang-rgyal
        - Tshe-dbang bsod-nams bstan-rgyal
        - rGyal-ba
          - gYung-drung phun-tsogs bstan-dar
            - Phun-tshogs dbang-rgyal
              - dPal-ldan rnam-rgyal
                - (missing)
                  - Nyi-zla tshe-dbang
                    - 'Dzam-gling dbang-'dus (20th cent.)
                      - Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal
                        - Nor-bu dbang-rgyal (1956-)
            - Drang-srong-che
            - Tshul-khrims bstan-dbang
          - gYung-drung bstan-dbang
  - bSod-nams-'dul

b. the sShen family in sKyid-gzhong

- rNam-par rgyal-ba
  - lHun-grub dpal-bzang (17th cent.)
    - lHun-grub rgya-mtsho
      - lHun-grub rgyal-po
        - bsTan-'dzin tshe-dbang lhun-grub
          - Tshe-dbang lhun-grub rnam-rgyal
            - gYung-drung nyi-ma'i rgyal-po
              - Tshe-dbang rnam-rgyal
              - bsTan-'dzin bkra-shis
              - bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal
                - Tshe-dbang mchog-legs rnam-rgyal
                  - Mi-'gyur gtsug-phud dbang-rgyal (b. 1757)
                  - bSod-nams phun-dbang
                    - gYung-drung bstan-dbang
                    - Tshe-dbang bsod-nams bstan-rgyal
                      - gYung-drung bstan-rgyal
                      - bsTan-pa dar-rgyas
                      - bsTan-pa bsod-nams
                        - bsTan-pa tshe-dbang lhun-grub
                          - lHun-grub dbang-rgyal
                          - rGyal-ba khri-gtsug
                          - Byams-ma dgra-'dul
                          - gShen-rgyal-bstan
                            - Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin
                              - Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin
                              - bSod-nams lhun-grub
                              - bsTan-'dzin bkra-shis
                              - Tshe-ring rgyal-po
                                - Don-grub
                                - rNam-rgyal dbang-'dus
                            - lHun-grub bstan-'dzin
                            - sTon-pa-skyabs
                            - Tshe-dbang don-grub
                    - gYung-drung phun-bstan
          - Khri-gtsug bstan-'dzin
      - dMu-gshen rGyal-dbang gtsug-phud
    - ?
  - gYung-drung Nyi-ma'i rgyal-po (at the Dar-lding seat)

Table 2 The Bru Family

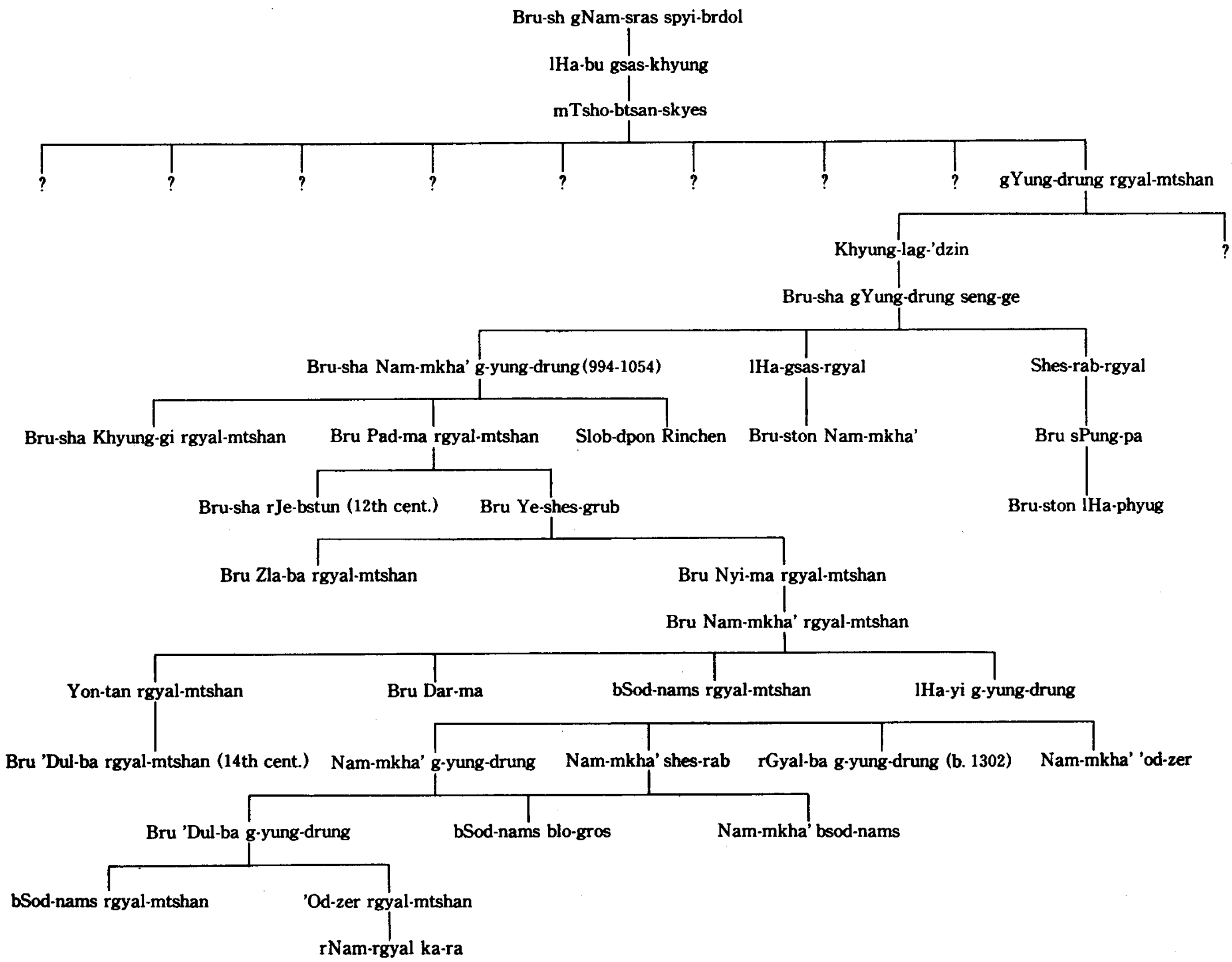
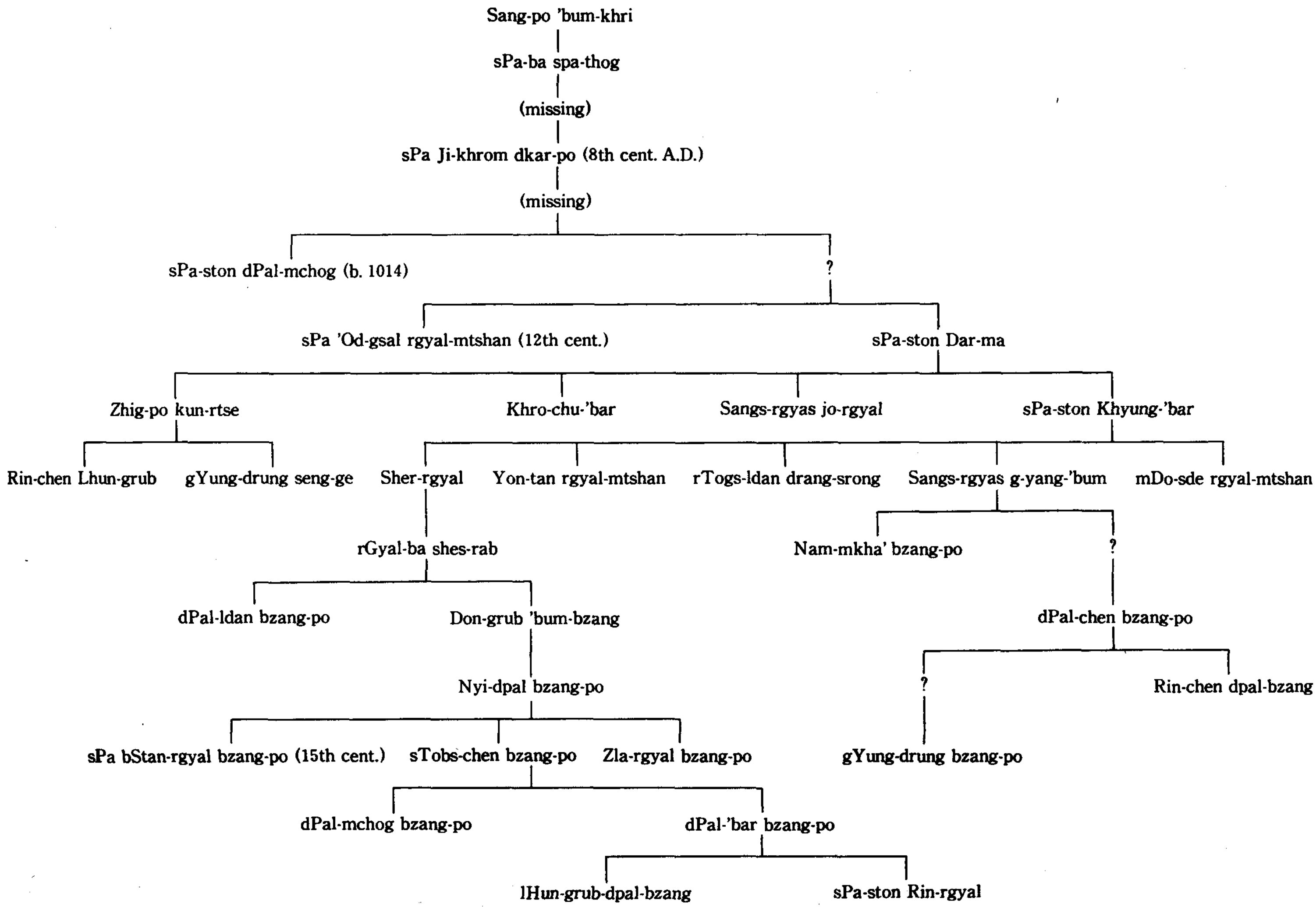


Table 3 The Zhu Family

- dBal-bon mThu-chen sri-rgod
  - sMan-rgod
    - Dri-rgod
      - Sri-gshen sKal-bzang
        - Mes-po dPal-gyi thar-pa
          - lHa-'bum
          - lHa-legs or Zhu-g-yas Legs-po (b. 1002)
            - lHa-rje skyid-po
            - Zhu sKyes-se chen-po
              - Zhu sGrol-ba gshen-rgyal
              - lHa-rje jo-mkhar
                - Jo-'bar
                  - Khro-rgyal-'bar (12th cent.)
                  - Shes-rab-'bum
                    - Zhu-smrang Bon-ston
                      - rGyal-mtshan-'bum
                        - Zhu-g-yas Khro-rgyal
                          - 'Gro-mgon lhun-'od
                          - Sher-'od rgyal-thebs
                            - rGyal-sras Ye-blo
                            - mKhan-chen Grags-rgyal
                            - Blo-gros bstan-rgyal
                              - Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan
                                - (missing)
                                  - gYung-drung grags-rgyal
                                  - Rig-'dzin g-yung-drung (19th cent.)
                                    - Tshe-dbang rab-brtan
                                    - Tshe-dbang rin-chen (20th cent.)
                                      - Chos-mdzad bstan-dar
                                      - Tshe-dbang mi-'gyur (1946-)
                                      - bSod-nams chos-sgron
                                      - bKra-shis don-grub
                                      - bKra-shis mtshams-gcod
                                    - Tshe-dbang thog-med
                                    - bKra-shis lha-mo
                                  - Khri-chen Rin-po-che
                              - rNam-rgyal kung-bzang
                            - bSod-nams seng-ge
                        - Khro-gsas
                        - Nam-rgyal
                      - Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan
                    - Zhu-smrang Jo-bde
                      - rGyal-mtshan-dar
                      - Grags-pa-'bum
                        - Nam-g-yung
                  - Dam-pa lhun-grub-'bar
              - Jo-thog
              - Zhu-sgom 'khrul-zhig (12th cent.)
          - lHa-rgyung

Table 4 The sPa Family

a. The sPa family in La-phug



b. The sPa family in the North-eastern Tibet

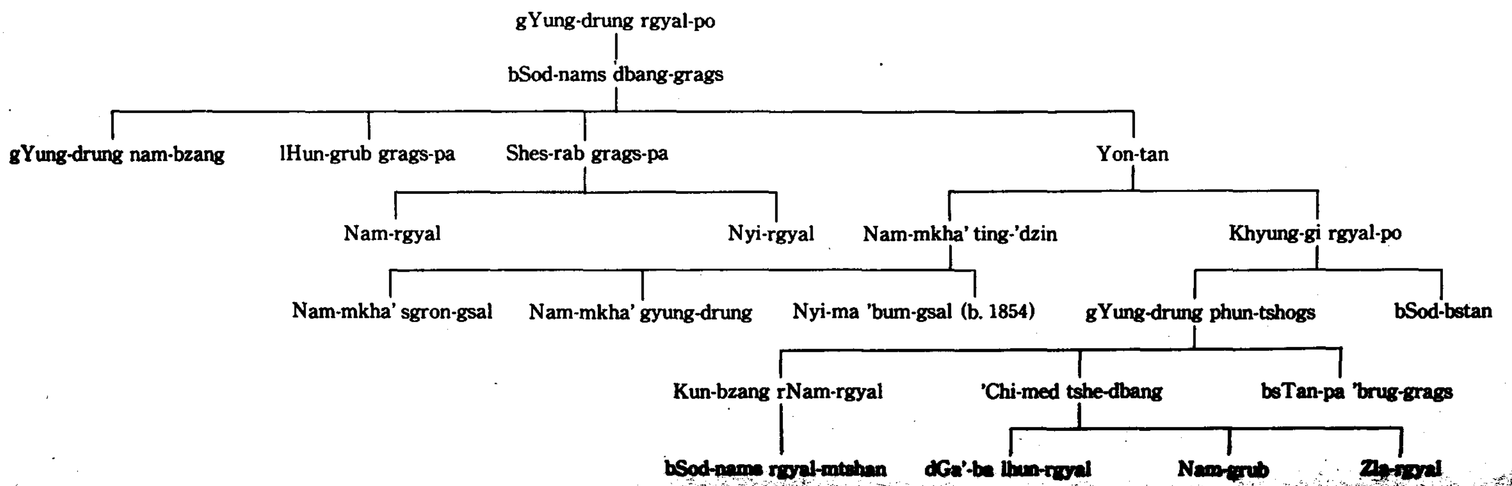


Table 5 The rMe'u Family

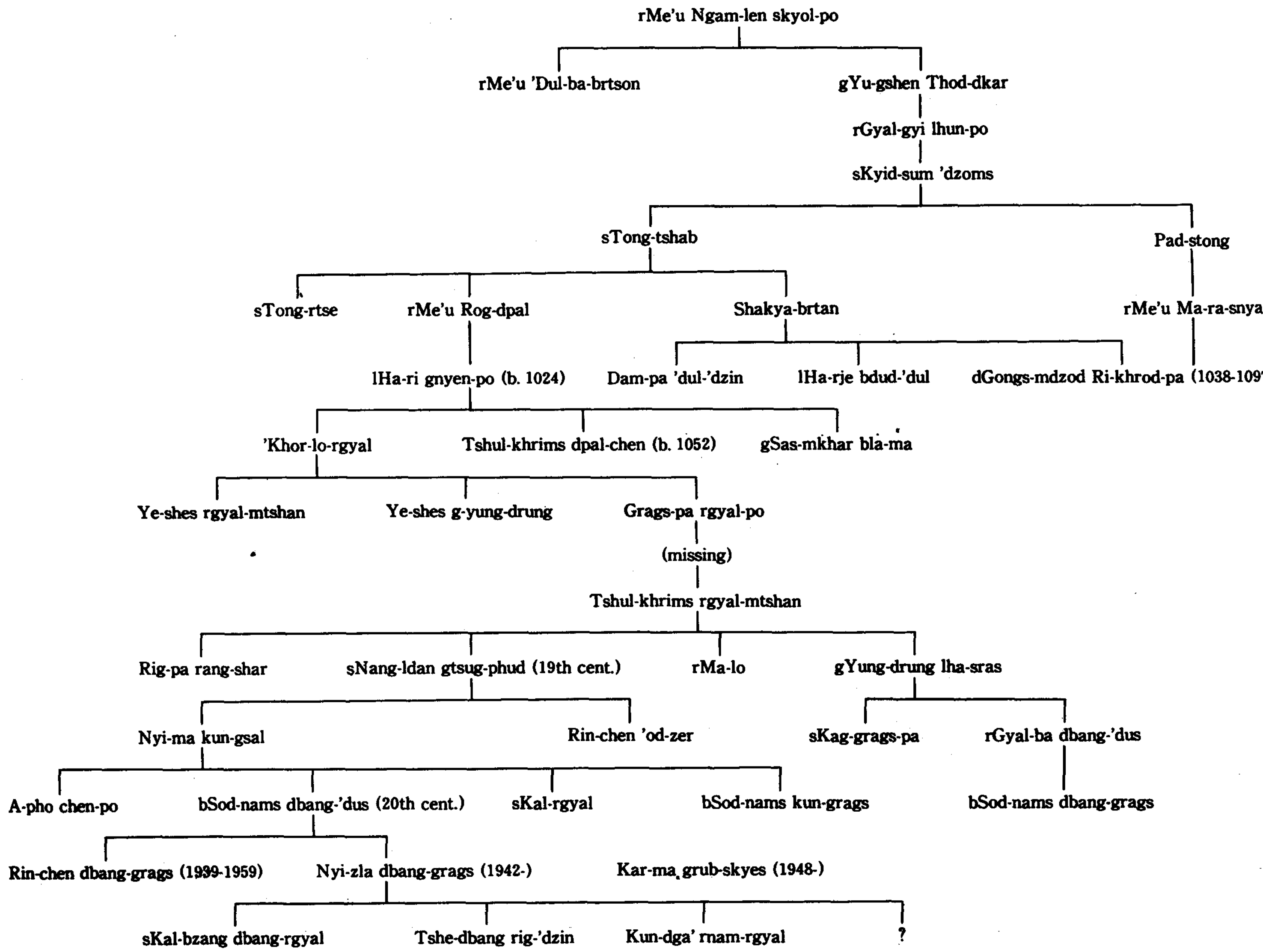




Plate1 ཞུ་རི་ཞིང་དགོན་པའི་སྐུ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར།



Plate3 གཙང་བཞེད་མཐོང་སྨོན་རྫོང་།



Plate2 ཞུ་ཚེ་རིང་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་། ཚོང་གི་དགེ་འདུན། ཁག་ཅིག།

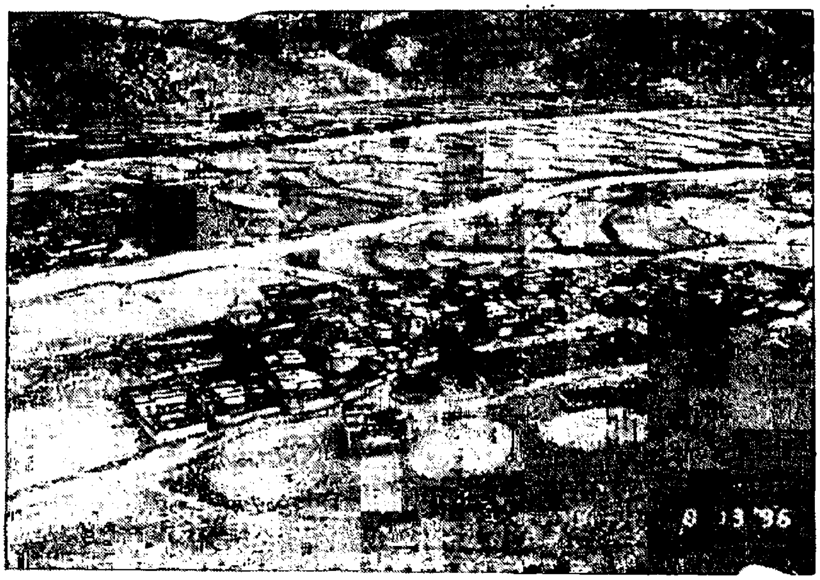


Plate4 སྐྱིད་པ་གཞོང་གྲོང་ཚོ།

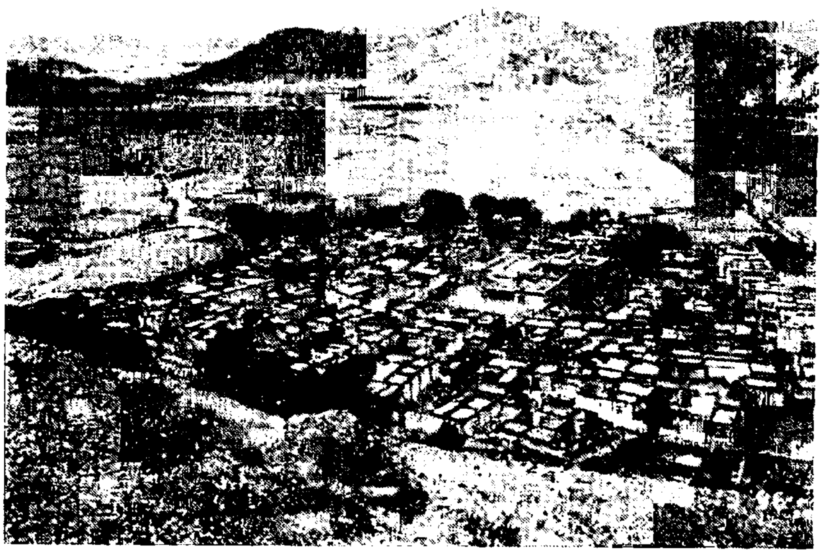


Plate5 དར་ཕྱིང་གྲོང་ཚོའི་བུར་ཅིག།

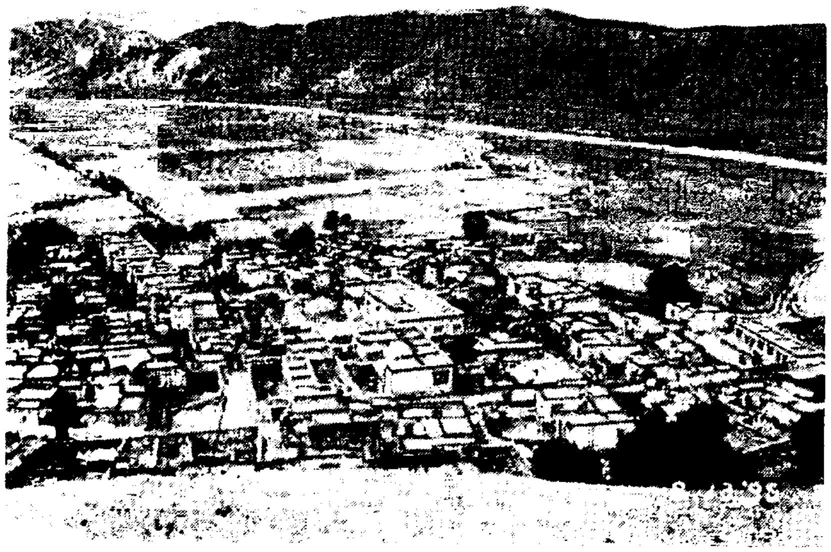


Plate6 དར་གླིང་གྲོང་ཚོའི་ཁྱུར་ཅིག།

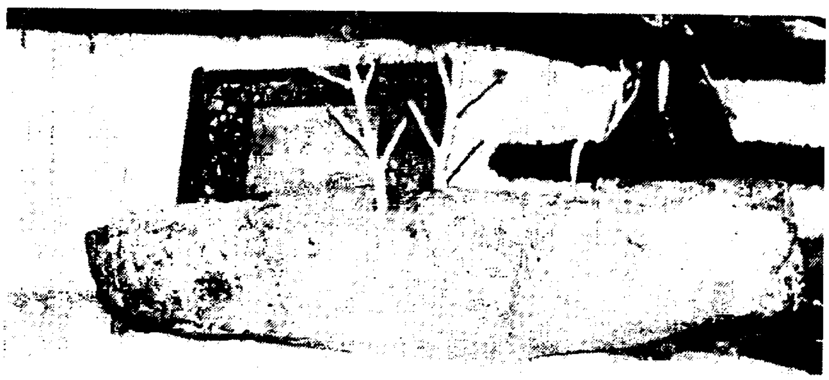


Plate7 གཞིན་ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་མཛུབ་རིས། (དར་གླིང)

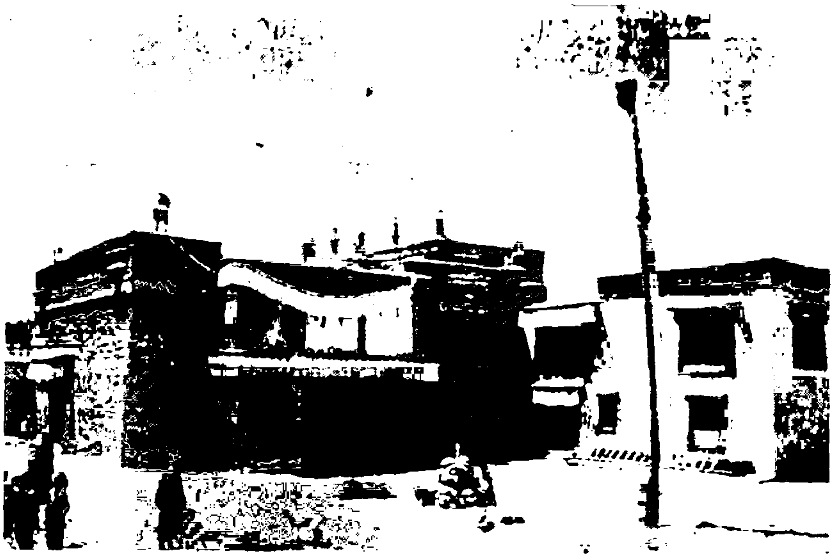


Plate8 གསེར་སྒོ་ཁྲ་མོ། (དར་གླིང)



Plate10 དར་གླིང་རི་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་དགོན།



Plate9 སྨོ་མཚོར་ཕོག་གི་ཁྲིས་པ་ཚོ། (དར་གླིང)



Plate11 སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་གཤེན་ཆེན་ཀླུ་དགའ། གཤེན་ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། གཤེན་མི་འགྱུར་གཙུག་དབང་།



Plate12 དར་ལྡིང་རི་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་དགོན།



Plate13 རྒྱ་མཚོ། (དར་གླིང་རི་རྒྱལ་དགོན)



Plate14 གཡས་རུ་དབེན་ས་ཁའི་གྲུང་སོ། (ཐོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate15 གཡས་རུ་དབེན་ས་ཁའི་གནའ་ཞུལ། (ཐོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate16 གཡས་རུ་དབེན་ས་ཁའི་གནའ་ཤུལ། (ཐོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate17 གཤེན་ཆེན་ཀླུ་དགའི་གཏེར་མ་ཧ་སྐོང་རི་ཆེམ་པ་དང་གསལ་མདའ་དུང་དབྱུག (རི་ཞིང)



Plate18 སྦྲུ་ཚང་སླ་སྦྲང། (ཐོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate19 སྦྲུ་ཚང་སླ་སྦྲང། (ཐོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate20 སྤུ་ཚང་སླ་སྒང་། (ཕོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate21 འབྲུང་ས་གཞིས་གྲོང་ཚོ། (ཕོབ་རྒྱལ)



Plate22 སྨན་རི་དགོན་པར་ཀླུ་ཁང་གསར་བཞེངས་གནང་བཞིན་པ།



Plate23 ཀླུ་ཁང་གསར་པའི་ནང་གི་རྡོ་ཡི་ཀ་བ་རྙིང་པ་ཆ་གཅིག (སྨན་རི)

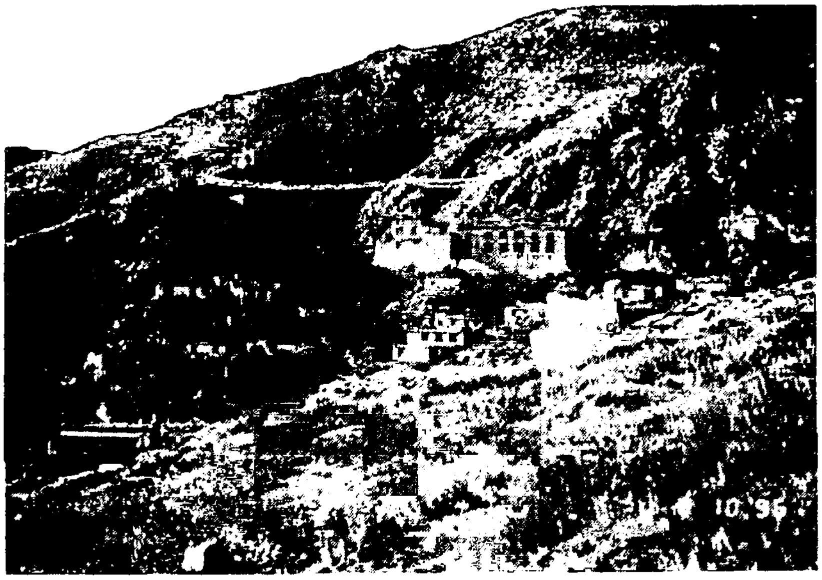


Plate24 གཙང་སྨན་རི་དགོན།



Plate25 གཙང་གཡུང་དྲུང་གླིང་།



Plate26 ་སློ་མོ་ཟངས་རི་གྲོང་ཚོ།

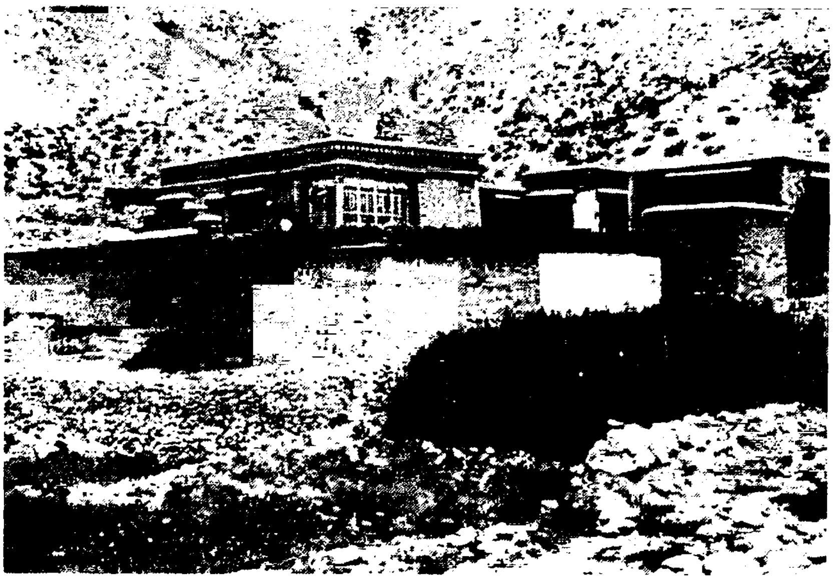


Plate27 མི་ཏྲུ་ཚང་བླ་བྲང་ (སློ་མོ)



Plate28 བྱང་ས་རི་དགོན་ (སླེ་མོ)



Plate29 ཞུ་རི་ཞིང་དགོན་པའི་ཤུལ།



Plate30 ཞུ་རི་ཞིང་དགོན་པའི་གྲུང་རོ།



Plate31 ཞུ་རི་ཞིང་དགོན་པའི་ཞུལ།

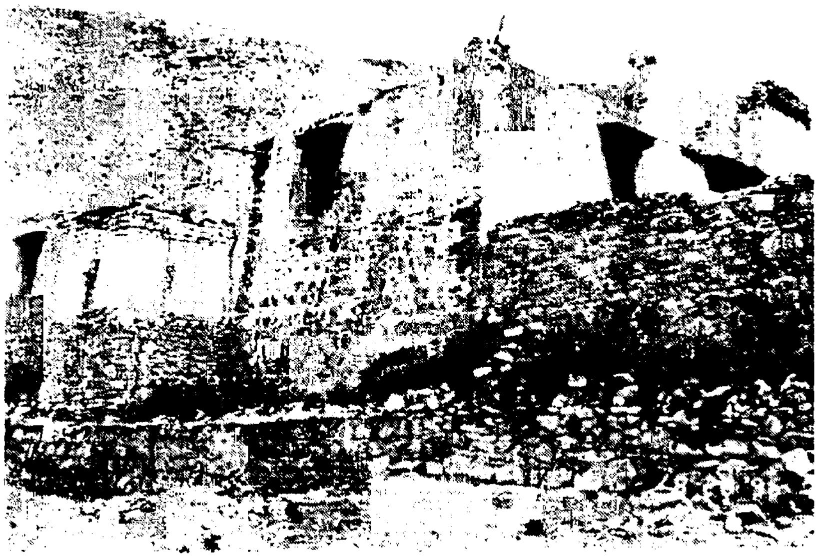


Plate32 ཞུ་ཚང་རྫ་ཕུ་གྲྭ་ཟང།



Plate33 ཞུ་ཚང་རྫ་ཕུ་གྲྭ་ཟང།

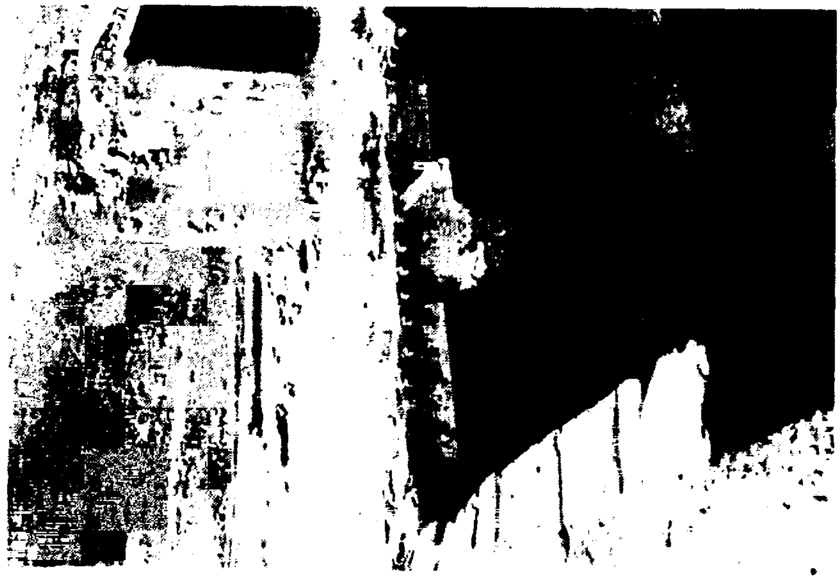


Plate35 ཁྱུང་ཚང་རྫོང་ཕུག་ཁང་།

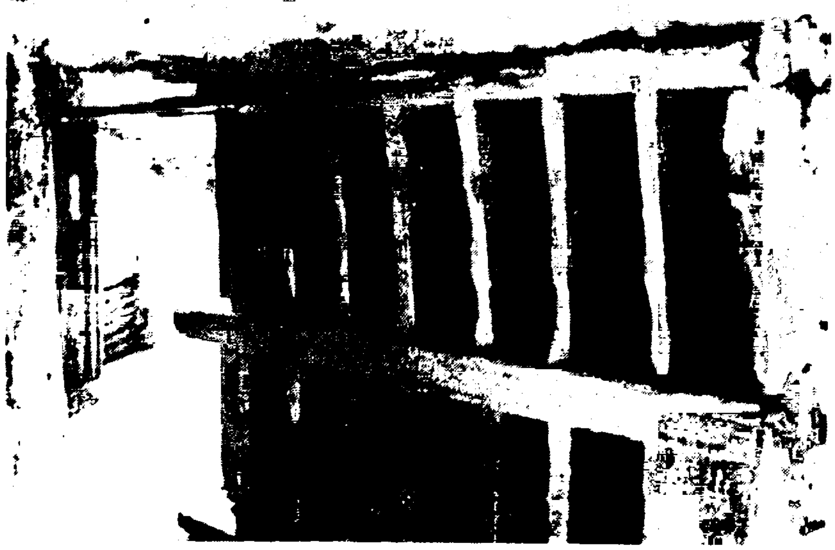


Plate34 ཁྱུང་ཚང་རྫོང་ཕུག་ཁང་གི་སྐྱབས་འཛོམས།



Plate36 ཞུ་ཚོང་སྣ་ཕུ་བླ་བྲང།



Plate37 གཙང་སྐྱིད་མཁར་གྱི་སྒོ་ཕུག་རྡོ་ཕོ་ལྷུང་ལག།

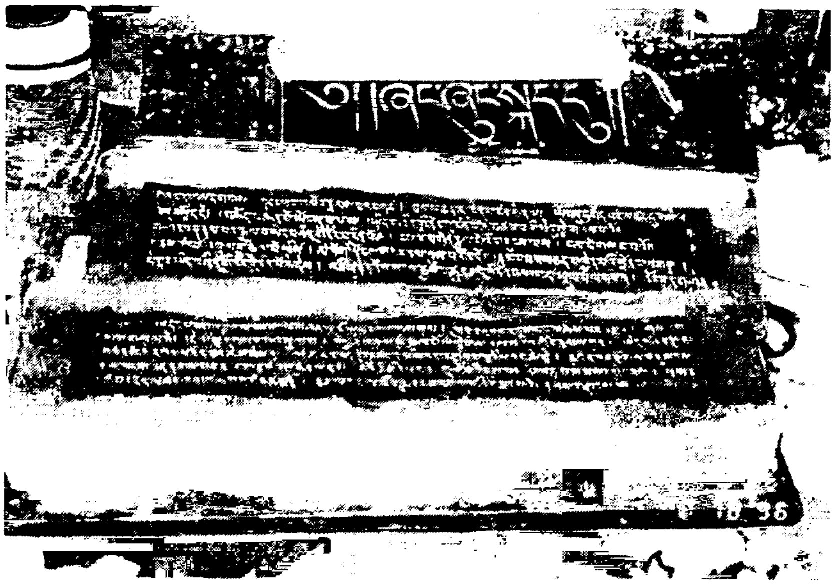


Plate38 པད་མོ་སྨང་དགོན་པར་བཞུགས་པའི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཟུངས་ཆེན། (གྲོམ)



Plate39 གྲོ་སྨོད་གྲོང་ཚོ།



Plate40 ཕར་ཚོང་སྐྱང་དགོན་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ (ཁྲི)



Plate41 པོད་མོ་སྣང་དགོན་པའི་འཛིན་ཆེ་རིང་དབང་འདུས། (གྲོམོ)



Plate42 གྲོམོ་པད་མོ་སྣང་གྲོང་ཚོའི་ཁྱུར་ཅིག།

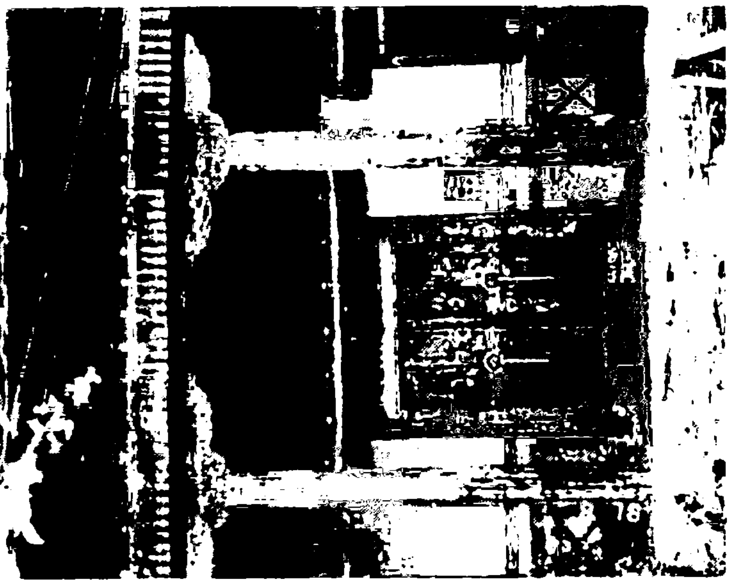


Plate44 ཁ་ཆེ་སྒང་དགོན་པའི་འདུ་ཁང་སྒོ་མོ། (ཁྲི་ཀ)



Plate43 ཁ་ཆེ་སྒང་དགོན་པའི་ནང་རྟེན་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད། (ཁྲི་ཀ)

The Bon deities depicted in the wall paintings in the Bon-brgya monastery

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Introduction

The Bon-brgya Monastery is located in Tongren prefecture (同仁県), Qinghai province (青海省). There is approximately a 120 kilometer distance between Xining (西寧), the capital of Qinghai, and Tongren (also called Rebkong in Tibetan). The Bon-brgya Monastery is built on the slope of a small hill about fifteen kilometers away from the center of Tongren [Plate 1]. More than one hundred monks live in the monastery, which is ranked as the largest Bon monastery in Tongren prefecture. The full name of the monastery is sMan-ri bshad-sgrub smin-grol-gling, which indicates that this monastery belongs to the sMan-ri monastic tradition founded by mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415) in the fourteenth century.

The monastery consists of several buildings: *'du khang* (assembly hall) [Plate 2], *mchod khang* (offering hall), *mgron khang* (reception), *gzhims khang* (dwelling house), *gsol thabs* (kitchen) and others. The *'du khang*, the largest building in the monastery, has two floors and the second floor is called *btsan khang* (local deity hall). Most monks live in the more than thirty small houses around the monastery.

When I visited the monastery in August, 1998, about one hundred and ten monks were there and they were led by the abbot (*dgon bdag*) dGe-legs lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, also called A-lag Bon-brgya Rin-po-che. At that time, he was sixty-three years old, but the other administrative monks were still in their thirties. This may be due to the fact that the monastery's activities were suspended during the period of the Cultural Revolution. Most monks come from supporting families in the surrounding villages.

The history of the monastery is obscure and most of the buildings were rebuilt or refurbished in the last ten years after the previous buildings had been burnt down. The monastery financially depends on donations from the followers of Bon living in the villages. It counts more than 2,000 families in Tongren prefecture and about 1,000 in the neighboring prefectures. The monastery is responsible for their funeral ceremonies and the annual ceremonies, or religious activities such as curing diseases, protecting from misfortune, etc. Moreover, the monastery accepts financial support from the Chinese government, which enabled the recent

rebuilding and refurbishment.

1. The deities in the *'du khang*

Seven sculptures and 16 paintings (*thang ka*), all of which have been produced recently, are placed on the first floor of the *'du khang*, the main building of the Bon-brgya monastery. Figure 1 shows their locations and the names in simplified form. The entrance of the hall is on the south side and the staircase to the second floor is located at the south-east corner.

The five sculptures on the altar at the north side are made from clay and painted in gold. Their names and characteristics are as follows:

a rNam-mkhyen rGyal-ba gshen-rab [Plate 3]
This is the main deity of the *'du khang*. He is sitting in *paryaṅka* posture, raising his right arm and placing left hand on his left thigh. He is decorated with a crown, necklace, bracelets, armlets etc. and showing a slightly wrathful appearance. Cf. Kvaerne (1995:66-9).

b Shes-rab smra-ba'i seng-ge [Plate 4]
He is sitting in *paryaṅka* posture, raising his right arm with a sword and keeping his left hand in front of his breast like *abhaya-mudrā*. His left hand also holds a lotus stalk with a sacred text on the lotus flower. He is iconographically similar to the Buddhist Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī.

c rGyal-yum Byams-ma chen-mo [Plate 5]
This is a goddess, sitting in *paryaṅka* posture, possessing a medicine jar in her right hand and a lotus stalk in her left hand with a mirror on the flower. Cf. Kvaerne (1995:52-5).

d mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan [Plate 6]
The founder of the sMan-ri monastery. He is wearing a *bla ma* costume and a lotus hat (*pad zhwa*) , sitting in *paryaṅka* posture, with both hands in front of his breast. Each hand holds a lotus stalk with a sacred text on the flower. He is iconographically similar to Tsong-kha-pa.

e dGon-bdag gYung-drung phun-tshogs [Plate 7]
I have no information about this monk. He is wearing a *bla ma* costume but with no hat, sitting in *paryaṅka* posture on the hide of an antelope (?), showing *abhaya-mudrā* with his right hand and keeping a sacred text by his left hand on his thigh.

The names and the detail of the sixteen paintings on the wall in the *'du khang* are as follows:

1 gNas-brtan bcu-drug (The Sixteen *sthaviras*) [Plate 9]
sTon-pa gshen-rab in yellow color is in the center and the Sixteen monks are surrounding him. They probably correspond with the Buddhist Sixteen *arhats*.

2 sMan-lha bde-gshegs-brgyad (The Eight bDe-gshegs, who are Medicine gods) [Plate 10]
The Eight bDe-gshegs are obscure. In the *thang ka* one large deity is in the center and seven smaller deities are around him. All of them have the earth touching hand posture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*) with their right hands and hold a medicine jar each in their left hands on the left thighs.

3 dGe-spyod Tshe-dpag med Byams-ldan bcas gsum [Plate 11]
dGye spyod occupies the center and Tshe-dpag med is on the right and Byams-ldan is on the left of the central deity. dGye-spyod is in Buddha style and the two attendants are in Bodhisattva style. These three deities are included in the twelve deities of the 'twelve rituals' (*cho ga bcu gnyis*). As for the 'twelve rituals', see Denwood (1983) and Kvaerne (1995:36-7).

4 rJe-sku'i tshogs-zhing (The assembly tree of the body of the Lord) [Plate 12]
The assembly tree is one of the unique styles of Tibetan religious paintings. In most cases, the founder of the sect occupies the center of the tree and a number of the deities and the historical *bla ma* in the lineage surround him. In this painting mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (= rJe) is depicted in the center.

5 Grub-chen brgyad-cu (The Eighty *siddhas*) [Plate 13]
Unidentified deity in blue color is represented in the center and many *siddhas* are scattered around him. In spite of the title, we can count eighty-eight *siddhas*. These *siddhas* are also depicted on the ceiling of the Khyung-po temple mentioned later.

6 Bla-ma Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin [Plate 14]
According the Lauf (1979:194), Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin is one of the disciples of Dran-pa nam-mkha' (*ca.* 8 c). He is painted in dark brown and is accompanied with his consort. Six wrathful deities and four *ḍākinīs*? are depicted around them.

7 dBal-gsas [Plate 15]

dBal-gsas is one of the most popular Bonpo wrathful deities. He has nine faces (including six lion faces), eighteen arms and four legs. The two main arms embrace his consort holding a *phur bu* between both hands. Cf. Kvaerne (1995:77-80).

8 sTag-lha sPu-gri dmar-po [Plate 16]
sTag-lha sPu-gri dmar-po is a representative Bonpo protective deity and is also known by a different name, sTag-lha me-'bar. He is depicted in dark red (or brown). He possesses unique attributes: a weapon with *cakra* (right) and a weapon with nine crossed swords (left). See Lauf (1979:90), Kvaerne (1995:37-39) and Tanaka (1998:100).

9 Byams-ma, rNam-'joms, Sher-phyin [Plate 17]
Byams-ma is in the center and rNam-'joms and Sher-phyin are on the right and left of Byams-ma respectively. Byams-ma and Sher-phyin are depicted in yellow and they show a similar appearance. rNam-'joms is in wrathful style with a dark blue body color. These three deities are also included in the 'twelve rituals'.

10 rGyal-ba rgya-mtsho, Kun-dbyings, sMan-lha [Plate 18]
rGyal-ba rgya-mtsho, or Kun-bzang rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho, obviously imitates the Buddhist Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces and a thousand arms. Kun-dbyings (on the right of rGyal-ba rgya-mtsho) is white and sMan-lha (on the left) is blue. Both are sitting in *paryaṅka* posture and decorated with various ornaments like a Bodhisattva. Cf. Kvaerne (1995:62).

11 Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa [Plate 19]
Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa has five faces and twelve arms with the two main arms holding a lunar disc with the 'a' syllable and a solar disc with the 'ma' syllable in the right and left hands respectively. The two lower arms are kept on the knees. The remaining eight arms possess the same attributes as rGyal-ba rgya-mtsho. Cf. Kvaerne (1995:59-61).

12 dBal-gsas [Plate 20]
see no. 7 (the attending deities differ).

13 Kun-rig, rNam-dag, Dus-'khor [Plate 21]
Kun-rig (center), rNam-dag (right) and Dus-'khor (left) are also included in the 'twelve rituals'. White Kun-rig holds a banner, blue rNam-dag possesses a banner and a mirror marked with the 'a' and 'ma' syllables, and green Dus-'khor has a *phyag shing* (or *lcags shing*) and a *cakra*.

14 Srid-rgyal dbu-brgya phyag-stong [Plate 22]
Srid-rgyal dbu-brgya phyag-stong is a popular Bonpo protective deity. Her name indicates that this deity has one hundred heads and one thousand arms. She also has ten legs. The two main arms hold a sword and a skull cup.

15 Brag-btsan [Plate 23]
Brag-btsan is also a protective deity. He is riding on a red horse and bearing a spear and a bird in his right and left hands respectively. He is also represented as a sculpture placed in the south west corner of the *'du khang* [Plate 8, no. f in Figure 1] and is depicted on one *thang ka* on the second floor [Plate 35, no. 11 in Figure 2].

16 rTag-gzigs-zhing [Plate 24]
rTag-gzigs is an alternate for 'Ol-mo lung-ring, the legendary utopia of Bonpo. There is a white mountain and a town in the center of the *thang ka* surrounded by other mountains and buildings in several layers. Cf. Snellgrove (1967:pl. XXII).

On the second floor, the *btsan khang*, which has the structure of a corridor as shown in Figure 2, sixteen paintings are hung in the interior. The names and the brief descriptions of the deities depicted on them are as follows:

1 Byang-sman [Plate 25]
white color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a yak, Chinese costume, possessing a vase and a mirror
2 sTag-ri-rong [Plate 26]
black color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on 9 wolves?, possessing a sword and a bag
3 Yum-sras [Plate 27]
blue color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a crow, possessing a chain and a vase
4 Mi-drid (Mi-bdud?) [Plate 28]
red color, 3 face, 6 arms, riding on a lion? , possesing a *phur bu*, a skull cup, a sword, an ax, a *khaṭvāṅga* etc.
5 Dre'u dmar-mo [Plate 29]
dark blue color, 3 face, 6 arms, riding on a red mule, possessing a *phur bu*, a skull cup, a sword, an axe, a *khaṭvāṅga* etc.
6 Dre'u nag-mo [Plate 30]
black color, 3 face, 6 arms, riding on a black mule, possesing a *phur bu*, a skull cup, a sword, an axe, a banner etc.
7 gCan-lha [Plate 31]

black color, 1 face, 8 arms, riding on 9 dogs, possessing a sword, an arrow, a skull cup, a flag, a knife, a lotus? etc.

8 gShin-rje [Plate 32]
black color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a buffalo and a fish?, buffalo face, accompanied by a consort, possessing a sword and something square

9 rMa-rgyal (= rMa-chen spom-ra) [Plate 33]
white color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a lion, Chinese armor, possessing a bannner and a jewel box

10 dMu-bdud [Plate 34]
black color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a dog (or wolf?), possessing an ax and a chain

11 Brag-btsan [Plate 35]
red color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a red horse, as described in the first floor (no. 15 of Figure 1)

12 dMag-dpon [Plate 36]
red color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a red horse, Chinese armor, possessing a spear and a chain

13 gNam-lha [Plate 37]
blue color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a white horse, possessing a bow and an arrow, an insturment marked with a *svastika*

14 Dam-can [Plate 38]
blue color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a red yak, Chinese costume, possessing an ax and a bag

15 Shel-khrab-can (rGyal-po Shel-khrab-can) [Plate 39]
white color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a white horse, Chinese armor, possessing a spear and a jewel box

16 Nyi-pang-sad [Plate 40]
white color, 1 face, 2 arms, riding on a white horse, Chinese costume, possessing a spear and a jewel box

2. The Khyung-po temple

The Khyung-po temple (Khyung-dkar rig-'dzin smin-grol-gling) is a Bonpo temple located in the Khyung-po village north to Tongren city. This temple is relatively small but the interior space is well decorated with statues and *thang ka* [Plate 41]. Especially, the fine *thang ka* on the wall are reported to have been preserved through the Cultural Revolution. For a comparison with the Bon-brgya monastery, I shall introduce the main works in this monastery.

The Khyung-po temple also has an entrance on the south and the main altar is located opposite the entrance. There are five sculptures on the altar [Figure 3, a-e]

and some of them are identical to the statues in the Bon-brgya monastery. Except for the south side, there are balconies on the second floor and three huge *thang ka* are attached on each side of the balconies. Their names are indicated in the Figure 3, nos. 1-9, though two *thang ka* cannot be identified [Plates 42-50].

The ceiling of the monastery is divided into 144 small squares in a 12×12 grid [Figure 4]. The four central squares are decorated with 4 *maṇḍalas* of Bonpo style [Plates 51, 52]. Unfortunately, I cannot identify these *maṇḍalas* due to the lack of information. The five squares next to the *maṇḍalas* are occupied by Bonpo sages [Plates 51,52]. The latter four [Figure 4, b-e] are included in the 'Nine sages of the thought transmission (*dgongs brgyud*)' mentioned in Karmay (1998:11). Each of the eleven squares at the four corners have a lotus motif. In the remaining 91 squares, the figures of *siddhas* are well depicted [Plates 51-54]. The serial numbers and corresponding names of the *siddhas* are also indicated. As shown in plate 4, they are arranged from the center to the margins as a spiral is drawn.

In the *'du khang* of the Bon-brgya monastery, one *thang ka* depicting eighty *siddhas* is attached to the wall [Plate 13]. When comparing the iconographic features, they are found to be identical to those of the Khyung-po temple. As shown in Figure 5, the *siddhas* are in principle arranged from the left to right, and from top to bottom. The painter of this *thang ka* presumably used the same iconographic models of the *siddhas* arranged in the same order as the Khyung-po temple.

Acknowledgment

I am very grateful to Prof. Yasuhiko Nagano (National Museum of Ethnology), Prof. Sadako Nagano (International Buddhist University), Dr. Samten Karmay (CNRS) and Prof. Tsering Thar (Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies) for their help which made me possible to make a field survey in Rebkong in August 1998. I also would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Per Kvaerne (University of Oslo) for his valuable suggestions and corrections to my paper after the symposium in the National Museum of Ethnology.

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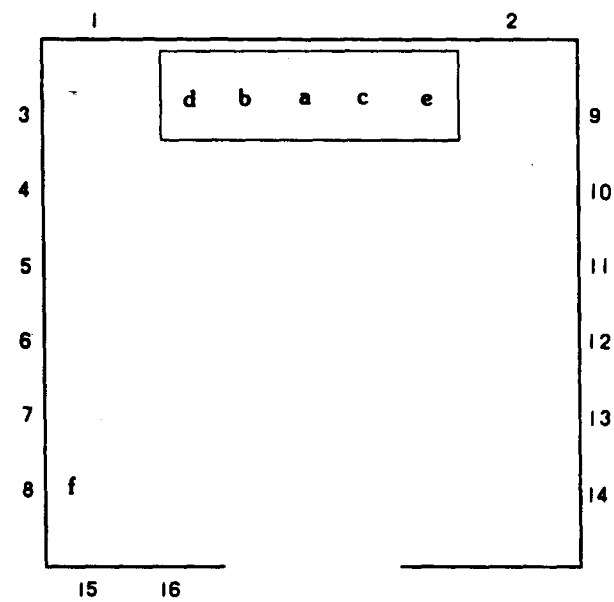


Figure 1 First floor of the *'du khang* of the Bon-rgya Monastery

a	rNam mkhyan rgyal ba gshen rab
b	Shes rab smra ba'i seng ge
c	rGyal yum Byams ma chen mo
d	rJe sku mNyam med
e	Gon bdag g'yung drung phun tshogs kyi 'dra sku
f	lBrag btsan
1	gNas brtan bcu drug
2	sMan lha bde gshegs brgyad
3	dGi spyod Tshe dpag med Byams ldan bcas gsum
4	rJe sku'i tshogs zhing rgyan thang
5	Grub chen brgyad cu
6	Bla ma Tshe dbang rig 'dzin
7	dBal gsas
8	lTag lha sPu gri dmar po
9	Byams ma, rNam 'joms, Sher phyin
10	rGyal ba rgya mtsho, Kun dbyings, sMan lha
11	Kun bzang
12	dBal gsas
13	Kun rig, rNam dag, Dus 'khor
14	Srid rgyal dbu brgya phyag stong
15	Brag btsan
16	rTag gzigs zhing

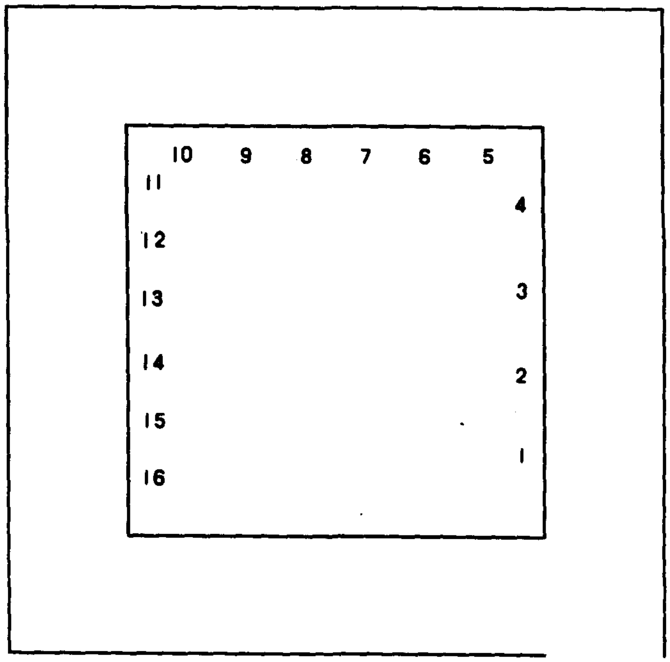


Figure 2 The second floor, *bstan khang*, of the *'du khang*

1	Byang sman	9	rMa rgyal
2	sTag ri rong	10	dMu bdud
3	Yum sras	11	Brag btsan
4	Mi drid	12	dMag dpon
5	Dre'u dmar mo	13	gNam lha
6	Dre'u nag mo	14	Dam can
7	gCen lha	15	Shes khrab can
8	gShin rje	16	Nyi bang sad

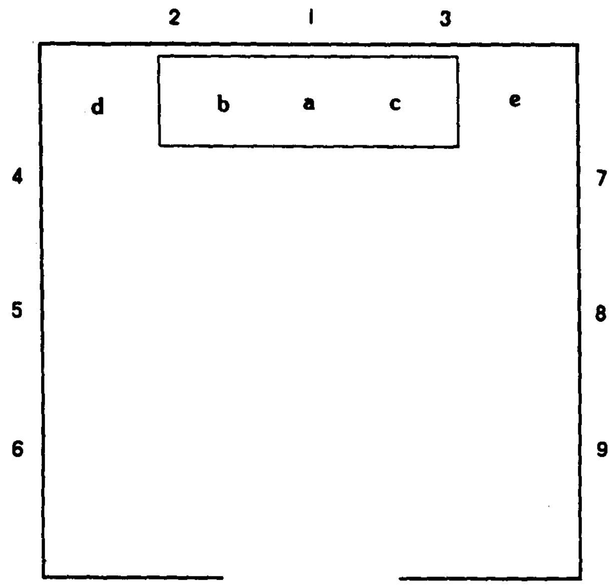


Figure 3 The Khyung-po monastery

a	rNam mkhyan rgyal ba gshen rab	1	rJe sku'i tshogs zhing rgyan thang
b	rJe sku mNyam med	2	Sences from the life of gShen rab (1)
c	rGyal yum Byams ma chen mo	3	Sences from the life of gShen rab (2)
d	[unidentified wrathful deity]	4	Bla ma tshe dbang rig 'dzin
e	dBal gsas	5	rGyal ba rgya mtsho
		6	dBal gsas
		7	Kun bzang
		8	[unidentified deity]
		9	[unidentified deity]

				70	71	72	73				
			69	46	47	48	49	74			
			45	25	26	27	28	50			
	68	44	24	8	9	10	11	29	51	75	
91	67	43	23	7	a	b	c	12	30	52	76
90	66	42	22	6	m	m	d	13	31	53	77
89	65	41	21	5	m	m	e	14	32	54	78
88	64	40	20	4	3	2	1	15	33	55	79
	87	63	39	19	18	17	16	34	56	80	
			62	38	37	36	35	57			
			86	61	60	59	58	81			
				85	84	83	82				

Figure 4 The ceiling of the Khyung-po temple

m dkyil 'khor (maṇḍala)
a Kun tu bzang po
b Tshad med 'od ldan
c 'Phrul gshen snang ldan
d bZang tha ring btsun
e 'Chi med gtsug phud

1∼91 Siddhas (see next page)

Names of the *siddhas*

1 gSang ba 'dus pa
2 sTag lha me 'bar
3 rMa lo dgra bcom pa
4 lHa bon yongs su dag pa
5 rGyal gshen mi lus bsam legs
6 Klu grub ye shes snying po
7 sNang ba mdog can
8 Mu khri btsang po
9 Ha ra ci par
10 sTag za li wer
11 A nu 'phrag thag
12 Sad ne ga 'u
13 Zing pa mthu chen
14 Shad bu ra gug
15 sPe bon thog rtse
16 sPe bon thog 'phrul
17 This dmar spungs pa
18 Sum pa dbu dkar
19 Glang chen mu thur
20 sTod rgyud mthu chen
21 Sha ri dbu chen
22 lTse tsha mkhar bu
23 Gyim tsha rma chung
24 dMu tsa tra he
25 Khri thog bār tsha?
26 Ghu hu lu spar ya
27 lHa bdag sngags grol
28 Legs ting rmang po
29 gSer tog lce 'byams
30 Tso mi gyer chen
31 Mar me 'dzon
32 Nam ra rtse dgu
33 sPung rgyud mthu chen
34 Pan chen li shu stag ring
35 Khe ++++
36 Phu ri ya dor
37 sTag gzig za ring me 'bar
38 lDe ro nyam phel
39 rNal 'byor bru sha lha gsas dbang po
40 Rig 'dzin Tho le grags pa
41 Grub chen Nyi ma 'od gsal
42 Lo bon mu phu
43 Gyim bu lan tsha
44 Sum pa cho 'bar ba?
45 Khu bon mthong grags
46 Zhang zhung mu tshe 'bar ba
(+ indicates illegible letter)

47 Ba gor dod de rgyal ba
48 'Jang tsha 'phan snang
49 rMa bon thugs dkar
50 sNang bzher 'od po
51 Li za stag ring
52 Ya gon ye shes rgyal ba
53 Bhe shod mgrin dkar
54 Do la gnas pa'i gru 'dzin ma
55 dMu stang g'yu 'dzin
56 Khri zangs rgyal mo
57 Dod de rgyal lcam
58 rNal 'byor gar dpon
59 dBa mo sgron gsas
60 gTsang gshen snyan ngag pa
61 Yar gshen ldem bu
62 Thang gshen chab dkar
63 Khyung ye dkar po
64 Ma dha bhi sha
65 'Dul byed snying po
66 'Jar bon ye mkhyen
67 Ha shang rgyal po
68 ?
69 Khri sde 'od po
70 dNgas pe yi rang
71 Gung rum gtsug phud
72 rDzu 'phrul ye shes
73 Ye shes tshul khrims
74 g'Yung drung tshul khrims
75 gTsug phud rgyal ba
76 Ya gong ye shes rgyal ba
77 Pham shi? dpal gyi dbang phyug
78 Slob dpon Dran pa nam mkha'
79 Slob dpon Tshe dbang rig 'dzin
80 SLob dbon Padma mthong grol
81 gShen stong klu yi dbang po
82 Gyer mi nyi 'od
83 rMa stong srel 'dzin
84 g'Yu stod khyung rgod
85 Bru chen nam mkha' g'yung 'brung
86 rGyal sras zhu yas legs po
87 sPa stong dpal mchog rgyal ba
88 Me'u khas pa dpal chen
89 ++ ting 'khor lo
90 Khung dkar tshangs pa
91 Ngo bo ye shes ++
(+ indicates illegible letter)

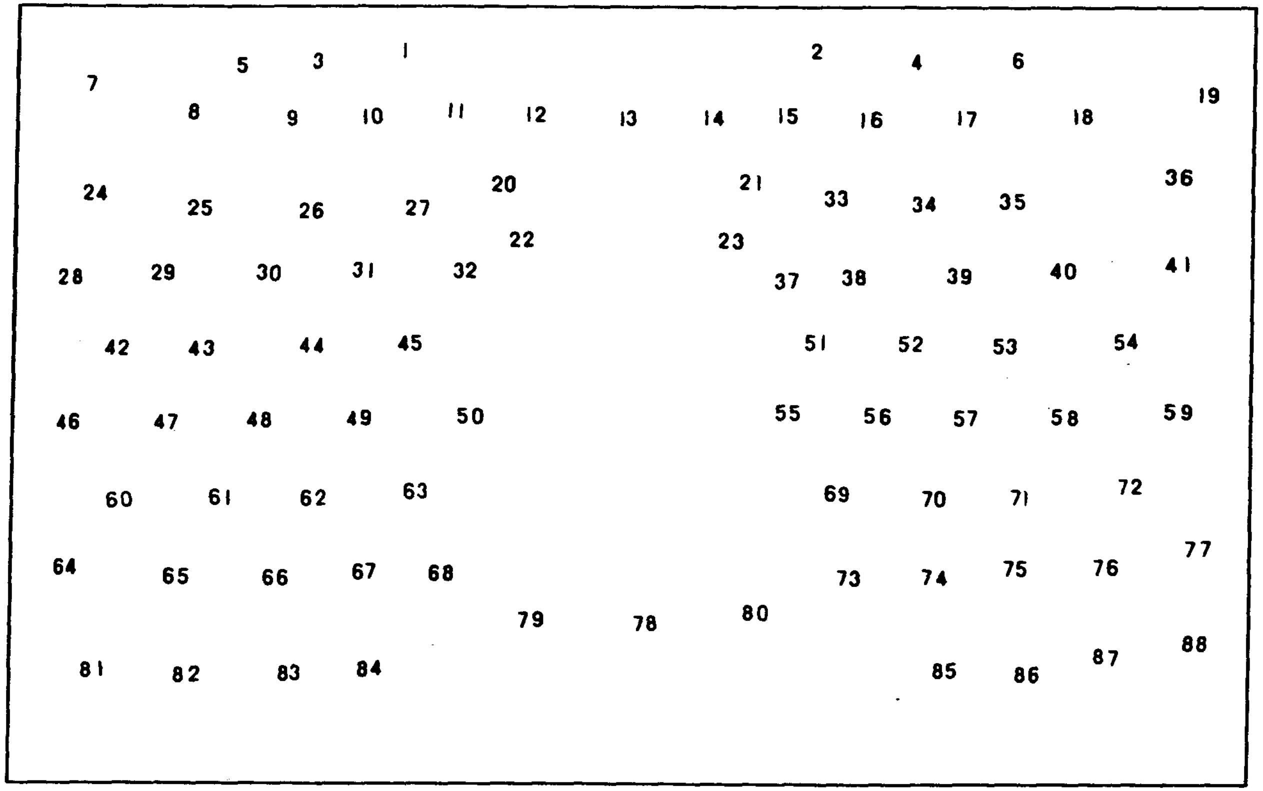


Figure 5 The *siddas* in the *thang ka*, ‘Grub-chen brgyad-cu’ in the Bon rgya monastery (The numbers correspond with the names listed in the previous page)

Figure 5 The *siddas* in the *thang ka*, 'Grub-chen brgyad-cu' in the Bon rgya monastery
(The numbers correspond with the names listed in the previous page)



Plate 1 Bon-rgya monastery (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 2 The *'du khang* of the Bon-rgya monastery (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 3 rNam-mkhyen rgyal-ba gshen-rab
(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 4 Shes-rab smra-ba'i seng-ge
(M. Mori, August 1998)

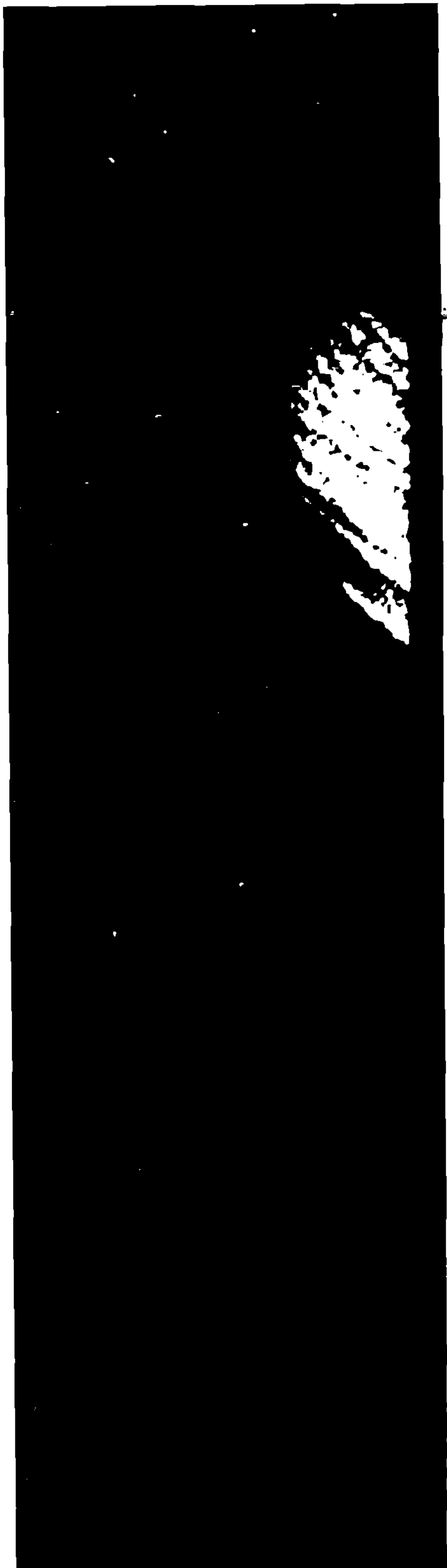


Plate 3 rNam-mkhyen rgyal-ba gshen-rab
(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 5 rGyal-yum Byams-ma chen-mo
(M. Mori, August 1998)

Plate 4 Shes-rab smra-ba'i seng-ge
(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 6 rJe-sku mNyam-med (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 7 dGon-bdag g Yung-drung phun-tshogs
(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 8 Brag-btsan (M. Mori, August 1998)

Plate 8 Brag-btsan (M. Mori, August 1998)

Plate 7 dGon-bdag g Yung-drung phun-tshogs (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 9 gNas-brtan bcu-drug (M. Mori, August 1998)

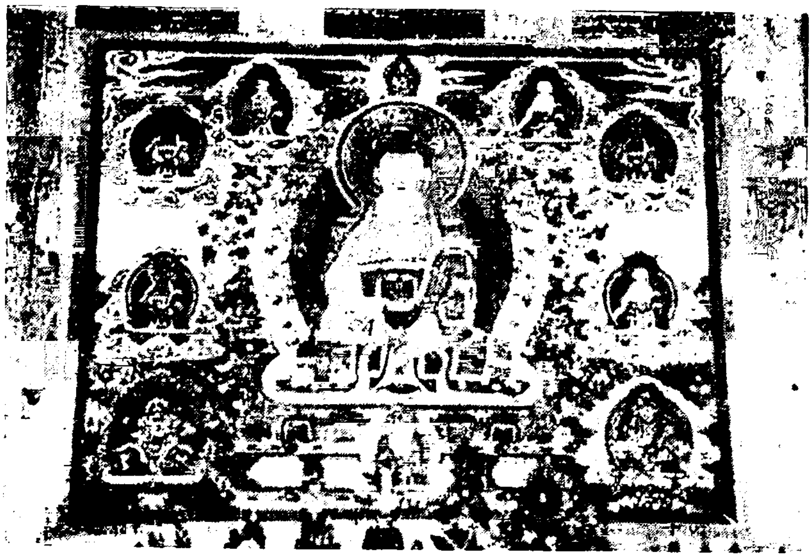


Plate 10 sMan-lha bde-gshegs brgyad (M. Mori, August 1998)







Plate 11 dGe-spyod Tshe-dpag med Byams-ldan bcas gsum
(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 12 rJe-sku'i tshogs-zhing rgyan-thang (M. Mori, August 1998)

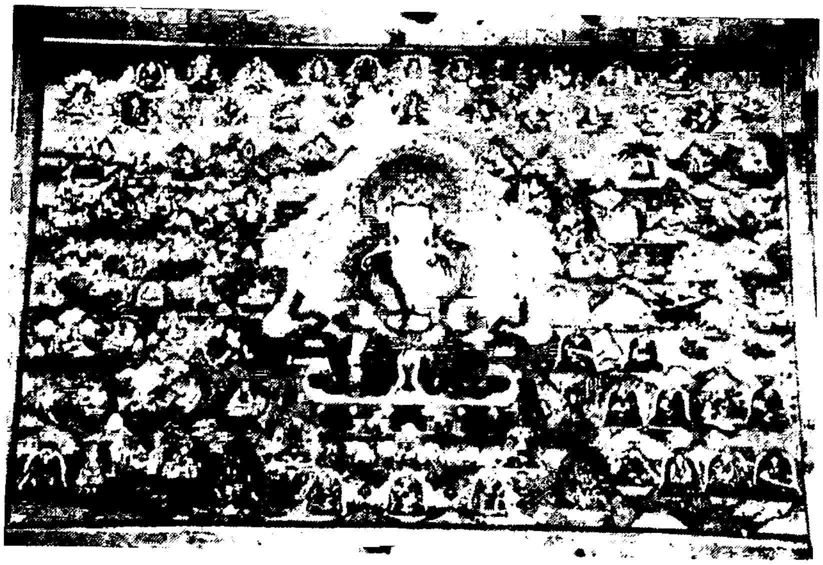
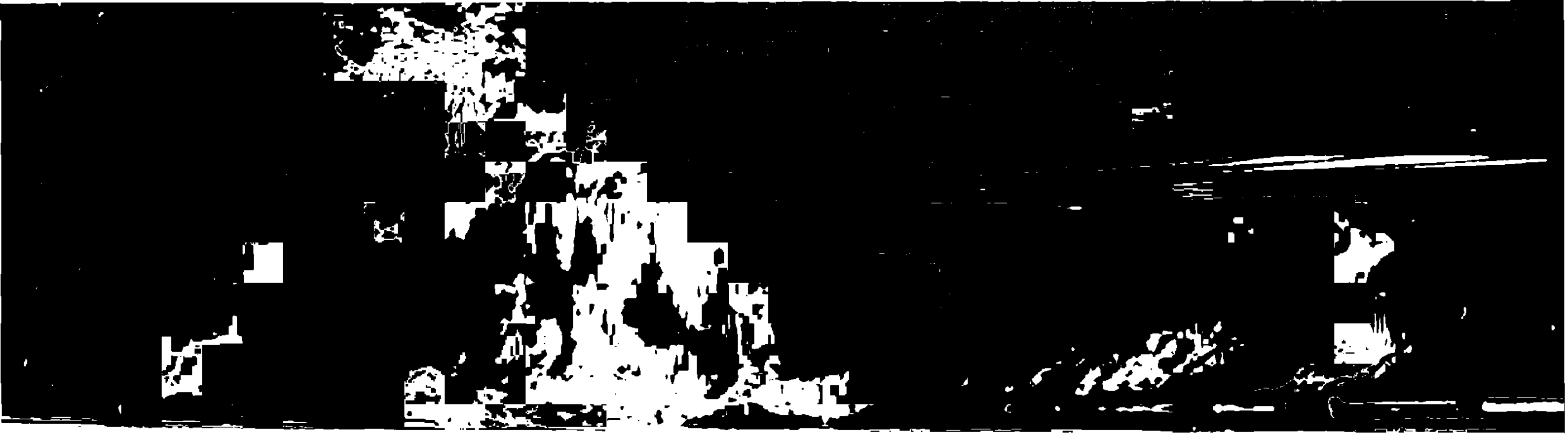


Plate 13 Grub-chen brgyad-cu (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 14 Bla-ma Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin (M. Mori, August 1998)



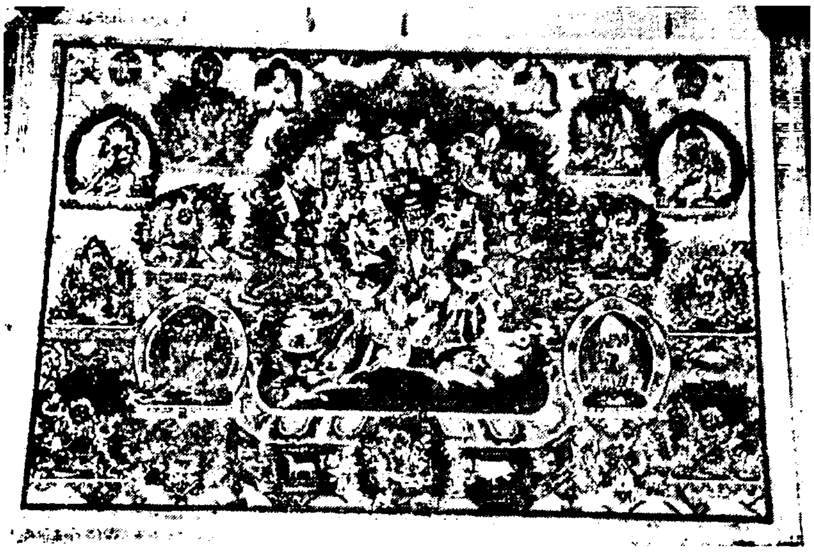


Plate 15 dBal-gsas (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 16 sTag-lha sPu-gri dmar-po (M. Mori, August 1998)

Pl



Plate 17 Byams-ma, rNam-'joms, Sher-phyin (M. Mori, August 1998)

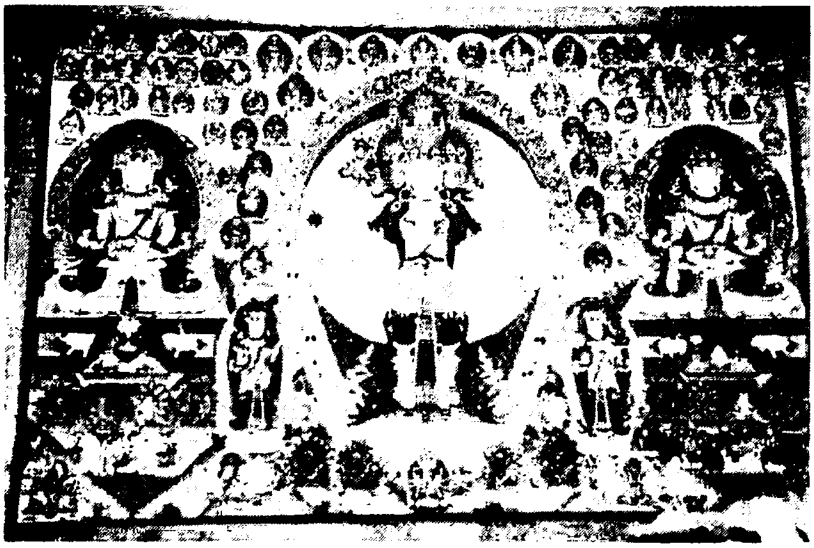


Plate 18 rGyal-ba rgya-mtsho, Kun-dbyings, sMan-lha
(M. Mori, August 1998)

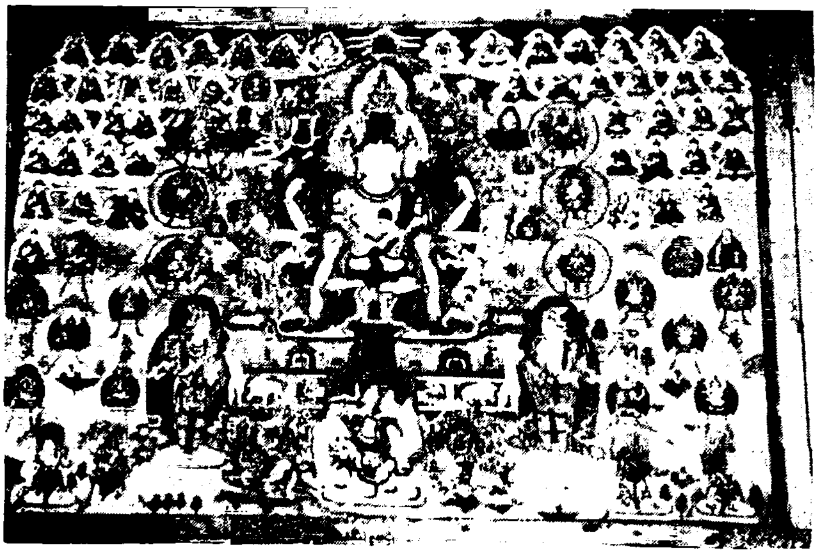


Plate 19 Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 20 dBal-gsas (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 21 Kun-rig, rNam-dag, Dus-'khor (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 22 Srid-rgyal dbu-brgya phyag-stong (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 23 Brag-btsan (M. Mori, August 1998)

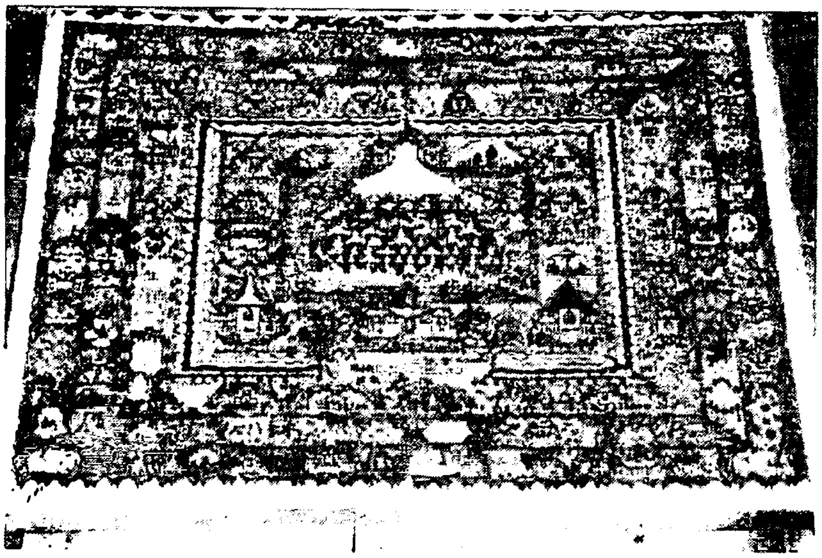


Plate 24 rTag-gzigs-zhing (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 25 Byang-sman (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 26 sTag-ri-rong (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 27 Yum-sras (M. Mori, August 1998)

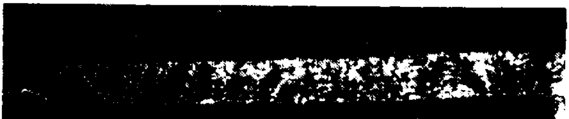




Plate 28 Mi-drid (bdud?) (M. Mori, August 1998)

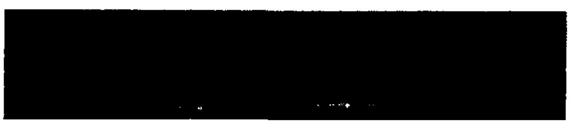


Plate 27 Yum-sras (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 29 Dre'u dmar-mo (M. Mori, August 1998)

Plate 28 Mi-drid (bdud?) (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 30 Dre'u nag-mo(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 31 gCen-lha(M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 32 gShin-rje (M. Mori, August 1998)





Plate 31 gCen-lha(M. Mori, August 1998)





Plate 33 rMa-rgyal (M. Mori, August 1998)

Plate 32 gShin-rje (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 34 dMu-bdud (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 35 Brag-btsan (M. Mori, August 1998)





Plate 36 dMag-dpon (M. Mori, August 1998)





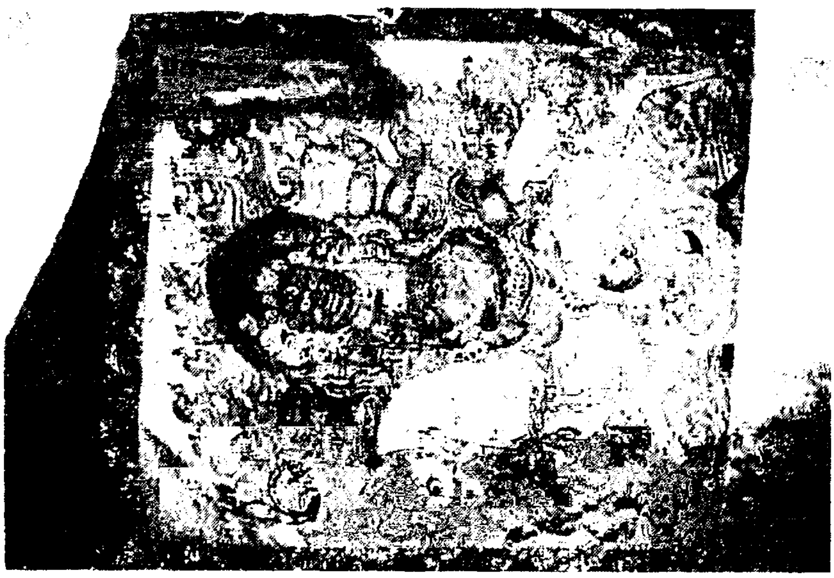


Plate 37 gNam-lha (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 38 Dam-can (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 39 Shel-khrab-can (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 40 Nyi-pang-sad (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 39 Shel-khrab-can (M. Mori, August 1998)

Plate 40 Nyi-pang-sad (M. Mori, August 1998)

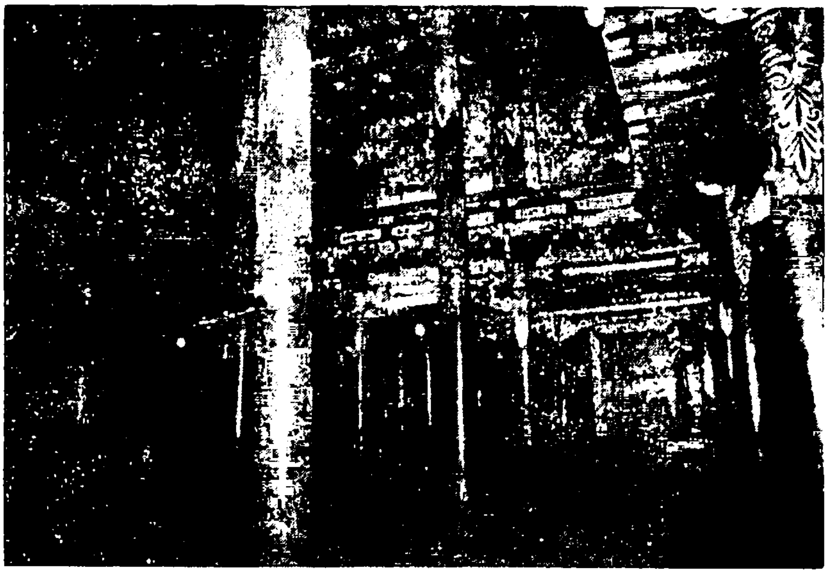


Plate 41 Khyung-po temple (M. Mori, August 1998)

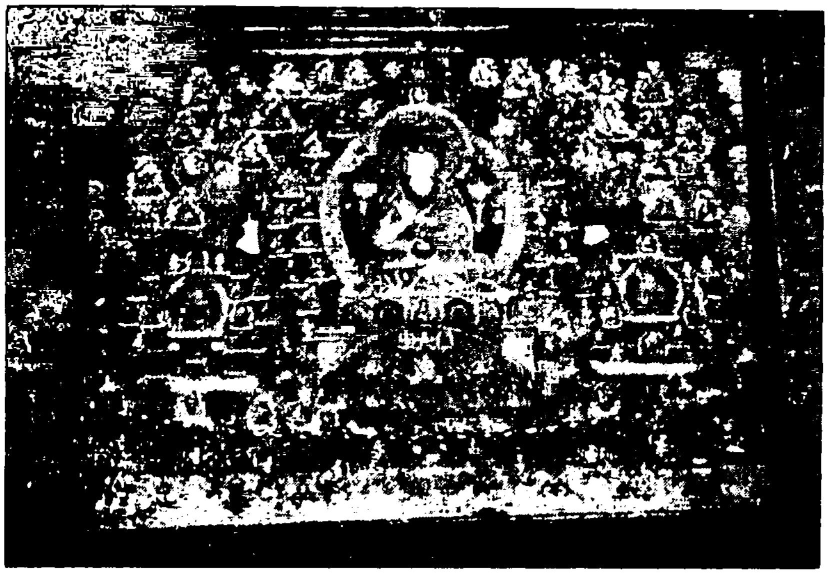


Plate 42 rJe-sku'i tshogs-zhing rgyan-thang (M. Mori, August 1998)



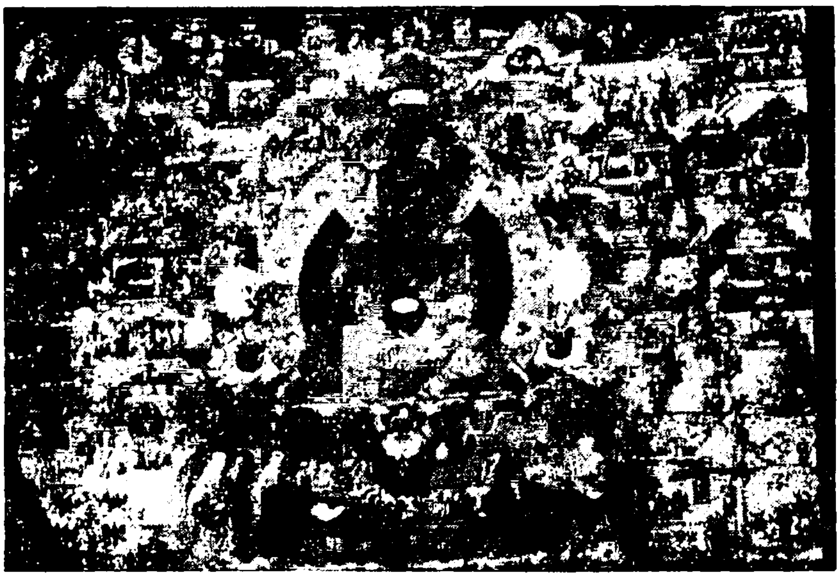


Plate 43 Scenes from the life of gShen-rab (1) (M. Mori, August 1998)

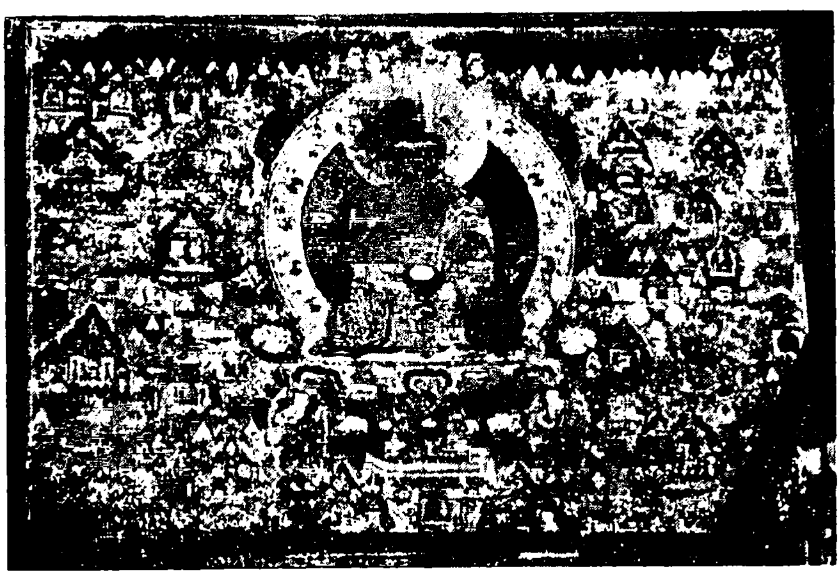


Plate 44 Scenes from the life of gShen-rab (2) (M. Mori, August 1998)

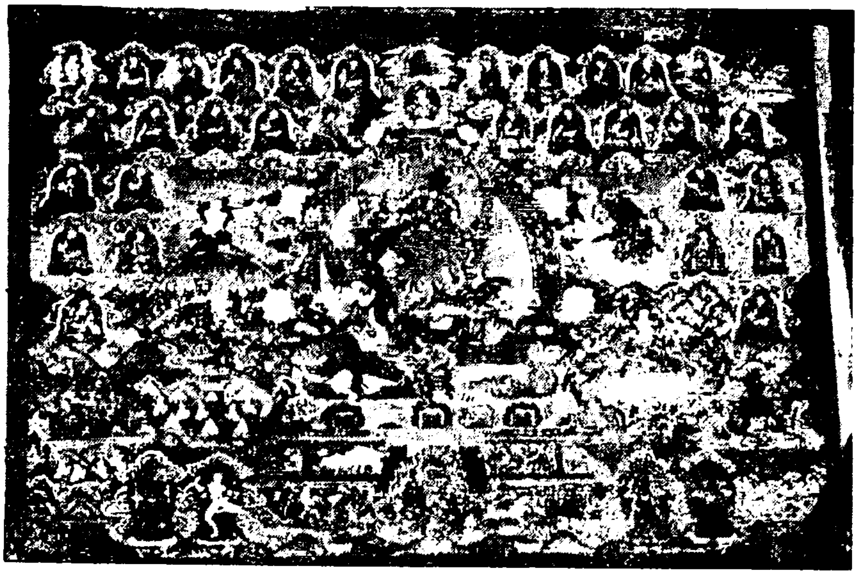


Plate 45 Bla-ma tshe-dbang rig-'dzin (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 46 rGyal-ba rgya-mtsho (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 47 dBal-gsas (M. Mori, August 1998)

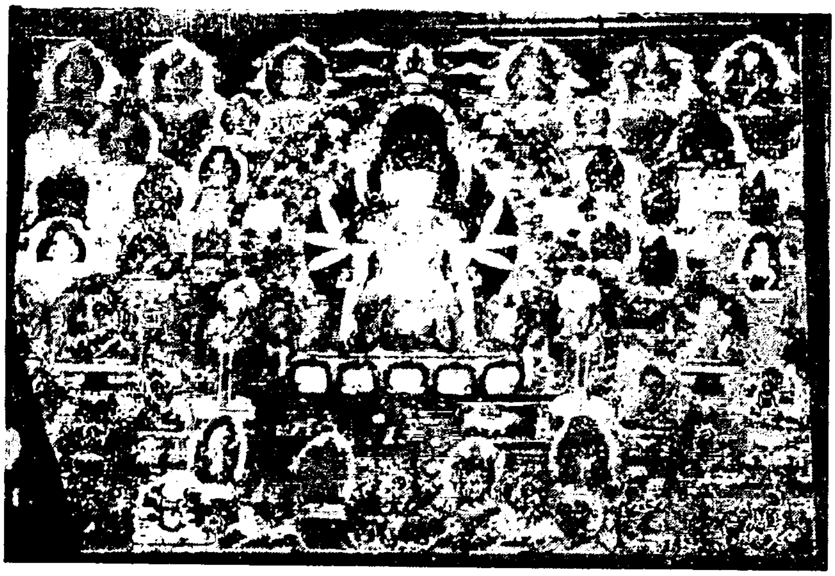


Plate 48 Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 49 unidentified deity (M. Mori, August 1998)

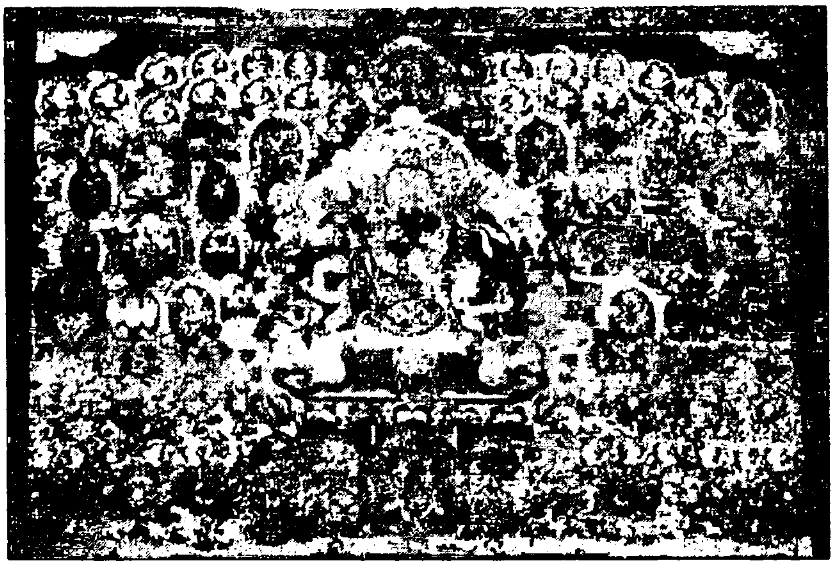


Plate 50 unidentified deity (M. Mori, August 1998)

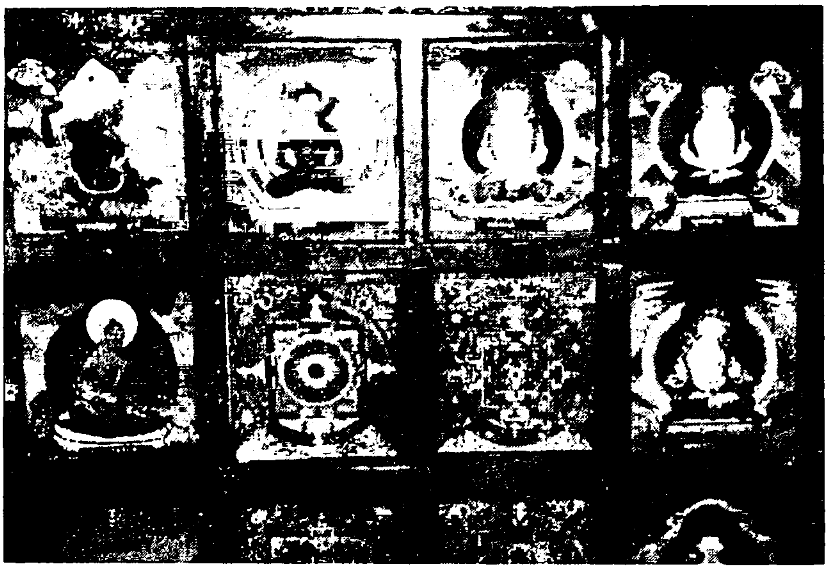


Plate 51 The ceiling of the Khyung-po temple
(two *maṇḍalas* and nos. 6, 7, a-d in Figure 4) (M. Mori, August 1998)

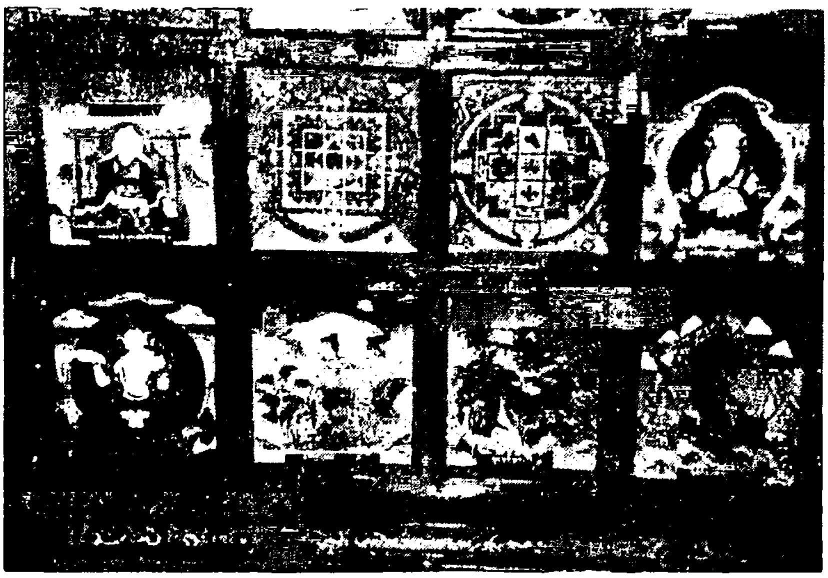


Plate 52 The ceiling of the Khyung-po temple
(two *maṇḍalas* and nos. 1-5 in Figure 4) (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 53 The ceiling of the Khyung-po temple
(nos. 8-11, 25-28 in Figure 4) (M. Mori, August 1998)



Plate 54 The ceiling of the Khyung-po temple
(nos. 16-19, 35-38 in Figure 4) (M. Mori, August 1998)

Khri-brtan Nor-bu-rtse Bon monastery in Kathmandu

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Nagoya

1. The history and the building of Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery

Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse Bonpo monastery is situated near the Swayambhunath temple, which is in the northwestern part of Kathmandu, Nepal. The monastery was founded in 1987. More than one hundred monks live there under the guidance of the abbot bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag, the founder of the monastery. The main activities of the monks are religious ceremonies performed at the request of laymen. In additon, they study the doctrine of Bon, and practise a meditation called *rDzogs chen*.

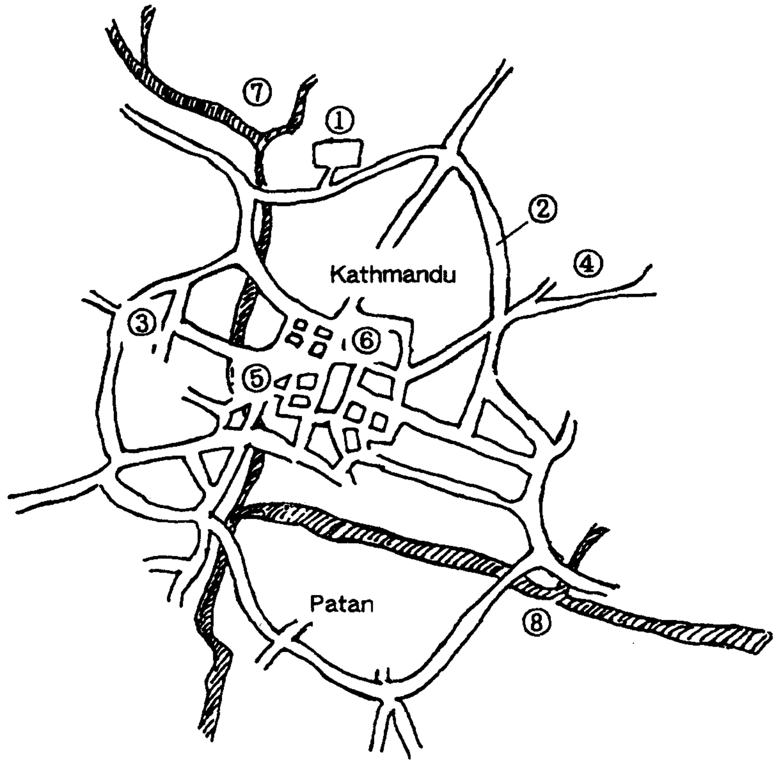
The monastery has two educational courses. One is the course of dialectics, and the other is the course of meditation. The former has eight grades of the student monks, and the latter has four grades. Each student selects his course according to his own interest and ability.

The Bonpo temple in Kathmandu is a revival of Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery which gShen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan founded in the Tsang province in the fourteenth century. The monastery flourished for a long time with the support of Bonpo devotees nearby. It played an important role in the study and practice of the Mother tantra (Ma rgyud). It was, however, completely destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (Tritan Norbutse Monastery, unpublished: 11).

Construction of the recent Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery began in 1987. Before that, the abbot (*slob dpon*) of the monastery, bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag, was in sMan-ri Monastery at Dolanji in India. At that time, he asked some Bonpo devotees to look for land to buy near Swayambhunath. Devotees purchased land and started to construct the first building in 1987.

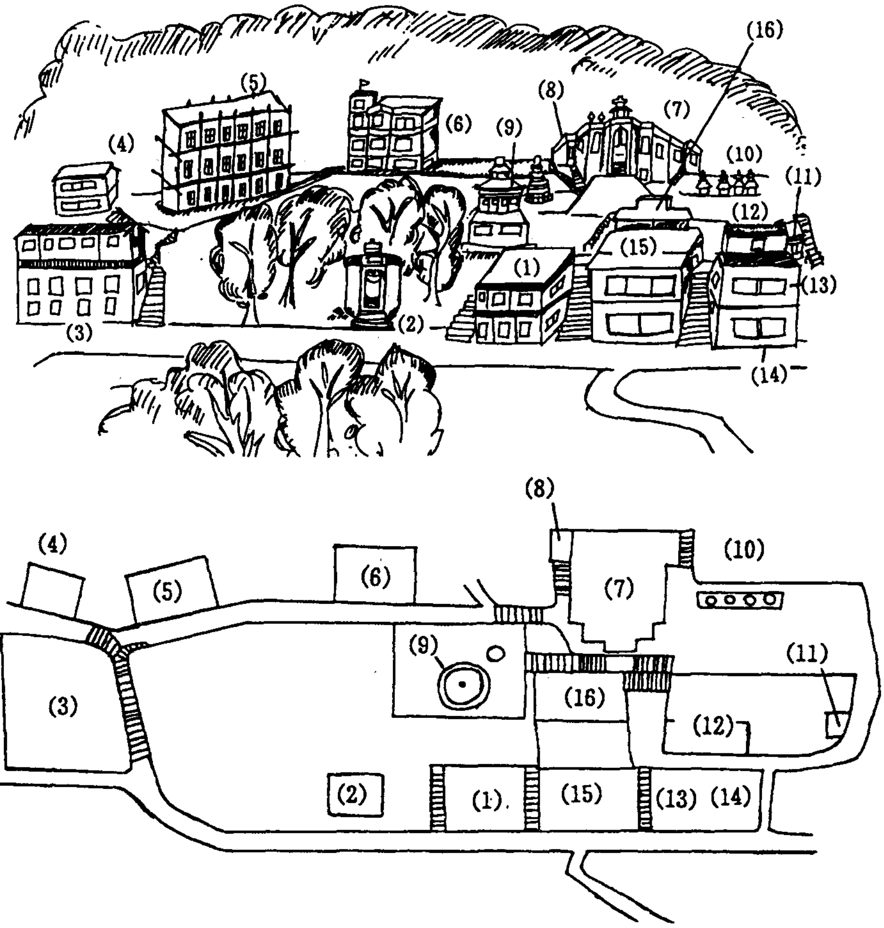
The Bonpo people explain their choice of the area near Swayambhunath as follows. First, Swayambhunath has an important relationship with Bon religion. This is because sTon-pa gShen-rab, the founder of the Bon religion, is said to have made two Newari Bonpo named Asho and Dhara build Swayambhunath. Second, Swayambhunath is said to have existed as a Bonpo temple before Buddha's birth. In any case, they consider Swayambhunath as a holy place for Bonpo people, also.

There were two purposes for building a Bonpo monastery in Nepal. First, it became very difficult to maintain the Bon religion and culture inside Tibet because of the Chinese invasion. They wanted to maintain the Bon tradition outside Tibet.



① Khri brtan nor bu rtse Monastery
② Ring road
③ Swayambhunath Temple
④ Bodhnath Temple
⑤ Darbar Square
⑥ Royal Palace
⑦ The Vishnumati River
⑧ The Bhagmati River

Figure 1 Kathmandu and Patan



(1) Residence of the monks taking rDzogs chen course
(2) Matikor Hall
(3) Residence of the monks taking the course of dialectics
(4) Rooms for Dark Retreat (mun msthams)
(5) Library (under construction)
(6) Residence of the abbot
(7) Main Temple
(8) Small Temple
(9) Lamp Hall (gSas mkhar li li bang bang)
(10) Memorial stupas for masters
(11) Hostels for pilgrims
(12) Office
(13) Hall for Bon po devotees
(14) Residence of senior monks
(15) Guestroom
(16) Storage

Figure 2 Buildings of Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse Monastery

Secondly, they wanted to give the opportunity for religious education to the Bonpos from Dolpo and Mustang where there are Bonpo monasteries but where they have no educational system.

Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery is situated in the north part of the ring road of Kathmandu [Figure 1]. Plate 1 shows the appearance of the monastery. It is situated on the middle of the hill covered with trees. When the first building was built in 1987, there was no road from the ring road to the monastery. These days, however, a road has been made and people can reach the foot of the hill by car.

Figure 2 shows the buildings of the monastery. Going up the path, you can see the two-story building first. The building is the residence of the monks belonging to the *rDzogs chen* group [Figure 2-1]. The ground floor of the building contains rooms for the monks, a shower room and a lavatory. The first floor has only monks' rooms. According to bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag, more than twelve monks live there. Behind the residence of the monks, there is the building containing the training room for the *rDzogs chen* practices.

Next to the residence of the *rDzogs chen* monks, there is a hall where the huge wheel called Ma-ti 'khor-lo or 'Khor chen containing the Bonpo canon is put [Figure 2-2]. The appearance of the wheel is just like ma-ni 'khor-lo of Tibetan Buddhism. The hall was built in 1992 with the sponsorship of the Bonpo devotees in Kathmandu. The wheel was put in the center of the hall, and the walls of the hall hold paintings of one thousand Buddhas. It seems that either a middle-aged layman or a laywoman is watching over the hall.

Going up an easy slope, there is the five-story building, which is the dwelling of the priests of the course of dialectics. According to gYung-drung nyi-ma, who follows the course of dialectics, eighty priests live there.

A small two-story building is situated above the steps along the residence of those priests. The room of the second floor of the building is used for the practice of 'Dark Retreat' (*mun mtshams*). There are two types of meditations in the Bon religion. One is called Light Retreat (*'od mtshams*), in which monks practice the meditation in a lighted place. The other is called Dark Retreat (*mun mtshams*) in which monks meditate in a dark place. The windows of the room for Dark Retreat are completely covered for the practice. On the occasion of Dark Retreat, one or two monks meditate for seven weeks without coming out of the room. If it becomes difficult for the monk to continue the meditation because of fear, he may stop the meditation and come out of the room at any time.

Though a window is covered and the sunlight doesn't enter at all, the room has sufficient equipment for daily life, such as a bed, a toilet and a shower. All these are western style. Meals are given from a small window that is made so that light doesn't enter.

Next to the building for *mun mtshams* is the library, which is under construction [Figure 2-5]. The three-story building next to the library is the residence for two *slob dpon*, the leaders [Figure 2-6]. The senior leader,

bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag, and the junior leader, bsTan-pa g-yung-drung, live in the residence.

Above the residence is the main temple [Plate 2]. A big image of sTon-pa gShen-rab, who is the founder of the Bon religion, occupies the back [Plate 3]. The image is considered to be the form of the highest truth of the Bon religion, which is called *bon sku*. At the knee of the big image of the *bon sku*, small image of bsTon-pa gShen-rab in human form is placed. The big image was made by a sculptor from Bhutan with the financial support of Bonpo devotees from Dolanji.

There are two images of lamas on both sides of the big image of sTon-pa gShen-rab. One is the image of Dran-pa nam-mkha', who was the leader of Bonpo in the eighth century when the Bon religion was persecuted by Buddhism. The other is the image of mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, who founded the sMan-ri monastery [Plate 4]. These two images were made by a Tibetan sculptor and donated to the monastery by the Bonpo from Dolanji.

Guardians of Bon doctrine such as Srid-pa rgyal-mo [Plate 5] and Mi-bdud are painted on the wall of the main temple of the monastery. According to bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag, the goddess Srid-pa rgyal-mo is equivalent to the goddess dPal-ldan lha-mo in Tibetan Buddhism, and considered to be the most important goddess among the guardians in the Bon religion. In addition to the guardians, lamas and one thousand Buddhas are also painted on the walls of the main temple.

The pictures (*thangka*) of the tutelary deities (*yi dam*) such as Ma-rgyud gSan-mchog mthar-thug are hung from the ceiling of the main temple. Also, nineteen mandalas of symbolic forms are drawn on the ceiling. Plate 6 shows the Ngan-song (elimination of bad destinies) mandala. Among these drawings, a painter from Bhutan drew the guardians. Priests of the monastery drew the lamas, one thousand Buddhas and mandalas on the ceiling.

On the right of the main temple, there is another small temple [Figure 2 -8]. Those pictures of peaceful deities (*zhi ba*) such as rNam-par rgyal-ba, who is the form of sTon-pa gShen-rab having conquered the devils, and the god Kun-bzang rgyal-ba 'dus-pa, and wrathful deities (*khro bo*) such as Phur-pa. A special monk is in charge of the small temple. He is comparatively high in position among the monks of the monastery. Taking pictures is not permitted in the small temple. In addition to *thangkas*, drams, cymbals and masks which are used in religious services and festivals are kept there. On the left of the main temple, there is a room where books are kept.

Behind the main temple, there is a building on the right, where a metal stupa called gSas-mkhar Li-li bang-bang stands [Figure 2-9 and Plate 7]. The stupa is one of the one hundred twenty stupas that are described in the biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab. The stupa has one hundred and eight containers of lamps. Those lamps are offered to the forty-five peaceful deities and the eighty wrathful deities.

In front of the main temple is an open space of pavement. The monks of the course of dialectic practice debate there [Plate 8]. The semester oral examinations

of dialectics are also conducted there. Other than the facilities mentioned above, the monastery has hostels for pilgrims, guestrooms for visitors and a hall for Bonpo devotees.

2. The educational activities of Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery

As mentioned in 1, the monastery has two educational courses, the course of dialectics (*mtshan nyid*) and the course of meditation (*rDzogs chen*). These two courses started in 1994.

The curriculum to get the degree of *dge shes*, doctrate, is completed in nine years. From the first year to the sixth year the monks learn sutras. The monks in the seventh and eighth years learn tantras. The monks of the ninth year learn *rDzogs chen*. The contents of the education of the course of dialectics are as follows:

The first year: Dialectics (*tshad ma*)

(1) Objects (*yul*)

(2) Recognizing subject (*yul can*)

(3) Methods for recognition (*tshad ma*)

The second year: Preparation for the Study of Prajnaparamita of Bon.

(1) The way of God and men who support each other (*lha mi gzhan brten gyi theg pa*)

(2) The way of those who obtain emancipation for themselves only and follow sTon-pa gShen-rab (*rang rtog gshen rab gyi theg pa*)

(3) The way of merciful Bodhisattvas who follow the doctrine of Vijnapti-matra (*thugs rje sems dpa'i theg pa*)

(4) The way of Bodhisattvas who eliminate all conception (*g-yung drung sems dpa'i theg pa*)

The third year: Study of prajnaparamita (*phar phyin*) in Bon

(1) The study of Prajnaparamita texts about the wisdom of Prajnaparamita (*mtshon byed zhe lnga*)

(2) The study of the process containing ten levels and five paths (*sa lam*)

(3) The study of Prajnaparamitas (*phar phyin*)

The fourth year: Madhyamika (*dbu ma*)

(1) the secular truth (*kun rdzob bden pa*)

(2) The absolute truth (*don dam bden pa*)

The fifth year: the study of the world, human beings and the other creatures (*mdzod*)

(1)the existence (*srid pa*), (2) the ages (*bskal pa*), (3) the space (*dbyings*), (4) the wisdom (*ye shes*), (5) the vessel world (*snod*), (6) the beings (*bcud*), (7) the sense organ (*dbang po*), (8) three poisons

(*phra rgyas kyi dug gsum*), (9) dependent-arising (*rten 'brel*), (10) constituent (*phung po gnyis kyi mdzod*), (11) abode of perception (*skye mched*), (12) element (*khams*), (13) definition (*mtshan nyid*), (14) action (*las spyod*), (15) transmigration (*'gro lam*), (16) terrestrial world (*sa gnas*), (17) effect (*'bras bu*)

The sixth year: the precept (*'dul ba*)

The seventh year and the eighth year: tantra

The ninth year: *rDzogs chen*

In addition, Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery has practical subjects called *rig gnas*. These subjects are learned individually in Tibet. bsTan-'dzin rnam- dag added these subjects in the course of dialectics in order to maintain Tibetan tradition. The subjects of *rig gnas* are as follows:

(1) Spelling and grammar (*dag yig*), (2) Poetry (*snyan ngag*), (3) Philology of Sanskrit literatures (*sgra rig pa*), (4) Meter (*sdeb sbyor*), (5) Astrology (*rtsis*), (6) Crafts of stupas and mandalas (*bzo rig pa*), (7) the things with magical power (*gzungs rdzong*), (8) Medicine (*sman*)

The course of dialectics is divided into eight grades. Each grade consists of monks in various levels. When a child monk becomes able to read and write, he may start the training. The monks of each grade can enter the higher grade after passing semester exams.

The subjects mentioned above are studied according to a timetable. The summer timetable is slightly different from the winter one. Figure 9 shows the winter timetable that was used in November, 1998. According to it, the monks study in each different grade in the morning, and study altogether in the afternoon. Each class lasts sixty minutes.

In winter, they have breakfast at 7:15. After breakfast they take a rest, and start to study from 8 o'clock. The monks from the first grade to the fifth grade have training of debate from 8 o'clock to 9 o'clock. The monks of the seventh grade teach themselves (*nan sbyong*), and the monks of the eighth grade learn the *rDzogs chen* from *slob dpon* bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag at the same time. Figure 8 shows the monks training in debate.

From 9 to 10 o'clock, the monks from the first to the third and the sixth grade attend lectures about the dialectic texts from the teacher monks (*dpe khrid*). The monks of the fourth learn debate. The fifth, the seventh and the eighth grade monks teach themselves.

From 10 to 11 o'clock, the monks from the first to the third grade have debate. The monks of the fourth, fifth and seventh grades attend lectures on the dialectic texts. The sixth grade monks teach themselves and the eighth grade monks hold lectures for the junior monks on the texts.

From 11 to 12 o'clock, the monks from the first to the sixth grade attend lectures on the texts. The seventh grade monks teach themselves and the eighth grade monks give lectures to the junior monks using the texts. After 12 o'clock, the

monks of all the grades have the common curriculum.

From 12 o'clock till 12:45, all the monks get together. After worship, they have lunch. From 12:45 till 13:15, the teachers give instruction to the student monks using the texts. After a rest of fifteen minutes, the monks of all the grades have training in debate from 13:30 to 15:00. After the debate, they have teatime for thirty minutes.

From 15:30 to 16 o'clock, they perform religious services requested by devotees. From 16:00 till 16:45, they review them for fifteen minutes. From 17 o'clock to 18:30, they have training in debate again. After the worship from 18:30 to 19 o'clock, they have dinner as the end of their daily schedule.

The summer timetable is almost the same as the winter one. But in summer, the time for breakfast and rest is from 6:15 to 7 o'clock, and the curriculum according to their own timetable starts at 8 o'clock, the same as in winter. For one hour from 7 o'clock to 8 o'clock, they practise the training in debate together. The summer timetable of the morning and the afternoon is almost same as the winter one. Dinner starts at 7 o'clock in summer. It is thirty minutes later than in winter. As mentioned above, the monks of the course of dialectics study various subjects each day in their own grade or together.

On the other hand, the course of rDzogs chen is completed in four years. The course is divided as follows:

The first year; *A khrid*
The second year; *rDzogs chen*
The third year; *Zhang zhung nyan gyud*
The fourth year; *Ye khri mth' sel*
(Triten Norbutse Bon Monastery unpublished: 21-22)

At present, more than twelve monks belong to the course of *rDzogs chen* in the monastery. Among them, one monk over fifty years old had learned dialectics in another monastery for a long time, but he was not satisfied and joined the course of *rDzogs chen* in Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse monastery.

The summer timetable and the winter one are also different in the course of *rDzogs chen* in the monastery. In the course of *rDzogs chen*, they start meditation at 4 o'clock in the morning in summer, and at 4:30 in winter.

Besides meditation, classes include the audience of the doctrine and worship. Their daily schedule is finished with the rite of 'cutting' (*gcod*) at 9:00 p.m. in summer and at 8:30 in winter.

3. Conclusion

The Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse Bon monastery has been described above focusing on its facilities and educational system. The monastery is built over a wide and quiet area distant from the center of the city of Kathmandu. In the monastery, there

are facilities for the monks themselves, such as the main temple, space for *rDzogs chen* practice, a special room for *mun mtshams*, an office and a dining-room. Furthermore, there are facilities for laymen such as hostels for pilgrims coming from distant places, a hall for Bonpo devotees and guestrooms for foreigners.

In education, courses of dialectics and of *rDzogs chen* include doctrinal study and meditation, with variety in contents each day according to the separate timetable.

Here, I have left apart the investigation about the course of *rDzogs chen*. I hope to be able to study it in the future.

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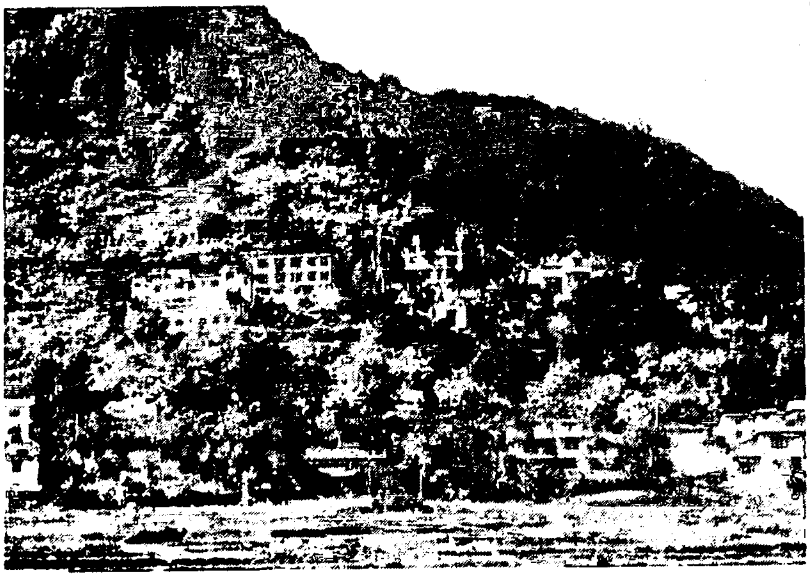


Plate 1 Khri-brtan nor-bu-rtse Monastery (M. Tachikawa, August 1997)



Plate 2 Main Temple (S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)



Plate 4 mNyam-med shes-rab rgyal-mtshan in the Main Temple

(S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)

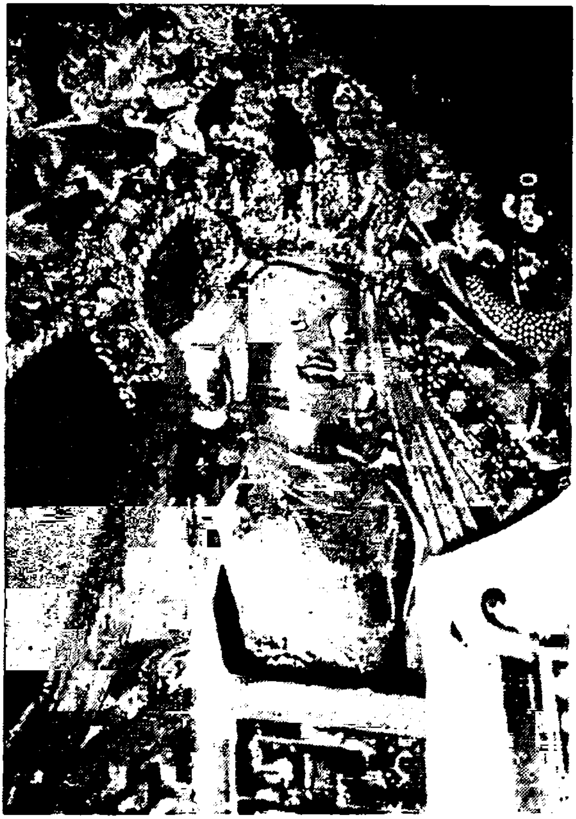


Plate 3 sTon-pa gShen-rab in the Main Temple
(S. Yamaguchi, August 1997)



Plate 5 Goddess Srid-pa rgyal-mo in the Main Temple

(S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)

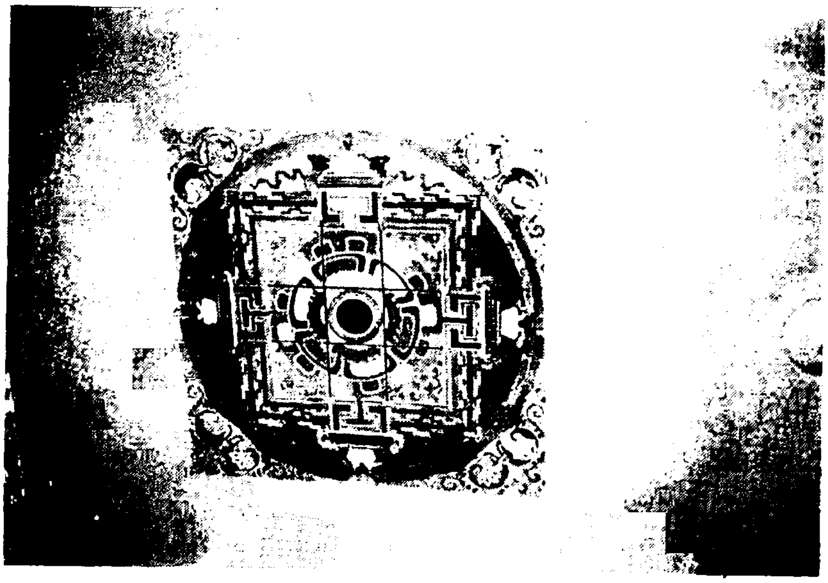


Plate 6 Ngan-song (eliminate of bad destinies) mandala
(S. Yamaguchi, August 1997)



Plate 7 Lamp Hall (gSas-mkhar li-li bang-bang)
(S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)



Plate 8 Monks practicing debate
(S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)

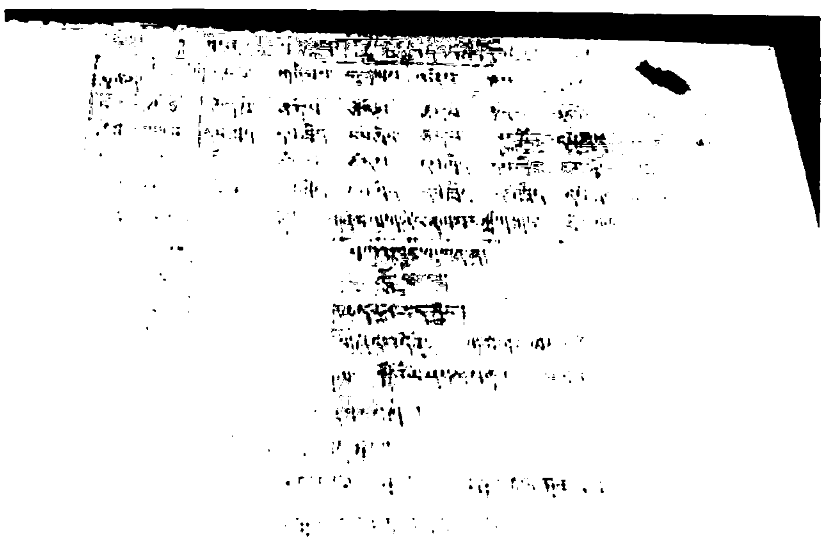


Plate 9 The timetable of the winter semester (S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)

S. Yamaguchi

Plate 8 Monks practicing debate
(S. Yamaguchi, November 1998)

Bon in a wider context

Sacrifice and *lha pa* in the *glu rol* festival of Reb-skong

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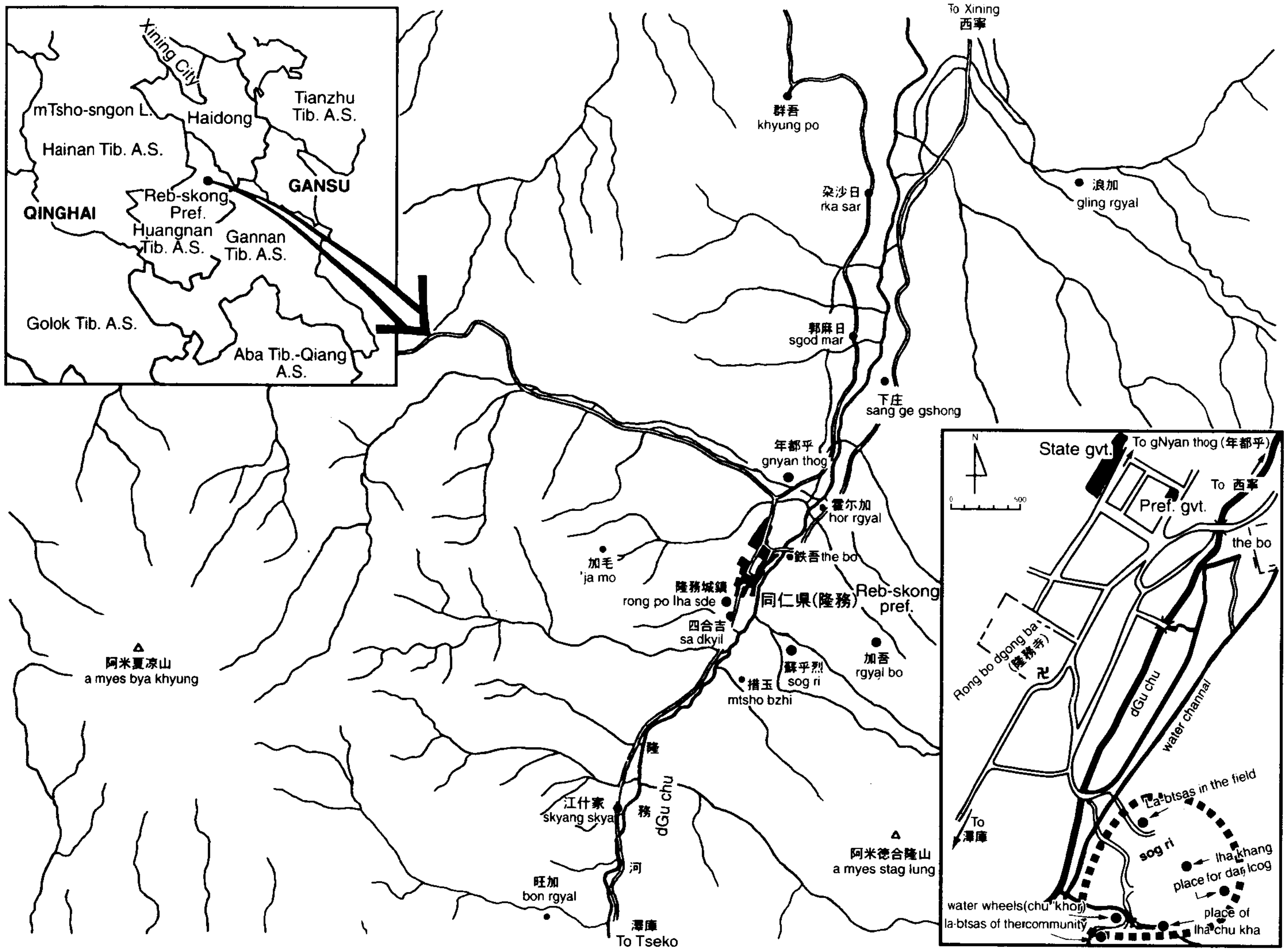
Introduction

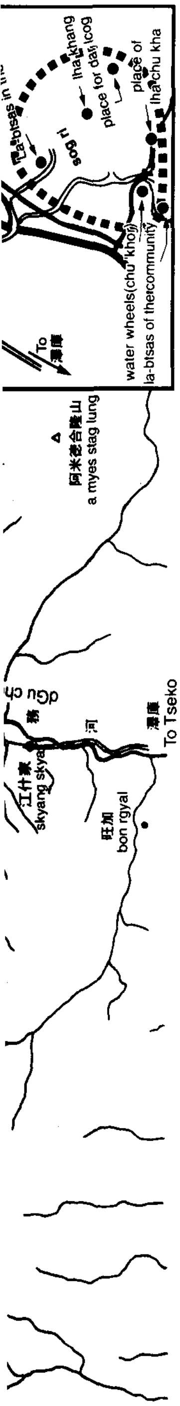
Tibetan religious culture consists of stratified complex of 'folk religion' (Tucci 1980: 163-212) or 'nameless religion' (Stein 1972: 191-229), Buddhism, and Bon. Regardless of whether that nameless religion is the religion peculiar to Tibet as Stein claims, the popular religion has probably formed the basic layer of the stratified complex. On the other hand, it may be that Bon and Buddhism have expanded their powers as religious orders through having intentionally assimilated popular religion, and have produced their fruits. Bon and Buddhism are mainly concerned with matters of the other world such as karma and rebirth. However, popular religion shows its preeminent concern over well being in this world. As Samuel (1993: 176) demonstrates, popular religion has the pragmatic features, and "its religious power is applied to deal with the contingencies of everyday life in this world." In order to deal with them, Tibetans have accumulated abundant and complicated popular religious knowledge. However, elucidation on the features of this basic layer and how complicated and abundant folk knowledge is has just recently been undertaken by Tibetologists.

The *Glu rol* ritual introduced here is the traditional folk communal rite at Reb-skong (Tongren 同仁 in Chinese), Huangnan (黄南) Tibetan Autonomous State, Qinghai Province, China. This ritual contains some features of magico-religious practices so-called *bon nag*, such as fumigation offerings to local protecting deities at *la btsas*, communication with those deities by means of a local medium (*lha pa*), oracles by *lha pa*, and the offerings of human flesh and blood done by mutilating the body. It shows us some aspects of folk religious knowledge about how to placate the vicious supernatural beings which cause unhappiness in daily life, how to effectively use the guardian deities against evils, and how to communicate with the protecting deities through folk mediums. Villagers of this area perform the ritual annually in order to ensure the prosperity of each village community and of its individual members and the fertility of the crops and livestock.

The aim of this paper is to describe the *glu rol* festival of Sog-ri village in Reb-skong on the basis of my observation of it from 1996 to 1999, and to search for some aspects of the nameless religion tradition.

MAP OF REB-SKONG AREA





1.The Reb-skong Area and Descriptions of the *Glu rol* Ritual

1.1.1 Historical background of ethnic formation of Reb-skong

The Reb-skong area is the farm belt along the dGu-chu River(隆務河), a tributary of the Yellow River. Historically speaking, the Reb-skong region was the area of fertile ground given to the Tibetan Empire by the Tang dynasty as the result of peace negotiations between the Tibetan Empire and the Tang in 710 A.D. Jiugu 九曲, a general term in Chinese for the dGu-chu area, originates from Tibetan; jiu 九 being the translation of Tibetan *dgu* 'nine', while qu 曲 being a transliteration of Tibetan *chu* 'river'. According to Sato (1978: 129), the area referred to as dGu-chu signifies the main parts of present Reb-skong in the middle reaches of this river. After the beginning of the 8th century, concentrations of Tibetans have resided around the Reb-skong area and gradually absorbed and assimilated the proto-Turk mongolians such as the 'A-zha (吐谷渾) and the descendants of Qiang (羌) who lived there since ancient times. Even after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, the major ethnic groups in this area have been formed mainly by the descendants of military men of the Tibetan Empire, the settlers from Central Tibet and their descendants.

The Reb-skong area, seen in this short history, has been a frontier from both the center of Tibet and from China, and has been a melting pot of ethnicity as well as culture.

1.1.2 General information about the present Reb-skong area

Reb-skong, situated about 190km southeast of Xining (西寧), the capital of Qinghai province, is a town between the mountains which range from north to south along the dGu-chu River. The prefectural government is located in the town of Rong-po lha-sde (隆務城鎮). Since the end of the 19th century, the town has been the center of the politics, economy and traffic of Reb-skong, and it has been the center of the collection and distribution of the products from around these areas as well. Rongwo Monastery (Tib. Rong-po dgon-pa, 隆務寺), erected in 1342, is also found here. This is a famous monastery for one of the six largest Buddhist temples in Amdo.

Except for the town of Rong-po lha-sde, farm villages (*grong pa tsho ba*) surrounded by barley (*nas*) and wheat (*gro*) fields are situated on the plateau of both banks along the dGu-chu River. Besides, both banks are fertile lands suitable for agriculture. Ekvall (1977), who visited here from Gansu (甘肅) in the 1920s, describes Reb-skong as a typical district of sedentary farmers (Tib. *rong pa*) in Amdo. The main agricultural products are barley, wheat, rapeseed, and potatoes that are the plants to adapt to the altitude of 2500m. Although recently livestock are rarely raised in farmhouses near Rong-po lha-sde, *yak* (Tib. *g-yag*) and *dri* (Tib. *'bri*) used to be kept by every house for milking or plowing. Yak, sheep and

goat meat is supplied to the town from the Tibetan nomads at Zeku (澤庫), located to the south of Reb-skong.

On the route from Rong-po lha-sde to Zeku, semi-agricultural and nomadic villages dot the river-banks. In the summer, these villagers migrate in a transhumance to the mountain range in which A-myes Bya-khyung (阿米夏涼山), the highest mountain (4767m) or A-myes sTag-lung (阿米德合隆山), the second highest one (3984m), is situated. This type of transhumance is typical of Tibetan nomadism, and utilizes the difference in altitudes. A-myes Bya-khyung and A-myes sTag-lung are the sacred mountains (*lha ri*) for the Tibetans of Reb-skong, and have *la btsas* on their summits. The Sa-dkyil (四合吉) villagers next to the Rong-po dgon-pa, who now perform *glu rol* ritual, visit the *la btsas* on the summit of A-myes Bya-khyung on the 1st of June of every year in accordance with the Hor rtsis calendar. Some of the semi-agricultural and nomadic villages also visit the *la btsas* of these mountains and set up poles topped with an arrow or spear before the summer festival of the community.

Reb-skong comprises 70,000 persons and 13,249 households, 70% of which are Tibetan. As for the remainder, Han people occupy 13% of the total population of Reb-skong, Hor 11%, Muslems 4.5%, Salars 1.5%, and Mongolians 0.17%, according to the statistics of 1990. The Han people have shown a reduction of about 5% in the past 10 years, whereas the other ethnic groups have increased by 20%. The administrational organization of the villages in Reb-skong consists of 10 *shang* (鄉) composed on the basis of method of production, ethnicity and geography. Each *shang* is composed of a set of 8-10 villages (*grong pa tsho pa*), each of which is formed by about 80-100 households. Each village chief (*grong dpon*) holds office for two years in the *grong pa tsho ba*. Until the Cultural Revolution, the hereditary feudal lord (*dpon po*) governed bands of men who were thought as a lineage with the same of 'bone' (*rus pa*).

Most of Tibetans and Hors are Buddhists. Rongwo Monastery in the center of the town used to be a monastery of Sa-skya sect which was transmitted from Tibet in the 10th century, but after the 15th century the monastery became a dGe-lugs-pa monastery. This monastery still has twelve incarnated lamas (*sprul ku*) and around 500 monks. Previously this area was a stronghold of the *rNying-ma* sect, and there are still some followers of that sect. There are villages belonging to rNying-ma-pa, for instance, Gling-rgyal (浪加) and some other semi-agricultural, nomadic villages on the route to southern Zeku (澤庫). They claim that Padmasambhava came to Reb-skong at the time of King Khri-srong lde-brtsan and cursed the hostile supernatural beings, some of which included mountain deities worshipped in the *glu rol* ritual.

In addition, there are five villages of Bonpo where a lama comes periodically for a mass from the head Bon monastery at *Bon brgya* (旺加). This head monastery, the biggest Bonpo monastery in Reb-skong, has one lama named A-

lags Bon-brgya and about 90 monks. It is supported by the semi-agricultural, nomadic villages at Bon-brgya. When I had an opportunity at this monastery to see the *'cham* dedicated to the *yi dam* called dBal-gsas, I had an impression that the *glu rol* ritual and the Bon rituals for the *yi dam* are similar in many ways. Ekvall (1977: 65) also described the religious situation of Reb-skong in the 1920's:

> In religion, ...the sedentary people appear to be more completely under the domination of the lamaseries and are more meticulous in the observance and performance of all the religious duties incident to Lamaism. Also among them there is a much greater amount of animism — the still active residue of the ancient Bon religion of Tibet — than among the nomads. In Reb-kong and Te-kok, the most typical sedentary districts of Amdo, are found the headquarters of two branches of the "sorcerer sect," and people of the valleys, the *rong-wa,* are the most devout of all the Tibetans. .... There are many survivals not only of Bon religious activity but of the older, unreformed Red sect of lamaism.

His observation on religious situation of Reb-skong still seems to be apt to that of the present day religion on the whole.

1.2 General description of *Glu rol* of Reb-skong

1.2.1 Meaning of the word *Glu rol*

The word, *glu rol,* can be interpreted in two ways since *glu* and *klu* are homonymous. *Glu* means a song, especially one sung only on a mountain. The mountain gods are said to be fond of mountain songs (*ri glu*). *Glu* is clearly distinct from *gzhas*, which is usually accompanied by a dance. *Klu,* on the other hand, stands for dragon — a term which includes aquatic cold-blooded animals such snakes and frogs. I believe that among these etymologies, *glu* is much more accurate as a general term for this ritual. Next, *rol* means (1) playing a traditional musical instrument, and (2) amusement (*rtsed mo*). Therefore, the word *glu rol* signifies a festival with singing and the playing of musical instruments. This word, in addition to the meanings above, connotes a mountain and height, and the play between gods and men.

It is possible, however, to interpret *klu rol,* as 'playing with the *klu* deity', because the *klu* is an important deity for sedentary farmers, in association with water. In fact, Gling-rgyal villagers belonging to rNying-ma-pa perform only *klu rtsed* and worship *klu mo* as well in the *glu rol.* The fact that interpretations of (1) and (2) prevail among Tibetans indicates the expansion of the worship objects from the main mountain gods to watery deities, *klu,* or the more agricultural development of *glu rol* festival.

1.2.2 *Glu rol* rite performers, times and duration

The monks of Buddhism and Bon neither participate in *glu rol* nor come to see it. The farmers of a particular village, for the most part, carry it out themselves,

including the recitation of scriptures for gods written by a lama of the sect to which each village belongs. Only men perform it only for their own village. Almost all of them are laymen without any special religious training. Most villages force at least one male between 15 and 50 years old from each household to participate in the festival. Females are not directly involved in the matters concerning the festival. They participate only as spectators of the rite. As will be described later, however, young unmarried females participate in the *glu rol* by dancing a 'dragon dance.'

At present each *glu rol* is performed for a few days from the 15th to the 25th of the sixth month of the Hor rtsis calendar. One elder says, however, that this rite was previously performed according to the Tibetan Hor rtsis calendar (*bsod nams lo tho*), which is said to still be in use in agricultural villages in Ladakh, Sikkhim, Xigaze (Tib. gZhis-ka-rtse) and other places (Osmaston and Tasi Rabgyas 1994: 111-119). This is a solar calendar, so the winter and summer solstices serve as important breaks in the cosmological time cycle during the year. Although these community rituals are held in accordance with this time cycle, the summer *glu rol* festival is more prosperous than the winter rite on New Year's Eve.

According to the elder *lha pa* of Sog-ri village, he goes into trance at the time of the New Year's Eve ritual as well as at the time of the midsummer *glu rol*. In the New Year's Eve ritual, small fumigation offerings and text recitations for the gods are performed at the village shrine, attended by only two *lha pa*, elders and the men in charge. At that time, *klu rta* (a sheet of paper on which *klu*s are depicted) is also burned for the purpose of exorcising evil spirits.

Considering these facts, we can probably say that a *glu rol* shows traces that the renewal of the cosmological time cycle for one year was originally the winter and summer solstices. From the calendar of winter and summer solstices for the breaks in the time cycle, we can say that the older one has persisted to have strong relation with the faith of the mountain gods (Naumann 1994), and reflects the 'echo of a society based essentially on hunting' (Tucci 1980: 155-156).

1.2.3 Villages performing *Glu rol*

The *glu rol*s are not performed by all the villages of sedentary farmers at Reb-skong. They are carried out only by a part of the Tibetan and Hor villages at the center of Reb-skong. They are not held among semi-agricultual, nomadic Tibetan villages nor nomadic villages. Moreover, no *glu rol*s are performed in the Bonpo villages.

The Tibetan villages where the author observed the *glu rol* rituals for four years are:

(1) Sog-ri (蘇乎烈), Sa-dkyil (四合吉), and The-bo (鉄吾), in the Rong-po tsho-ba area
(2) Gling-rgyal (浪加) of Baoanxing (保安郷)

(3) sKyang-skya (江什家) of Qukuxiang (曲庫乎鄉)

The Hor villages are:

(4) gNyan-thog (年都乎), sGo-mar (郭麻日), Kha-sar (朶沙日), Hor-rgyal (霍尔加) and Sang-geg-shong (下庄)

The villages that claim to be descended from the same lineage, clan or tribe traditionally participate in or make a visit to each other's *glu rol*.

1.3 Description of the *glu rol* of Sog-ri village

General information on the *glu rol* at Reb-skong has been provided above. However, since the *glu rol* of each village has variations in the enshrined deities and procedures of the festival, the *glu rol* of Sog-ri village is focused on in this section. The following description on the glu rol at Sog-ri are based on my observations for four years from 1996 to 1999.

1.3.1 Sog-ri village

The Rong-po tsho-ba in the center of Reb-skong are the twelve Reb-skong 'tribes' (*shog kha*) located in the seven villages of mTsho-bzhi, Sog-ri, 'Ja mo, The-bo (The bu'u), Rong-po lha-sde, Sa-dkyil and Bis-pa. Of these villages, only three performed *glu rol* in the Rong-po villages in 1996-1999. The remaining villages traditionally participate in one or more of those three.

Sog-ri is situated on the east bank of the dGu-chu River, across from Rong-po lha-sde, Rong-po monastery and Sa-dkyil village. It consists of the following four villages:

1. Sa mchod
   Two present *lha pa* come from this village, and the shrine of the *glu rol* is located here.
2. Reb-tsha
   This is the oldest village of the four, and has a legend about the history of the Sog-ri villagers that will be touched upon later.
3. Klu-tshang
   This is located near the brook where *lha chu kha* is held.
4. Dar dmar
   This has the largest population and is the strongest politically of the four because of its large number of Communist Party cadres.

The four villages of Sog-ri comprise 67 households and 367 people according to the statistics of 1986. An elder of Sog-ri told me in 1997 that they had 95 households and about 530 persons.

Reb-tsha village has the following folk legend (『同仁県誌稿』951):

> Sog-ri was the rear guard area for Khri-srong lde-btsan's troops during the battle with a Chinese army at rGan-rgya. One of Khri-srong's

military chiefs had married a girl from Sog-ri and had four sons. At least one clan or tribe, Ri-tsha tsho-ba, claims descent from this alliance. This village has now about twenty families under the name of Reb-tsha-wa (translated by the author).

1.3.2 Legend of the origin of the *glu rol* of Sog-ri

A lay specialist in Sog-ri village explained the origins of the *glu rol* this way:

> In the time of the Tibetan Empire, Tibet and China fought at the border. The fighting was so fierce that both sides suffered great losses of men, horses, and supplies. Finally, in 822, on the twenty-second day of the sixth month, they concluded a treaty in Gansu. After that there was no fighting on the borders and peace reigned in the Amdo area. The leaders ordered that *glu rol* be celebrated as a commemoration of this. The wise men who negotiated the peace are said to have invited the gods, then the *klu,* and then the people. On the first day, the gods were celebrated and given offerings; on the second day, the *klu* were celebrated; on the third day, offerings were given to the people (Epstein and Wenbin 1998: 122-123).

According to 『同仁県誌稿』 (Wang 1996: 944), the origin of the *glu rol* is connected with the resident place (循化県) of the eldest son of the family line of Reb-tsha-wa of Sog-ri:

> The military men and people were pleased with the end of war and felt that this was attained through the favor of the gods. They worshipped and gave offerings to not only the mountain gods of Daerjiashan (達爾加山) at Xunhua (循化) prefecture, but also to the *klu* deities of the lakes between the mountains. On the first day, they offered *lha rtsed* to please the mountain gods; on the second they offered *klu rtsed* to the *klu* deities; on the third they celebrated the soldiers by *dmag rtsed* (translated by the author).

1.3.3 Structure of the inside of the Sog-ri shrine

The courtyard in front of the shrine is just like an open theater where events are performed [Plate 1]. In the center of the courtyard is a simplified and fixed *la btsas*, into which long poles topped by arms such as arrows or spears are inserted. A big furnace for fumigation offerings is made at the lower part of this *la btsas*. In this furnace, the juniper branches (*shug pa*) are burned during the *glu rol* festival. The men come to the shrine and first approach this furnace to burn the cedar sprigs and the flour of *rtsam pa* together on it. The *bsang* is called white *bsang*. From the morning of the last day of the *glu rol*, goat meat and blood are also roasted at this

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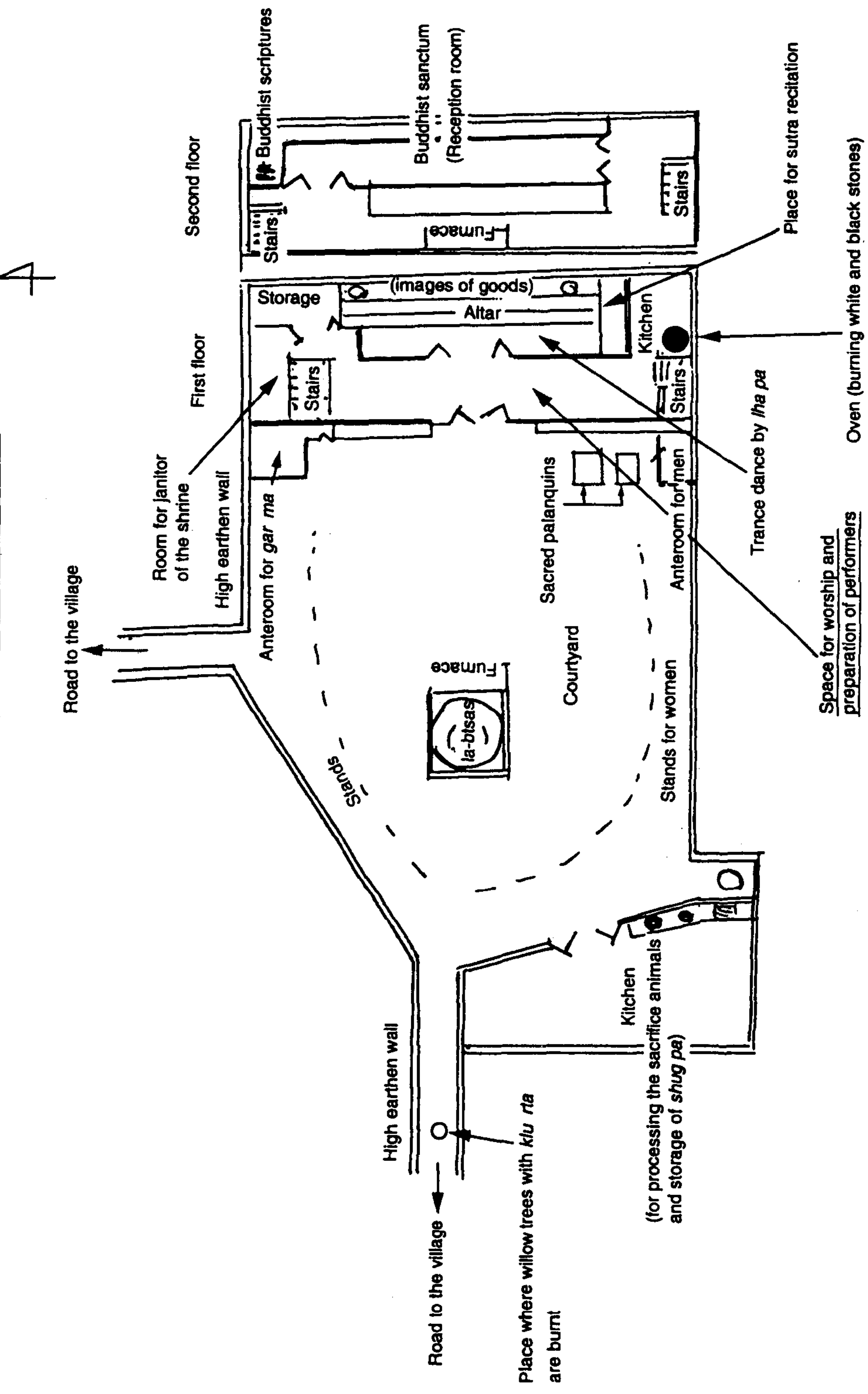
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Sketch of the shrine of Sog-ri



furnace, the smoke from which is called red *bsang* (*dmar bsang*) in contrast with white *bsang* burned by white *rtsam pa*. Evergreens such as juniper or cedar (*shug pa*) used here are called 'father trees' (*pho shing*) or 'god trees' (*lha shing*), which are indispensable to the fumigation offerings in Tibetan folk rituals. They form a contrast with the willow trees (*lcang ma*) called 'mother trees' (*mo shing*), which are attached to the sacred palanquins or fix the *klu rta* discussed later.

The inner shrine and the courtyard can be divided by a single gate, through which men can go to and from the courtyard. Traditionally, the right side of the courtyard facing the shrine is kept for female spectators, who are not allowed to enter the inner-shrine that is a male space only.

1.3.4 Guardian deities of Sog-ri

In the inner-shrine, five images of the major guardian deities are lined up at the most secluded space which only *lha pa* and elders are allowed to enter. In the center of these gods, A-myes rMa-chen spom-ra, with a mild white face stands clad in armor, with treasures (*nor bu*) in his hand [Plate 2]. At the both his feet, are two small images, sTag-lung, a mountain god, on the right and *yul lha* on the left. sTag-lung, the second highest mountain in Reb-skong, rises to the east of Sog-ri village. The two *lha pa* of Sog-ri are, however, considered to be possessed by neither rMa-chen spom-ra nor sTag-lung, while either of them can be possessed by the *yul lha* according to the situation.

On the right of rMa-chen spom-ra, stands dGra-'dul dbang-phyug, said to be the son of rMa-chen and which possesses the senior *lha pa* [Plate 3]. This war god has a severe reddish brown face and a heart in his left hand. He is clad in armor with a round mirror on his chest. On his right stands the dependent, Shan-pa r(w)a-mgo, with a face like a horse [Plate 4].

On the left of rMa-chen, the head of the minister, *blon po*, stands with a red face, clad in armor as well [Plate 5]. It is said that *yul lha* will be transformed into *blon po* when *yul lha* gets angry. The *blon po* usually possesses the younger *lha pa* , especially when the younger *lha pa* burns *klu rta* on the road outside the shrine. On the left of *blon po*, Blon-po Shan-pa tsi-tung, the dependent of *blon po,* stands topped with a flame-shaped object; in the center of which is attached a skull [Plate 6].

According to the elder of this village, the main god of Sog-ri was previously not rMa-chen spom-ra but gNyan-chen. However, gNyan-chen is said not to have given help to the Sog-ri villagers during the time of village troubles. Therefore, the villagers changed to rMa-chen spom-ra who was said to have come to Sog-ri along with the ex-*lha pa* of Sog-ri who went on a pilgrimage to rMa-chen spom-ra. This tells us that deified gods are not necessarily changeless and that they can be switched at the time of village troubles or at the death of a previous *lha pa*. In such a case, the villagers tend to choose a more famous sacred mountain deity in Amdo; nevertheless, such a mountain god does not usually possess the local village *lha pa*.

It seems to be a traditional principle that the mountain deities near a village possess the *lha pa* of the neighboring village. In addition, the mountain god of sTag-lung, for example, does not possess either *lha pa* of Sog-ri, in spite of having a sacred palanquin for this deity, but possesses the *lha pa* of rGyal-po village, which is located on the southeast side of sTag-lung mountain. rGyal-po village seems to have priority over the mountain of sTag-lung. Furthermore, if several guardian deities possess a *lha pa*, the deity of the lowest rank begins to possess him first and the deity of the highest possesses him last.

Besides these powerful male gods of Sog-ri village, the watery goddesses, *klu*, are also considered as a kind of guardian deities. Though only male guardian deities are apparently emphasized in the *glu rol* of Sog-ri, *klu* play an indispensable role in the *glu rol* of Sog-ri. In the *lha chu kha* ceremony, the sacred palanquins topped with willow branches (*lcang ma*), that is *mo shing*, are carried to the brook where *klu* goddesses are believed to live. Moreover, 'white' offerings and 'cool' offerings are dedicated to the *klu*, which are said to be vegetarian. On the last day of the *glu rol*, the younger *lha pa* goes to the sanctuary with *chu 'khor* in the same brook where *lha chu kha* is held, and creates *klu bsang*. In addition, the paper offering to the *klu* (*klu rta*) also plays an important role in the *glu rol*. All these facts considered, it seems that the *klu* goddesses carry the same importance for farmers as the male guardian deities.

1.3.5 Offerings in the inner-shrine

Next, offerings at the altar in the inner shrine are divided into two kinds. One is a white offering (*dkar mchod*) and the other a red offering (*dmar mchod*). The white offering consists of *rtsam pa, bag leb*, flowers, fruits and the like, as well as yogurt and water offering called a cold liquid offering. These are offered mainly to the upper white god (*dkar phyogs pa'i lha*), rMa-chen spom-ra and the *klu* deities. The red offering consists of meat from livestock, its raw heart and a hot liquid offering such as liquor and beer. These are offered to the upper black deities (*nag phyogs pa'i lha*). The neighboring Tibetans consider these red offerings including hot liquid offerings as one of the most important elements of 'black bon' (*bon nag*). These two kinds of offerings are properly used during the *glu rol*, by making a distinction among the white deities and black ones of the upper deities and underground watery deities, *klu*. Of the other offerings on the altar, a variety of *gtor ma* attract our attention. There are also two kinds of *gtor ma* offerings; one is a white *gtor ma* mainly made of *rtsam pa*, and the other is a red one. Although the red-colored *gtor ma* has variants, the big one called *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* is made very elaborately [Plate 7]. This *gtor ma* has a square pedestal with three stories or more. In the center of its vertex is a pike shaped cog, around which eight ears of the corn line up. The surrounding eight ears of corn signify the eight types of deities and spirits in the microcosm — *lha, klu, btsan, bdud, ma mo, gshin rje, srin po* and *gza'*. Most of these eight spirits or demons are believed to control the

powers relating to the four elements — fire, water, wind and earth. They are said to be pre-Buddhist indigenous supernatural beings (Tucci 1980: vol. II 716-731, Snellgrove 1980: 37, Karmay 1998: 339-379). These *gtor ma* are usually put on the upper row of altar near the images of the gods. In some cases, the bottom of the *gtor ma* is covered with the paper offering for *klu*, *klu rta*.

As to the red-colored *gtor ma,* some informants said that the animal blood from sacrifices was used formerly to make it, but now dye from the market is substituted for it. Making this *gtor ma* is restricted to males only. Especially, young men to perform *kha dmar* make these *gtor ma*. At the climax of the *glu rol* on the last day, two *lha pa* and the men to perform *kha dmar* carry them to the furnace, and burn them there.

1.3.6 The *Glu rol* of Sog-ri village

The *glu rol* of Sog-ri village during 1997-1999 consists of these three stages, each of which is described below:

(1) *Lha chu kha* 'Gods going to water'
(2) *Lha chang kha* 'Gods going to liquor'
(3) *Glu rol*

(1) *Lha chu kha*

This rite is performed from around 6 p.m. on June 20th of the Hor rtsis calendar, which is the first phase of the entire *glu rol*. This is the ritual in which the *lha pa* and participants carry two sacred palanquins on their shoulders up to the brook within the boundaries of Sog-ri village which flows into the dGu-chu River, where the two *lha pa*, the other men, and the two sacred palanquins bathe.

This small river has a sanctuary where white *klu* are believed to reside, so persons with skin, eyes or such problems can recover from their disease, by washing the affected parts with water from this river.

Around 6 p.m., each male participant begins to gather at the shrine, carrying white *gtor ma*, a bag containing *rtsam pa* flour, and a cedar sprig called 'god's tree' (*lha shing*) [Plate 8]. After burning this sprig and the *rtsam pa* in the furnace at the center of the shrine courtyard, the participant first worships the gods of the inner shrine. All the participants, then, line up in a circle in the courtyard, with the ritual items assigned to each one. The senior *lha pa* checks each participant's dress and shoes, and sometimes punishes him for various offenses with his stick or whip. In the meantime, other men fix the willow branches (*lcang ma*) on the two sacred palanquins, which are purified by the smoke from the cedar sprigs in a portable furnace [Plate 9].

Within the inner shrine, the senior *lha pa* prays to his guardian deity to possess him. In order to see the good or bad luck at the time of the start, he performs a divination with the black horn of a yak in front of the image of the god. When all augurs well for their start, he announces the start by striking his drum. A

younger *lha pa* strikes the 'drum of god' and goes to the head of the party. The senior *lha pa* with a container of parched barleycorns follows the younger. Then, the participants with four poles topped with *thangka* and battle flags leave the shrine. rMa-rgyal spom-ra, A-myes sTag-lung, the *dgra lha*, and the *blon po,* fully clad in armor and riding on horseback, are drawn on these four *thangka*, which are for supporting these gods. The two sacred palanquins are shouldered and go at the end of the party. In them, the small *thangka* describing the *yul lha* and sTag-lung are contained. These *thangka* and the sacred palanquins are also for supporting for the guardian deities [Plate 10].

On a big stone on the riverbank, items such as straws and cedar branches, ritual scarves, the *rtsam pa* flour, and liquor are burned [Plate 11]. The men scoop up the river water one by one, and apply it to their bodies. The two *lha pa* enter the river, jumping and skipping in the water [Plate 12]. The sacred palanquins are soaked in the river for a while, facing upstream which flows down from sTag-lung. Then, the *lha pa,* the other men, the sacred palanquins and *thang ka* come out of the river and return to the shrine.

At the inner shrine, the participants listen to the oracle by the senior *lha pa* concerning *glu rol* [Plate 13]. Although this *lha pa* was permitted by a lama to utter the god's voice from his own mouth, he could hardly speak, especially until 1998. Therefore, the men surrounding him interpreted his gestures and responded to him. If their responses were right, the *lha pa* raised his thumbs to signal, "That is right." Around 10 p.m., the oracle usually ends. After that, the young performers who will perform the *kha dmar* 'dance with skewers' in the *glu rol* confine themselves to the shrine where they take meals apart from their families during the *glu rol* since that night.

(2) *Lha chang kha*

Around 10: 30 a.m. of the next day (June 21st), the male participants assemble in the courtyard. After they burn cedar branches and *rtsam pa* in the central furnace individually, they put *gtor ma* and other offerings on the altar and bow three times to the gods.

Just as in the *lha chu kha* on the previous day, they form a circle in the courtyard, holding the poles topped with *thang ka* of the guardian gods and festooned with silk strips, battle flags and the like. The senior *lha pa* holding the stick and the younger *lha pa* striking a drum (*lha rnga*) precedes the party. The party of male participants just like an army battalion and the two sacred palanquins riding the *yul lha* and A-myes sTag-lung file out of the courtyard. The procession leads the two *lha pa* and the palanquins on visits to the village houses [Plate 14].

It starts with the house that previously kept the shrine of the mountain god, sTag-lung. The head of the household burns cedar branches in the house's furnace (*bsang thab*) in the courtyard to produce fragrant smoke. He scatters yogurt and some liquor on the ground of the doorway and greets the two *lha pa* and the sacred

palanquins. A small altar is prepared for this day in the courtyard, on which items like fruits, flowers, a few bottles of liquor, water, Tibetan bread and *gtor ma* are arranged [Plate 15]. The senior *lha pa* scatters the parched barleycorns around the courtyard. Of these parched barleycorns, well parched black ones and slightly parched whitish ones are mixed half-and-half. They are often used by the *lha pa* in the shrine as well, for purification and exorcisms. The sacred palanquin of sTag-lung is placed at this house until the visits to all the village households have finished.

From this point on, the other sacred palanquin of the *yul lha*, the two *lha pa* and *thang ka* continue to make its way around the village. The guardian gods are also called the ancestors (*a myes*), and are believed to control the fate and prosperity of each house as well as the entire village community. Therefore, the head of each household politely greets the party of *lha pa* and the sacred palanquin, tying ritual scarves on them as a sign of respect. The females of each house pray to the *lha pa* only from a distance. In each house, the senior *lha pa* divines with the black horn after tossing around liquor and yogurt as offerings [Plate 16]. This augury is done in order to determine the luck of the house for coming year.

At the same time, this is done in order to collect monetary offering, bottles of liquor, *rtsam pa*, and yogurt for *glu rol*. If bad divination signs appear four times in succession, the *lha pa* makes the gesture for claiming a larger monetary offering. When the ceremony in each house is complete, the *lha pa* entourage and the sacred palanquin leave the house, the senior *lha pa* departing last. Sometimes the senior *lha pa* goes into trance and cautions the head of the household who has a troublemaker in his family. The procession to the village houses continues till the morning of the next day (June 22nd).

(3) Starting performances of the *glu rol* in the shrine

On June 23rd, the Sog-ri villagers are invited to the *glu rol* of The-bo village, which means that the *glu rol* of Sog-ri is actually performed for two days, on the 24th and 25th. As most performances for two days are the same, the process of the 25th is described here.

From early in the morning of the last day, red *bsang* and white *bsang* are created around the entire vicinity of courtyard. Two kinds of these *bsang* are given a special name, *rub bsang*, which means to extinguish all impurity and pollution.

Furthermore, early in the morning of this day, two sticks hung with long sheets of paper called *klu rta*, are set up opposite the center furnace in the lower part of the *la btsas*. These sticks are named 'trees of accomplishments' (*dzog shing*) [Plate 17]. They are topped with a triangular wooden frame, to each side of which three sheets of paper called *klu rta* are hung .

There is also another kind of stick hung with *klu rta*. This stick, made of a willow branch, has several sheets of *klu rta* paper at the tip [Plate 18]. The stick is often grasped by the specially determined man (*klu rta 'dzin mkhan*), who is

thehead of a household or his equivalent in the case that the householder has had a relative die within the previous year. This man cannot come to the front stage of the *glu rol* in that year and works behind the scenes as a caretaker. However, he may attend the ritual of *bsang*. Two kinds of sticks topped with *klu rta* are burned later by the younger *lha pa* and *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* at the crossroads outside the shrine.

In early morning before the *glu rol* performances begin, the males in charge, the younger *lha pa*, *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* and others take a pole with big *dar lcog* or poles with arrows or spears to the *la btsas* site on the hill within the village.

Around 8: 30 a.m. the younger *lha pa,* holding a sword festooned with blue silk strips and a god's drum, leads the party to the summit of a nearby hill within the village. On their way to the hill, the *lha pa* sometimes beats his drum or sometimes scatters some liquor on the ground, while his helpers scatter yogurt on the ground [Plate 19]. On the hilltop, a pile of stones is made, at the center of which the pole with the *dar lcog* is erected. Juniper branches, *rtsam pa*, flowers, silk strips are arranged around the stone-pile and burned. The *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* who hold *klu rta*, set it alight to be tossed and scatter yogurt on the ground. The *lha pa* makes symbolic signs with his fingers (Skt. mūdra), and also lights this *klu rta*, and throws it up in the air. When the offerings are set ablaze and the smoke wafts heavenward, small square slips of paper (*rlung rta*) are tossed into the smoke and carried heavenward [Plate 20]. Most of the participants turn toward Mt. sTag-lung, to the east of Sog-ri village, to prostrate themselves three times in worship. After turning clockwise around the *la btsas* and shouting, "The gods are victorious, *Ki ki so so*!", they return to the shrine. The *bsang* form of worship mentioned above is widespread traditional ritual for local deities among Tibetans. Stein (1972: 207) points out that the *bsang* ritual exists where the style and pantheon of the old religion are found best preserved.

Apart from the *la btsas* in the traditional *bsang* rituals on a hill, we can see transformed styles or forms of *la btsas* emerging around the Reb-skong area. As in the case of Sog-ri village, the simplified typed *la btsas* may be newly made in the shrine courtyard in addition to the *la btsas* of the village community on the hill [Plate 21]. The ritual at this community *la btsas* is separately carried out on May 9^{th} on the Hor rtsis calendar. At that time the *lha pa* participates in it as a farmer, not as a *lha pa*. Sog-ri village has one more *la btsas* called a 'child *la btsas*', which is located at the edge of the barley and wheat fields. At this 'child *la btsas*' the ritual is carried out mainly by the boys and girls on February 11^{th} on the Hor rtsis calendar. After the ritual, the head of the oldest house in the village sows the field first of all. sKyang-skya village also has the several *la btsas* standing on the summit of the nearby mountains or near the barley and wheat fields of each smaller village. Some houses of sKyang-skya have even a 'grandchild *la btsas*' made in the grain warehouse. The shift in the *la btsas* sites is progressing from the mountain summit to the field of the lower village, and finally to the grain

warehouse of a house. Therefore, in keeping with the differentiation and the descent of *la btsas*, the deities that are believed to reside at a *la btsas* seem to come down from the *la btsas* at the mountain summit to that of the field and even to that of the grain warehouse in a vertical movement as well.

Furthermore, another change can be observed in the beliefs about the *la btsas*. Originally, the *bsang* ritual at a *la btsas* on a mountain was, and still is, a male centered one with militant elements. Females who are excluded from the *bsang* ritual of *la btsas* on a mountain come to visit a 'child *la btsas*' in the village to be blessed with a child. A typical example of this can be seen in the *glu rol* of Gling-rgyal village. The older *lha pa* of Gling-rgyal possessed by the mountain god puts a wooden image of *klu mo* into the bosom of sterile woman, and carries out a 'child blessing' ceremony at the field of the village in the *glu rol* festival. As shown in these examples, mountain deities that have been believed to live in the *la btsas* come to play an important part in the 'child blessing'. These examples signify the shift concerning the nature of mountain gods toward a controller of productiveness. Such functional expansions of the mountain gods seem to display a similar development as mountain deities in Japan.

It is well known that at the time of the *bsang* ritual at a *la btsas*, small square papers (*rlung rta*) are tossed heavenward. In the cases of Sog-ri's *glu rol* these *rlung rta* are tossed heavenward not only at the time of the *bsang* ritual at the *la btsas* on a hill but also at the climax of the *glu rol* festival just after the destruction of most of the offerings at the shrine furnace. The *rlung rta* represents all aspects of vitality in a man asserting and glorifying himself (Stein 1972: 223, Karmay 1998: 413-422).

In addition to *rlung rta*, in the *bsang* ritual on the hillside in the *glu rol* at Sog-ri and Sa-dkyil villages, sheets of paper, *klu rta* (or *klu gtad*), are also used. The *rlung rta* are tossed heavenward, while *klu rta* are burned. The *rlung rta* and *klu rta* are thus contrastively used in the fumigation offering rite of the *glu rol*, which will be considered later.

Finally, around 10 a.m., *glu rol* dances begin. They are generally referred to as recreational entertainment offerings to the gods (*rtsed mchod*). These offerings are sub-categorized into *lha rtsed, dmag rtsed* and *klu rtsed*. In the courtyard, the following events occur without a break, while the elders take up their position in the right corner in the inner shrine and recite scriptures to gods almost all the time.

1. Most of the male participants perform *ba'i ha gtong ba* (or *be ha'a gtong ba*) to pray for the descent of gods [Plate 22]. (NB: Neither *ba'i ha* nor *be ha'a* is an orthographic Tibetan. It is the transliteration of pronunciation by Amdo informants. Its phonetic value is [bɛ: haˑ]. I would rather suspect that it may be related to *pe har* that Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975: 207) points out.)
   They congregate at the courtyard like an army unit going to the battlefield and turn round the courtyard three times to honor the four directions. While doing

this, they sometimes shout *ba'i ha*. The shout of *ba'i ha* seems to be a prayer for the gods to come down and be present here. This dance is clearly *dmag rtsed*. After this finish, the senior men with the bowls containing yogurt, liquor and water, a cedar sprig and flowers line up at the courtyard. With the sounds of conch shells, they scatter some liquor upward with a cedar sprig, and yogurt around the ground [Plate 23].

2. Two young men perform a stilt dance (*rkang shing pa*) [Plate 24]. Before employing the main ritual items, such as the god's drum and stilts, they are exposed to the smoke rising from the central furnace. The senior *lha pa* puts these stilts over the smoke and hands them to the caretakers of the dancers. Two stilted men, with ritual scarves given to them by the *lha pa*, have *rkang shings* tied to their legs with strings and have two *thang ka* depicted the *dgra lha* and the *blon po* tied on their backs. They dance in the courtyard, holding poles, next drums and with empty hands last.

3. Two groups of three men perform a dance with twisting motions, like a necklace with a jewel. This dance, named 'the pupils of the stilted men' (*rkang shing gi grwa pa*), is offered to those who have instructed the stilted performers and who are the owners of the stilts [Plate 25].

4. Two boys wearing green *a tsa ra* masks perform a dance with sticks [Plate 26]. Normally Tib. *a tsa ra* corresponds to Skt. *ācārya* 'master' (阿闍梨 in Chinese), but my informants tell me that it should be 阿修羅, that is Skt. *asura*, meaning 'demi-god'. Some dictionaries published from Qinghai list both meanings. And, Namkhai Norbu identifies *asura* as Tib. *lha min* (Namkhai Norbu 1995: 245), whose function perfectly coincides to the *a tsa ra* in this situation. I suspect, therefore, a semantic shift occurred on the folk level of this particular locality. This dance is said to be the one based on the legend that many *a tsa ra* manifestations were pleased with the end of the war between the Tang and Tibet. This is a kind of *lha rtsed*.

5. Unmarried girls no older than 25 perform an offering dance (*gar ma*) [Plates 27 and 28]. They wear earrings of coral and metallic decorations on their backs to which round coral balls are attached. They perform a graceful dance of slow steps, highly organized in lines, which is said to have its origin in imitating the movements of the *klu*. Therefore, this dance is called *klu rtsed*.

6. A short play (*rtsed rigs*) [Plate 29]. Men perform a short play incorporating improvisation and humor. While almost all the other programs are performed in silence excepting the sounds of gongs and drums, this play brings conversation and laughter to the courtyard.

7. Four imitation goats, colored red, yellow (or green), white, and blue are carried into the courtyard one after another by the performers of the short play. These animals, made in the four villages of Sog-ri, are packed with *rtsam pa* flour inside. The senior *lha pa* welcomes each of them by hanging a ritual scarf on it. These goats are placed near the inner shrine until most of the offerings are burned at the furnace later [Plate 30]. Formerly in Sog-ri, a real goat was killed as a sacrifice to the gods. Even now, in spite of processing it at the kitchen located at the corner of the courtyard near the shrine entrance, the villagers cut the raw heart out of a living goat, and dedicate it to the gods in the inner shrine. The scene of real livestock sacrifice in the courtyard has not been seen in the shrine since the 1980's, at the insistence of the lamas.

8. Men beat the god's drums and perform two kinds of dance, entitled 'god-satisfying' (*lha ngom pa*). One drum dance is specially dedicated to the sacred palanquin of sTag-lung, into which drummers individually put yellow pieces of paper. This paper containing an incense stick is said to be a flower offering to the mountain god (*lha rdzas me tog mchod pa*) [Plate 31]. Formerly, during this performance, each drummer kept his own songs which had been secretly handed down from father to son within each household. However, after the *glu rol* was revived after the Cultural Revolution, they have been no longer sung. Another drum dance is performed by means of various formations in the courtyard [Plate 32].

Events from No.1 to No.8 are repeated in the courtyard of the shrine five times on the last day (the 25th), and those from No. 9 are done only once a day, while being inserted between the performances from No. 1 to No. 8. Concerning *rtsed rigs* of No. 6, *la gzhas* (mountain love songs) is performed as the fourth *rtsed rigs*, and the fifth is the *rtsed rigs* titled *khri ka'i yul lha phebs pa* (the *yul lha* of 貴徳 comes).

9. Before the next performance of No. 10, the younger *lha pa* and several men go down to the sanctuary with *chu 'khor* , 100 meters down below the same brook where the *lha chu kha* rite was held on 20th. They dedicate the offering of *klu bsang* which is created by burning three kinds of white thing (*dkar gsum*; milk, yogurt and butter), silk cloths and *dkar gtor* (and sometimes 108 kinds of medicine in addition to them) over straws and cedar twigs. The *lha pa* scatters about parched barleycorns and some liquor. He hangs the ritual scarf to each *chu 'khor* [Plate 33, 34] and then returns to the shrine.

10. Young men beat the god's drums, stabbing two sharpened spikes into their mouths [Plate 35]. This is called *kha dmar* and is the offering of human flesh

(*sha mchod*) especially for the mountain god of sTag-lung. Young men who do this *kha dmar* belong to the younger age group (15 to 30) of each village of Sog-ri. The *kha dmar* is imposed on the young men so that it may serve the purpose of a kind of rite of passage for them.

Twelve young men stab their mouths with the spikes. The number of 12 stands for the 12 months of the year and refers to the offering of every month to the mountain god of sTag-lung. Before stabbing the spikes into their mouths, they burn the *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* in the furnace on the second floor. The procedure of stabbing is as follows: The person who carries out *kha dmar* is first blessed by the senior *lha pa*, and then has the white ritual scarf tied to the hair in the back of his head. This is said to be the sign that he has become like a god. Then, two stones, white and black, have been burned in the old-fashioned oven of the cooking room next to the inner shrine. It is considered that the white stone symbolizes *lha*, the white deity of the upper sphere, and that the black does the black deity of the upper one. The two burned stones are put into a bucket, into which some liquor, water, leaves of a Japanese raddish (*la phug gi lo ma*), and an essential oil of *zar ma* (= *Linum sativum;* information by Samten Karmay) are mixed together.

All the young men who are about to perform *kha dmar* expose the lower parts of their faces to the vapor emitting from the bucket in order to purify themselves. The spikes are purified in this way as well, after they were exposed to the smoke of *bsang* from the central furnace of the courtyard and were dipped into *chang*. It is believed that this method of purification is so powerful that it gets rid of the pollution of all their family members who are not present. All twelve young men with skewers wear derby hats with red fringe, which symbolize A-myes sTag-lung [Plate 36]. They wear clothing appropriate for dancing with the god's drums in the courtyard, shouting "*ba'i ha*!" [Plate 37]. The senior *lha pa* blesses them at the exit to the courtyard, sprinkling some liquor on the ground and scattering about parched barleycorns.

During the dance of the 12 young men, the senior *lha pa* augurs with a black horn, being surrounded by the other participants [Plates 38]. This augury is done in order to tell the fortune of the coming year of 12 *kha dmar*s. If the portent is foreboding for a *kha dmar* several times in succession, the *kha dmar* will perform the 'offering of human blood' (see No.14) of his own volition, or by the order of the older *lha pa.*

11. Around 4 p.m., almost all the *glu rol* offerings on the altar are incinerated in the furnaces. First, the two *lha pa* throw *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* into the furnace in the courtyard [Plate 39]. Other ritual participants continuously burn

the four imitation goats, then the other 'white' offerings and ritual scarves in the furnace [Plate 40]. When a cloud of smoke from burning juniper branches and offerings hangs over the courtyard, beer is showered on the courtyard and *rlung rta* papers are tossed upward [Plate 41]. This is the first climax of the festival, and the younger *lha pa* even almost fainted in the festivals of 1997 and 1999. People seem to consider the intensive trance of the *lha pa* as the manifestation of the deities so they reply to it by calling out in loud voices. After this enthusiastic scene, all the offering of yogurt is also scattered over the ground by the elders.

12. Just as in the augury of No.10, the participating men crowd at the entrance of the shrine. They begin to cry "*lha* is victorious!" and then give a low shout of rMa-rgyal, sTag-lung or the names of other guardian deities individually. In the midst of that, the senior *lha pa* divines using the black horn. These auguries are done several times in order to see whether the harvest of the year will be good or not, and whether the guardian deities are satisfied with the *glu rol*.

13. This is also a kind of a flesh offering which takes place by inserting several spikes into the flesh of the back of several men (*rgyab la kha dmar btab pa*) [Plate 42]. During the beating of the drum, the men try to throw the spikes off. If all the spikes are shaken off with little blood, it is supposed to be good luck. In 1998, the younger *lha pa* did this offering. That was the first time to see the *lha pa* carry out this 'red' offering in the last three years.

    The older *lha pa* is said to have decided this offering of the younger *lha pa* by praying and asking the three guardian gods in the shrine. The younger *lha pa*'s father died in the previous year, so that this offering would be carried out to eliminate the pollution of the death. This offering seems to be made usually by free choice based on happenings such as the death of a relative or a man's own bad luck — a good contrast to the *kha dmar* of the youth in No.10, which is imposed on the participant.

14. Men gash their foreheads as a blood offering (*khrag mchod* or *dmar mchod*) [Plates 43, 44]. This offering is said to be the greatest of all the offerings. It forms a contrast to the *kha dmar* of No.10 in which the young men wear derby hats symbolizing sTag-lung. The performers of Nos.13 and 14 wear nothing on the head, so that this offering is considered to give to all the guardian deities excepting *klu* that is believed to dislike blood.

    If a man makes such an offering to the gods, it is believed that he will be lucky and healthy for the following year. Men who had misfortunes, problems

in the previous year, or bad augury as a result of No.10 etc. perform this offering to drive away bad luck and bring in good luck. Though the ex-*lha pa* of Sog-ri himself also performed this offering, the lamas forbade the *lha pa* to perform this kind of red offering when the present *lha pa*s were inaugurated in 1992. However, in the *glu rol* of Gling-rgyal village, for example, this blood offering has still been performed only by the *lha pa*.

An experienced elder man makes a cut on the head of the offeror with a knife. The offerors let the blood stream dramatically over their faces, while receiving the blessing of the senior *lha pa*. Holding a bowl that contained yogurt in the right hand and the *klu rta* paper in the left hand, each of the offerors scatters yogurt on the ground, going halfway down the courtyard [Plate 43]. At the place facing the road outside the shrine, he lights *klu rta* paper, and then throws it out [Plate 44]. After that, he raises both hands and dances for joy.

15. The performance of *la gzhas* (mountain love songs) is performed as the fourth performance of *rtsed rigs*. About ten men, who hide their faces with thin white cloths, sing mountain love songs that are offerings to the mountain gods such as rMa-rgyal and sTag-lung [Plate 45]. Mountain gods are said to love such mountain songs. It is the taboo to sing these songs in front of women of one's own relatives. Only during the *glu rol* period, it is permitted to sing the songs at the lowlands and in front of women including one's own sisters. This practice reminds us that of a dancing and singing party of young men and women, found in the wide areas of laurel forest stretching from Japan to Assam. The *lha pa* is present among the men to nominate a singer and jumps for joy if he is satisfied with the song.

16. The senior *lha pa* began to utter the god's words from his own mouth for the first time in the summer of 1999. He became a *lha pa* in 1992, when the lama of the village did 'open the god's door (*lha sgo 'byed*)' and 'open the god's word (*ngag sgo 'byed*)' at the same time. Nevertheless, he could not speak any words until 1998. Several words he uttered in the summer of 1999 were: "Today is a fine day", "I am Great King of *Klu* ....", " I came from the place ......" and "Why don't you finish the festival ....?." When the participants heard his last utterance, they replied to it in earnest that they intended to carry through the festival to the end.

Tibetan people generally judge the greatness of a *lha pa* on the basis of whether or not he can verbalize the gods' words. In addition to that, they distinguish a *lha pa* from a *lha pa tshab* on the basis of whether he has actually been possessed. They also distinguish between *lha (rang) 'bab rgyab*

'the deity itself descends from heavens' and *lha phab/'bebs* 'to make a deity descend'.

17. An elder more than 50 years gives an address that praises the gods in front of the performers and spectators [Plate 46]. The contents of the address are almost the same every year. After first praising not only the lamas and *chos skyong* of the Rong-po monastery, but also rMa-rgyal, Bya-khyung, gNyan-chen, the *dgra lha*, sTag-lung and their local gods, he prays to them to show their mercy on the villagers in the times of trouble.

18. The fifth performance of *rtsed rigs* entitled *Khri ka'i yul lha phebs pa* is held. The performers of *rtsed rigs* come into the inner shrine and act as if they were the *yul lha* [Plate 47]. The two *lha pa*s greet them with the ritual scarves. The actors have a spree there for a while, and then run away.

19. Around 8 p.m., the *lha pa* and elders in charge distribute the internals of a sacrificed animal (*ston sha*). These boiled and finely minced ones have been carried into the shrine before evening after having processed at the kitchen of the corner of the courtyard [Plate 48]. When this offering is withdrawn from the gods, it is distributed to everyone and eaten on the spot.

20. All the participants including unmarried girls perform the dance of great gratitude (*thugs rje chen po'i gar*), offered to all the guardian deities [Plate 49]. Most of men wear a false queue wrapped around a towel covering their heads, and adjust their dress, forming a circle in the courtyard. They perform a slow dance, holding ritual scarves in both hands or taking a bowing posture by putting both hands inside both sleeves.

21. The senior *lha pa,* falling into a trance, performs a dance entitled *lha rtsed pa* [Plate 50]. First, the *lha pa* performs an augury several times in the inner shrine in order to determine the best time. After good augury is produced, the surrounding males respond to it with a shout. The *lha pa* sits on the stand in front of the altar and goes into a trance. He moves sometimes slowly, or sometimes as swiftly as if he were riding a horse running in the sky. Occasionally he jumps up, from his seated position on the stand, or raises a big cry to demand some liquor or other offerings. Approximately 20 minutes later, supported by two helpers, he slips out of the trance. Until 1998, an interpreter (*lha bdag*) told everybody the gods' words and the *lha pa*'s experiences instead of the *lha pa*.

22. Young men shoulder the two sacred palanquins, and the senior *lha pa* leads them. They begin to shoulder the palanquins from the east direction (that is,

the side of the inner shrine), and then move to the right and left as to push the four directions of the courtyard [Plate 51]. Later, they jump three times with the palanquins over a fire burning at the crossroads outside the shrine, and put them back in storage at the side of shrine.

23. Two kinds of willow sticks topping the *klu rta* are prepared for burning at the crossroads outside. The *lha pa* prays to the gods in the inner shrine, holding a long stick with a spear head attached as well as a red brush of long yak hair at the end (*mdung rtse*). Then, the younger *lha pa* holds the spear and the brush downward, and he moves away from the shrine, while acting as though he were sweeping something out [Plate 52]. He continues this sweeping action to the road (ideally crossroads). The male household heads who had a relative die follow after the *lha pa*, holding two kinds of willow sticks with *klu rta*. At the crossroads, straws have been piled on forked willow branches, and are then lit. While all the male participants recite a magic formula, the *lha pa* makes a sign with his fingers (Skt. *mūdra*) and breathes upon the two kinds of sticks. The *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* throw the willow sticks into the fire [Plate 53].

24. After all males return to the courtyard of the shrine, finally the *lha pa* comes back to the courtyard and shakes the red brush over the heads of the males kneeling down in order to drive away all the evil beings and purify, — just as a Japanese Shinto priest does. All the participants sprinkle *chang* upward and eat a little flour of *rtsam pa* at the entrance of the inner-shrine, raising the cry (*'ur*), *lha rgyal!*

25. Two *lha pa*s distribute the remains of fruits and meat (*ston sha*) to all men. All the participants begin to eat them and *rtsam pa* kneaded with water, while chatting each other. The *glu rol*s from 1997 to 1999 ended around 10 p.m.

2. Some observations from a cultural anthropological viewpoint

The *glu rol* ritual is an annual community festival conducted before the coming of autumn, the time of harvest in the annual cycle of agricultural production. Farmers hope that they will not suffer from hail storms or long rains and will obtain a rich harvest in the coming autumn. They also pray that members of their community will continue to live peacefully without succumbing to illness or death. The villagers believe that the powers, conceived as the source of health, life, fertility and wealth, come from a different world (the Other World) from their own. How then, can such power of the gods be available to the impotent villagers? Only when the powers of gods are introduced into the human world by providing a bridge, or channel of communication between this World and the Other World, the

villagers' wishes can come true. In this sense, the *glu rol* festival functions as a religious means to provide that bridge or communication channel.

The Tibetan farmers around Reb-skong regard the whole village of their own as one completed and closed microcosm, which consists of three realms — the upper world (*sa bla*) embodied by the neighboring high mountains and the sky, the earth (*sa steng*), and the underworld (*sa 'og*) symbolized by rivers and lakes. They actually conceive that their own village is located at the center of the realm of the earth, and that various, unseen deities exist in these three realms of the microcosm, surrounding their own village. This means that the Other World is conceived as the space not to be very far from the village but to be familiar to the villagers. These deities in the Other World are believed to have hierarchical powers depending on their rank, and occupy certain, well-defined abodes in specific areas of these three realms. The villagers, however, do not have systematic knowledge about the rank and abodes of these deities and are more interested in knowing whether these deities are beneficent or harmful. They divide the attributes of these deities roughly into two types.

One is the power of sacred, good deities who favor the villagers and preserve the public order both in physical and moral terms. The other is the power of impure, evil deities who stir up trouble and bring about misfortunes such as death, illness and disasters. The villagers regard the sacred, good deities to protect their village as their guardians, *'go ba'i lha*. Therefore, they naturally dedicate regular offerings to their *'go ba'i lha*, pray to them, and maintain positive, reciprocal relationship with them. As previously described, the *'go ba'i lha* of Sog-ri are the upper deities symbolized by the statues in the shrine, and the white *klu*, the gods of the river. The upper *'go ba'i lha* can be further classified into black, combative gods (*dgra lha, blon po, yul lha* and their dependents, *shan pa*) and a white, peaceful god, A-myes rMa-chen.

Aside from the *'go ba'i lha* of Sog-ri, there are eight types of deities and spirits symbolized by *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma*, who are believed to have control over fire, water, wind and earth. These superratural beings have the power to control disasters relating to these elements, and to protect humans from these disasters as long as the humans continue to offer prayers and gifts to them. On the other hand, impure, disaster-causing evil deities are nameless, ambiguous powers, typically, near the surface of the earth, which are lured by *klu rta* during the *glu rol* festival at Sog-ri. Thus, we can see that the powers that come from the Other World are ambiguous and that their attitude towards humans varies depending on how humans treat them. Villagers believe, however, that the *'go ba'i lha* and the eight types of deities will usually display their positive attributes as long as humans continue to make offerings and worship them.

Tibetans also believe that these deities can move in a twinkle and possess the bodies of other beings with ease. Using this ability, the *'go ba'i lha* of Sog-ri can

possess the palanquin, *thang ka* (the seat of gods), and statues of gods, as well as the body of the *lha pa* in the course of the Sog-ri festival.

In the rest of this paper, I will analyse how the villagers provide a bridge, or channel of communication with the favorable powers to them through the *glu rol*, and how they remove and expel the impure, evil powers that have sneaked into this world.

2.1 Inflow and movements of the sacred powers in the ritual space

As E. Leach (1976), A. Van Gennep (1975) and V.W. Turner (1976) concluded in their structural analysis of rites, the *glu rol* rite also brings about the transition from normal to abnormal time on the evening of June 20th of the Hor rtsis calendar and another transition from abnormal to normal time at the end of the festival on June 25th. During this period, the *lha pa* prohibits villagers from engaging in daily activities and if this rule is broken, the violator is fined. In physical and spatial terms, the whole village space of Sog-ri is transformed into a microcosm and categorized cosmologically at a structural level. If we apply the model proposed by Leach (1976: 82, 86) to the setting of the *glu rol* of Sog-ri, its structure of the cosmologically categorized space is as shown in Table 1.

This cosmological setting represents, among other things, the dichotomy between Nature and Culture, as Lévi-Strauss and Leach have pointed out. Nature is regarded as the Other World and a realm of "tame culture" as this world. The Other World is represented by the sky and the river. The liminal zone where this world and the Other World overlap (Table 1, II) is considered as a sacred area, which is symbolized by the mountains or riversides in the natural area. It is in this liminal zone that the rites are performed in order to flow the sacred power from the Other World into this world.

In addition to the sacred spaces in the natural area, another sacred sphere is created artificially inside the village in the form of a shrine, called *glu khang* or *lha khang* previously, and *dmag dpon khang* at present (refer to 1.3.3. and the diagram of the shrine). The shrine can be divided into three areas according to the degree of sacredness — the courtyard (Table 1, IV-A) relatively secular zone where this world meets the Other World first, the intermediate zone regarded as relatively sacred (Table 1, IV-B), and the most sacred zone deep inside the inner-shrine that represents the Other World (Table 1, V-C). The courtyard is the threshold between this world and the Other World. This zone located nearest to the secular world can be accessible even by female and child spectators dressed for the festival. The *la btsas* and furnace for burning *bsang* are also placed in its center. They are means of reaching the sky, or for communication with the Other World. The furnace and the *la btsas* thus may serve as a gate to the Other World = sky within the shrine. In other words, the sacred gods are expected to descend from the sky onto *bsang* and the *la btsas* of this zone first. This furnace also serves as a route through which to send offerings to deities. This intermediate zone is divided by the wooden fence

and gate placed between the courtyard and the main shrine, which means the embodiments of the limits of this world. This relatively sacred zone (Table 1, IV-B) represents the final boundary of this world, where performers prepare for the ritual and the offerors of human flesh or blood purifying by using steam from burned black and white stones. Even male worshippers who bring offerings are not allowed to enter the inner shrine and must stay in this zone to offer prayers to

Table 1

	Cosmological space categories		Actual space categories	Rites in the glu rol
I	The other world; Wild nature	Upper world	Sky	Outside the residential area
		Underworld	Underground	
II	Liminal zone in the wild nature	Threshold of upper world	Mountain side	bsang ritual at the mountain
	Sacred area (the other world in this world)	Threshold of underworld	River side	lha chu kha
III	This world	Intermediate zone (outside the shirine)	Road	
	Secular zone (Tame culture)	Secular zone	Courtyard of each house	lha chang kha; bsang offering in each house
IV	Liminal zone in the shrine	A. Relatively scared zone	Courtyard of the shrine	bsang at the furnace and la-btsas
	Intermediate zone of this world and the other world	Threshold between this world and the other world		Place of Performances of glu rol and spectators
		B. Final limit of this world	Wooden fence and gate partition	Preparation space for performers
V	The other world in the shrine	C. The most sacred zone	Windows and gate Inner shrine proper	Gods' images; Alter;'God-satisfying' dance by possession of lha-pa

gods. This intermediate zone and the deepest part of the mainshrine are partitioned by a fence with big windows and a gate. The inner shrine (Table 1, V-C) is a dim space accessible only by the *lha pa* and a few elders, and statues of gods are placed in the innermost part. In fact, this zone is regarded as the Other World itself

created within the shrine, and it is here that the *lha pa*, in a trance, performs a dance titled "God's play."

Under these metaphysical settings, the *glu rol* festival starts with the *lha chu kha* ritual in the river within Nature. On the riverbank and in the river, the first ritual for communicating with the underworld is carried out. This *lha chu kha* ritual is conducted for two intertwined purposes.

One purpose is purification by water. Water "washes away the pollution caused by murder" (Karmay 1998: 401 text II), and is believed to remove the impurity of death, the most serious pollution. The purification ritual is the first activity conducted at the festival because it is believed that the *'go ba'i lha* will be displeased if the realms under their control are contaminated or polluted, and will be less interested in guarding the residents in these realms. To communicate with *'go ba'i lha*, therefore, as much of the pollution in their realms must be removed as possible. There are two types of pollution; one caused by humans, and the other by the impure, evil powers, as demonstrated in Karmay (1998: 382-388). The pollution caused by humans is considered to be something like a "black veil" which deprives them of their original vitality, and it is believed by Tibetan folks that water, the smoke of *bsang,* and blood have the power to removed this black veil. In the *lha chu kha* ritual, therefore, the purification by water in the river and the *bsang* offerings, both at the courtyard of the shrine and at the riverside, allows the *lha pa*, participants, ritual items, and the space for inviting the sacred beings to reach an adequate level of sacredness to communicate with the gods. The ritual also has the purpose of purifying the good, sacred beings existing in the three realms of the microcosm as well. This is because such beings, including the *'go ba'i lha*, which are originally pure and good, are believed to have been 'defiled' as a result of man's own impure nature and activity, and to have lost their original powers (Karmay 1998: 382). In the *lha chu kha* ritual, the impurity that has weakened the power of *'go ba'i lha* is removed by the water and *bsang* offerings, and thus the gods recover their original strength and vitality. The impure, evil beings, on the other hand, grow weak as humans and their guardian deities regain their original power through this purification ritual.

The other purpose of *lha chu kha* is to unite the powers of the mountain gods such as *yul lha* and sTag-lung and those of the watery, underground god, *klu*, through the medium of water. Through *lha chu kha,* the vitality and fertility of the guardian deities seem to be doubled. The pure, good "power" thus enhanced then replenishes the palanquins with the willow twigs attached to it.

In the *Lha chang kha* ritual on the next day, the party of the *lha pa*, accompanied by the *'go ba'i lha* of the two realms which have been purified and strengthened in the previous day's rite, walks around the secular cultural realm. In the course of the *Lha chang kha*, the *'go ba'i lha*'s strengthened powers circulate within the village and flow into each house of the village. In this way, the secular zone, too, is purified and revitalized.

Early in the morning of the last day of the *glu rol* festival, the procession of the *lha pa* and the "seat of gods" leave the shrine for the mountain (Table 1, II), the liminal zone in "wild nature." As the procession moves through the roads of the secular zone toward the mountain, the younger *lha pa*, possessed by *yul lha*, has a sword in his hand and sprinkles liquor to repel the impure, evil powers. At the mountain (Table 1, II), the contact place with the sky (the Other World), *dar lcog* is erected and the *bsang* ritual is carried out. Like *la btsas*, *dar lcog* is considered as a support for deities in the upper realm to descent from the sky. Like water, *bsang* is widely believed by Tibetan people to be an effective means of removing pollution and impurity caused by humans and impure, evil powers (Karmay 1998, Tucci 1980). During the *glu rol* festival, *bsang* is constantly burned in places within the community — in the liminal zone in "wild nature", at the furnace in the shrine, and at each house in the secular zone. Through the burning of *bsang* in several places in the community, the whole community is eventually purified and revitalized.

Like the *lha chu kha* ritual, however, the *bsang* offerings are not intended for purification only. The smoke of the ritual is said to open the door to heaven, the world of the upper deities (Stein 1972: 211). Tibetan people are pleased if the fumigation offering generates much smoke because they believe that more smoke attracts more gods to descend. The *bsang*, thus, serves as a circuit through which the powers of gods are manifested before the villagers. Moreover, white and red *bsang (bsang mchod)* to generate from the burning of the red and white offerings provide villagers with a route for sending such offerings to the gods in heaven. As we have seen, the fumigation offering is a means of establishing a communications circuit between the upper deities and the villagers.

To summarize, the *lha chu kha* ritual, carried out at the natural liminal zone, the river, is conducted both to purify and to strengthen the guardian deities as well as the villagers through water and *bsang*. In the course of *lha chang kha*, the strengthen powers of the guardian deities are radiated out to the secular this world. On the last day of the *glu rol*, the powers of the upper gods are replenished through the fumigation ritual conducted at the mountain and those of *klu* are done so at the *chu 'khor* on the riverside in "wild nature." Finally, the powers of guardian deities and other beings gather in the shrine. Here, the sacred powers of the Other World flow in and out through the *bsang* from the furnace and the *la btsas* and they receive the offerings through them. The *bsang* and the *la btsas* serve as a circuit to communicate with these deities. For the duration of the *glu rol* festival, two *lha pa*s continually move between the courtyard of the shrine and the main shrine as well as between inside the shrine and outside. Their movements embody the flow of the pure, sacred powers between this world and the Other World. The *lha pa*s themselves literally act as mediators between this world and the Other World. The flow of these sacred powers is faithfully traced by the movements of the *lha pa* during the festival. Villagers can see the manifestation of

these powers in the movements of the *lha pa*, and are assured that their community has been revitalized by the powers.

2.2 Relationship between the offerings and the sacred beings

The sacred powers that have flown into the community through the rite at the mountains and rivers in the liminal zone eventually gather in the shrine. Here, a banquet (*glu rol*) is given to facilitate communication between the gods and villagers. The participants in the festival request the gods to descend to this sacred zone by shouting "*ba'i ha!* (or *be ha'a!*)." From the beginning of the *glu rol*, *dkar bsang* is burned in the furnace in the courtyard mainly as offering to the upper white guardian deities (*dkar phyogs pa'i 'go ba'i lha*) like rMa-chen spom-ra, and white *klu*. Also, at the same time, *dmar bsang* is burned on the last day, especially for such upper black guardian deities (*nag phyogs pa'i 'go ba'i lha*) as *dgra lha, blon po*, *yul lha*, and their dependents, *shan pa*.

Villagers entertain the gods with various songs, dances, and other forms of entertainment, and make various offerings to them. These songs, dances and entertainment are also offerings (*mchod*) of a kind, made to delight the eyes and ears of the gods present at the banquet. In addition to these offerings, various other offerings are placed on the altar. These material offerings are preferentially made to the gods of certain specific realms. As briefly mentioned in the "offerings in the inner-shrine (1.3.5)," the color dichotomy of "red" (*dmar*) and "white" (*dkar*) is applied to these offerings. "Red" relates to the color of blood. As Durkheim (1914/1960: 161-162) indicated in his study of the Australian aborigines, blood is regarded as the source of life, and therefore provides a positive principal for a ritual. In the case of the *glu rol* festival as well, blood is assigned positive attributes as a source of power and vitality that can remove pollution. In most cases, human and animal blood offerings are dedicated to the *nag phyogs pa'i 'go ba'i lha* who are combative and wrathful by nature, yet friendly to men.

Human and animal flesh offerings (*sha mchod*) are also a kind of red offerings and dedicated to the upper *'go ba'i lha* and other combative deities. There is an interesting practice in regard to flesh offerings. While the villagers dedicate to burn 'raw' animal flesh to the upper deities as *dmar bsang*, the meat and intestines, withdrawn from the gods, are boiled before they are distributed among the villagers to be eaten. As shown in Lévi-Strauss' analysis of "Le triangle culinaire" (1967), this contrast between the 'raw' and the 'cooked' probably reflects the dichotomy between the "nature = the Other World" and the "culture = this world." As will be further discussed later, raw flesh that is burned at the ritual is an offering or, more specifically, a sacrifice to the gods. On the other hand, the boiled meat eaten by villagers is not a sacrifice to the gods, and has a more social significance, though it constitutes part of the ritual as an offering. At the same time, *rtsam pa*, which is representative of white offerings, is also consumed by villagers

at the end of the festival. By eating boiled meat and *rtsam pa* as foods withdrawn from the gods, villagers renew and deepen the social ties among them. As Durkheim pointed out (1912/1960: 489), believers communicate with their gods by ingesting holy foods.

On the other hand, plants and foods made from plants are white offerings. This group of offerings are mainly dedicated to the upper peaceful *'go ba'i lha* and *klu* which is believed to be vegetarian. While many of the white offerings are left on the altar without burning, some of them are given to unmarried women who perform the *klu rtsed* dance in the festival, as gifts withdrawn from gods, which the *lha pa* places inside their clothing near the breast. This act could indicate the association of the white offerings with the power of growth and fertility of plants controlled by the *klu*, the goddess of agriculture. It is also worthy of note that these offerings are distributed to the female dancers by the *lha pa*, who has supposedly been possessed by *dgra lha* or *yul lha* in the upper realm. This may reflect the belief that the reproduction powers and fertility of women are reinforced by the powers of the upper gods.

Judging from the above, we can reason that the villagers distinguish between the offerings according to the types of gods; they give red offerings to the upper black combative gods and white offerings to the upper white, peaceful rMa-chen spom-ra, and *klu*. However, this principle does not apply to the *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* (the red *gtor ma,* for short) offering. I could collect two different opinions for it among villagers and monks. According to an informant in the Sog-ri village, the red *gtor ma* is a red offering because the red color was originally taken from animal blood, although villagers today use red pigments sold in town market. A Bon priest also claimed that the red *gtor ma* is a kind of red offerings. On the other hand, an elder of the Sog-ri village and a high-ranking priest of the *rNying-ma* Sect said that the red color is taken from roots of *'bru mog* plants and therefore, the red *gtor ma* is a white offering. They reason that the eight types of deities include vegetarian deities, *klu* who are displeased with bloodshed. During the *glu rol* festival, this *gtor ma* is burned in a furnace while young men who conduct *kha dmar* pray for good omens in a fortune-telling rite (performance No.11) and when it is likely to hail or rain. 1999 was a rainy year, and it took longer than usual for crops to ripen. It even drizzled during the *glu rol* festival that involved the burning of much larger quantity of the red *gtor ma* than the festivals of the preceding three years. While in Bon there is also the ritual of making the red *gtor ma* offerings when praying for good harvests, rain, and the prevention of long rains and hail storms, it does not involve the burning of *gtor ma* reportedly. Clearly, it seems that this offering is mainly directed to the deities to control water, rain and weather, namely watery deities, *klu*. This leads to the conclusion that the red *gtor ma* should be regarded as a white offering despite its red color. But, at the same time, because of its red color, the *gtor ma* can also substitute for red offerings and be dedicated to the gods as well who prefer red offerings. Thus, we can say that the red *gtor ma*,

though red, is a kind of white offering, intended for all the eight types of deities believed to control four elements, especially, water in the three realms of the microcosm.

As to the liquid offerings, there is also the contrast between cold white one and hot red one according to the types of the *'go ba'i lha* for whom they are intended. While cold white offerings are composed of yogurt, milk and water, especially dedicated to the *klu* of the underworld, hot red offerings consist of beer and liquor made of fermented crops especially dedicated to the combative upper deities. Probably because these drinks are stimulants, the liquid offerings made from fermented crops are dedicated to the combative, violent upper deities. In the ritual, therefore, beer and liquor are tossed upward to reach these upper gods whereas yogurt and water are scattered around on the ground

Here, the dichotomy between "white offerings = things of plants" and "red offerings = those of animals" is reversed to "white, cold liquid offerings = yak milk and foods made of fermented milk" and "red, hot liquid offerings = drinks made of fermented crops" when it comes to liquid offerings. Perhaps, the whiteness and coldness of the yogurt and milk are seen as superior elements here.

In addition to these offerings, there are offerings of two sorts of willow twigs attached to *klu rta*, a white paper with the ability to attract malicious powers. The combination of white paper, willow twigs and *klu* could relate to pollution — especially the impurity of death — and its removal, considering that it is specifically the villagers whose family members have died that carry these offerings at the *glu rol* festival. The combination of white paper, willow twigs and *klu* is widely observed in other Asian countries as well. In Japan, for example, this combination is associated with the power of growth and fertility in crops. Traditionally, at the beginning of a new year, Japanese farmers would receive from a temple, a willow twig to which is attached a paper with a dragon drawn on it. They would place the twig in their rice fields to pray for bountiful harvests.

The *rlung rta*, on the other hand, is the same kind of paper offering but its use is quite different from that of *klu rta*. Specifically, *rlung rta* is tossed upward when the fumigation ritual is conducted at the mountain, and also when the ritual at the shrine reaches the first, biggest climax. Karmay (1993: 150-151, 1998: 413-414) argues that the Tibetan word *rlung rta* used to be spelled *klung rta* (river-horse). According to Karmay's remark, the idea of *lung ma* (Chinese word for dragon-horse) was introduced from China through astrology during the Tibetan Kingdom of the 7^{th}-9^{th} centuries. *klung rta* was replaced by *rlung rta* (Tib. for wind-horse), reflecting the change of concept. In connection with the Chinese idea of *lung ma*, Ishida (1966) showed that the practice of associating a horse or cow with the goddess of water (in Asia, usually embodied by a dragon) is widely distributed from eastern Asia to Europe. In his book, Ishida discusses the Chinese tradition of associating a heavenly horse with a dragon horse, the legend of a stallion of the watery world which is found in the western region and the western border areas of

China, and the practice of drowning a cow or horse as sacrifice to the god of water. He also points out the inseparable relationship between the dragon (the goddess of water and storms) and cows or horses (Ishida 1966: 182). Consequently, we may infer that the association of death, rebirth, and fertility underlie the practices of offering *klu rta* to the underworld, watery deities and *rlung rta* (*klung rta*) to the upper deities.

Now let us look back on the issue of white and red offerings. The purpose of dividing various offerings into white and red is to make clear to whom the specific offerings are dedicated — to the upper gods or to the watery, underworld gods.

Table 2

Sacrifice and Offerings	Supernatural beings				
	Protecting deities			Eight kinds of super-natural beings	Impurity or pollution (especially caused by death)
	Upper deities		Under deities		
	white peaceful deities	black wrathful deities	klu		
White *bsang*	○	○	○	○	
Red *bsang* (by burning of meat and blood)		○			
White offerings (flower, fruits, tsam-pa, bag-leb, white gtor ma)	○	○	○	○	
Offerings of 'cold liquid'			○	○	
Offerings of 'hot liquid'	○	○		○	
'Red offerings' (raw goat heart and head, cooked meat)		○			
Imitation goats (living goats used to be sacrificed, but now substitutes are used)		○			
Offerings for a dragon (*klu-rta*) *dzogs shing*			●		▲
willow twigs with *klu-rta*			●		▲
eight kinds of *gtor-ma*				○	
kha-dmar (offerings of human flesh)		○			
offering of human blood		○			(●)
lha-pa's body		○			

○ The sacrifice to obtain positive results in the future
● sacrifice to eliminate present negative situations or attributes
▲ sacrifice of to be destroyed after luring the malevolent beings

These two kinds of offerings also signify the characteristics of the upper and underworld gods, and function interdependently. By making these two kinds of

offerings, villagers offer prayers to *'go ba'i lha* of both the upper world and the underworld in the microcosm (the Other World).

These offerings are classified into two types according to their functions. One type is offered as a gift to guardian deities to gain the favor of the *'go ba'i lha*. By making these offerings, villagers anticipate good harvests, the fertility of their livestock and the prosperity of their community as a repayment from the gods. The other type of offerings has the purpose of attracting the malicious, sacred powers alleged to have caused the negative conditions or pollution. These malicious, sacred powers are also present at the *glu rol* festival, and villagers wish to remove these powers from their community by using ritual devices with *klu rta*. The nature of offerings, their functions, and their relationship with the supernatural beings are shown in Table 2.

2.3 *Glu rol* as a sacrificial ritual

We have looked at the offerings made at the *glu rol* festival, the gods for whom these offerings are intended, and the functions of these offerings. Interestingly, most of these offerings are burned at the two climaxes of the festival. The first climax comes around 4:00 in the afternoon, when red offerings, some white offerings, and *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* are all burned together in the furnace in the courtyard of the shrine. In the second climax, fire igniting straw is set to two kinds of twigs attached with *klu rta* at the crossroads outside the shrine at night. In terms of time and space, the burning of offerings at the first and second climaxes signifies a dichotomy between "daytime/ furnace in the shrine" and "night/ crossroads outside the shrine." It also presents a contrast in terms of the materials burned between evergreen twigs and *rtsam pa* in the furnace/straw, paper and willow twigs at the crossroads. In any cases, offerings are burned by fire during the climaxes.

Now the question arises as to why these offerings must be burned. A clue is found in the theory of H. Hubert and M. Mauss (1964; original work in 1899). They argue that we must designate as sacrifice any oblation, even of vegetable matter, whenever the offering or part of it is destroyed (Hubert and Mauss 1964: 12). By their definition, ritual destruction refers to the practice of killing animals and burning their flesh, of grinding and burning crops, and of sprinkling liquid offerings on the ground. The ritual practice of destruction draws a clear line between a mere oblation and a sacrifice in terms of religious energy emanating from them. Naturally, in the case of sacrifice, the religious energy released is stronger (Hubert and Mauss 1964: 12). Using that definition, most of the offerings in the *glu rol* festival are sacrifices because they are destroyed by fire in whole or in part during the first and second climaxes.

Most typical sacrifices are those of killing animals. Reportedly, the Sog-ri conducted animal sacrifices at the *glu rol* festival until the present *lha pa* assumed his position. In case of the village of Gling-rgyal, an animal sacrifice is still an

ongoing practice, which a *lha pa* conducts during *glu rol* festival at the house of the person responsible for the festival. Today, the Sog-ri villagers offer imitation goats as sacrifice, and these can be considered as equivalents to live animal sacrifices, because both of them are called *dmar mchod* (red offering). Thanks to the fine ethnological study of Evans-Pritchard (1956), it is widely known that the tribe of Nuer in the upper Nile sacrifices goats if cattle are not available, and cucumbers if goats are not available. In his writing, Evans-Pritchard describes the meaning of Nuer sacrifice as "a substitution, vita pro vita" (1956: 281-282). Considering this theory as well as that of Mauss and Hubert, the festival at Sog-ri does not have to offer an animal sacrifice, because plants and imitation goats can be equivalent to living animal sacrifices. In case of the *glu rol* festival, however, certain restrictions are applied to the substitution of a sacrifice, depending on the type of gods for which an offering is intended, as discussed earlier.

If these sacrifices are 'substitution, vita pro vita' as Evans-Pritchard argues, then what do they substitute for? In my view they substitute for human life. At the depths of consciousness, the practice of offering valuable property signifies a sacrifice of part of the body of a person, or self-sacrifice.

In fact, the Sog-ri villagers have retained the custom of offering part of the body of a person as sacrifice, in addition to substitutes for human life. This sacrifice reminds us of the "elementary form of religion" which Durkheim illustrated in his study of the Australian aborigines. Villagers call human flesh and blood offerings the ultimate "red offerings" (= sacrifices) and the person who sacrifices part of his body is believed to 'become a god-like being.' This belief reinforces the view that the offering of human life constitutes the very essence of sacrifice. Destruction of part of the human body as a sacrifice is to draw very close to the gods, and ultimately, it entails the complete destruction of the sacrificial victim himself.

What, then, is the meaning of sacrificing a human or animal body or plants? As mentioned earlier, in the *glu rol* festival of Sog-ri two types of sacrifices function intertwine each other. One is carried out to establish communications with guardian deities in prayer for future blessings, while the other is to remove pollution or change negative conditions. The sacrifice offered in anticipation of positive results in the future is "a gift, or tribute paid to the gods." At the metaphysical level, it is also "a symbol of gift giving, but gift giving as an expression of reciprocal relationship rather than material exchange" (Leach 1976: 83). In the Tibetan language, the expression *mchod pa* means both "offering and libation" and "to honor or to revere the deities."

Why must the sacrifices be destroyed by fire in the course of the ritual? Tibetan people believe that many of the pure, good, and friendly deities and spirits in the Other World are "eaters of fragrances" (*dri za*). Therefore, sacrifices or gifts to the gods must be offered through aromatic smoke generating from the burning of incense. This is why sacrifices are burned on aromatic trees and plants (*lha*

shing) such as juniper. What the gods receive are aromatic smoke, not material foods that can be eaten by men. In the smoke from *bsang* ritual and human blood or flesh sacrifices, the gods acknowledge the worship, gratitude or submission of the villagers or the expression of the reciprocal relationship, and are satisfied. And, by receiving the offerings from the villagers, the gods are compelled to give back benefits to them.

Then, how have humans come to conceive of the idea of destroying their gifts in the course of a sacrifice ritual? Leach reasons that the idea is underlain by "the metaphor of death." He goes on to say:

> The souls of the dead men pass from the normality of This World to the abnormality of the liminal zone and then, by further transformation, become immortal ancestor deities in the Other World. If we want to make a gift to a being in the Other World, the 'soul,' that is to say, the metaphysical essence, of the gift must be transmitted along the same route as is travelled by the soul of a dead man. We must therefore first kill the gift so that its metaphysical essence is separated from its material body, and then transfer the essence to the Other World by rituals which are analogous to those of a funeral (Leach 1976: 83).

Leach's metaphor of death is reminiscent of a funeral ritual accompanied by animal sacrifices executed by Bon priests during the Tibetan Kingdom. Even today, the sheep dedicated as a sacrifice is called *gnam lug* (heavenly sheep) and is believed to ascend to the sky when sacrificed. In the Tibetan language, the word *lha* (god) is synonymous with *bla* (soul), and Tibetan people often mix these two words. In literature as well, *dgra lha* is also expressed as *dgra bla*, while the *sku bla* in the ancient times is said to correspond to *sku lha* in the later ages (Stein 1972: 227-228). According to an ancient Dunhuang text, a person's soul (*bla*) continues to live in a tomb, or in its abode in heaven or other places, even after the death of the person (Stein 1972: 227). The "seat of the soul" (*bla gnas*) is considered to be within a human body, usually in the heart. It is believed that the *bla* comes to dwell in the human body at birth, and normally departs from the body when the body is destroyed after death. Besides human bodies, stones (*bla rdo*), trees (*bla shing*), mountains (*bla ri*), and lakes (*bla mtsho*) in the nature as well as animals and other specific things are said to act as the seat of the *bla*. Partly because of the influence of Buddhism, the concept of *bla* has undergone transformation over the centuries. It seems, however, that Tibetan people maintain a deep-seated belief that *bla*, the metaphysical essence of sacrifice, departs from its seat, probably its heart, when the host is destroyed, and returns to the world of *lha*, the Other World, which is the very source of life. Simply put, the metaphysical essence of things comes from the gods and eventually returns to the gods. The person who sacrifices his flesh or blood by destroying part of his body would be the reason why he is said to approach very closely the world of the gods (death) and become a god-like being.

The sacrifice ritual at Sog-ri is underlain by the belief of Tibetan folks that *bla* departs from the dead body and continues to live, and it is identical with *lha*. Their logic of the sacrifice seems to be an important clue to comprehend the popular beliefs of Tibetans. The interpretation of "gifts" and "the metaphor of death" which Leach proposed for sacrifices in general surely apply to the case of sacrifices in the *glu rol* offered in anticipation of positive results in the future.

The other sacrifice conducted to remove pollution or present negative conditions also involves the burning of sacrifices, but differs from the one above in terms of the manner of burning and significance. Leach's interpretation cannot be applied to all aspects of this sacrifice. As discussed earlier, the willow twig (*dzog shing*) with *klu rta* attached functions as a ritual device to lure the evil, impure and capricious supernatural beings mainly existing in the earth and the underworld. These supernatural beings come to rest on the twig and are then trapped on it. The other sort of willow twig with *klu rta* is regarded as synonymous with the impurity of death, because the head of a family or someone whose family member has died in the preceding year is specifically appointed to carry it. This ritual is meant to transfer the impurity of death to the willow twig. Here, the ideas of transferring the impurity and of identifying the willow twig with impurity of death interact with each other inseparably.

At this point, let us take a closer look at this ritual. The ritual begins with the chanting of a sūtra of exhortation or admonition (*skul ba*) by villagers to summon the black, combative *'go ba'i lha* or *blon po,* whom they have entertained with gifts and dances. To descend to the earth, *blon po* enters the body of the younger *lha pa*. The *lha pa* possessed by the *blon po* sweeps evil beings out to the crossroads with a broom-like object with a sword at the end. There, the *lha pa* makes symbolic finger signs (*sdigs mdzub*) to punish these evil beings, blows on the twigs with *klu rta* attached, and then throws them in a pile of burning straw. Under the supervision of the *blon po*, these paper offerings are destroyed by the power of fire. To make sure the ritual is effective, the *lha pa* also tramples on the burnt offerings to destroy them completely. Sūtras are then chanted to subdue the power of the *blon po*. Considering that *klu rta* is also called *klu gtad* (things undertaken by a dragon) by some villagers, perhaps the *klu* of the underworld takes over the burnt offerings. Participants in this ritual are told never to look back on their way back to the shrine. Back at the shrine, they celebrate the triumph of the *'go ba'i lha*, namely, the *blon po* and *klu,* by shouting "*lha rgyal*!" In this ritual, the god (*blon po*) makes an appearance in response to the call of the villagers who are on reciprocal terms with them. Due partly to the effects of the sacrifice that has just taken place, the *blon po* and his dependents then demonstrate their powers to expel the evil supernatural beings. Thus, the stage is set for combat among the good and evil supernatural beings in the Other World. To serve the purposes of the second sacrifice ritual, the villagers must take in the powers of the *'go ba'i lha* who have been satisfied with the treatment and with the first sacrifice offered by

the villagers. This means that the second sacrifice ritual must be conducted after the first sacrifice ritual — after the satisfaction of *'go ba'i lha* has been ensured. In fact, the sacrifice rituals of the *glu rol* festival do strictly observe this order.

At the *glu rol* festival, the two types of sacrifices, one aiming at inviting the positive and the other at expelling the negative, are burned at different times and locations, as shown above. Through the *glu rol* festival, the villagers lay a bridge between this world and the Other World by offering sacrifices and destroying them in fire. In so doing, the villagers re-establish communications with the guardian deities and pray for their survival and prosperity, while taking in the powers of these guardian deities to expel evil supernatural beings by the offensive powers of *'go ba'i lha*. Therefore, these sacrifice rituals, each having its own function, closely interact with each other throughout the course of this festival.

2.4 Two communication circuits with the deities: sacrifices and *lha pa*

As we have seen, the sacrifices function as important ritual devices for establishing a communication circuit between the gods and humans. The *glu rol* festival, however, involves another ritual means to establish yet another communication circuit — spirit possession of the *lha pa*. Worldwide, there are numerous cases where sacrifice and possession by spirits together constitute an essential means in a sacrifice ritual process. Luc de Heusch (1985: 212, ff.) advocates the use of the term 'adorcism' for illustrating the positive relationship between the invading spirits and the possessed persons, in a clear distinction from 'exorcism' which indicates a negative relationship. The term 'adorcism' aptly fits the state of *lha pa* possessed by pure, good *'go ba'i lha* at the *glu rol* festival. Without actually destroying his body as is the case of general sacrifices, the *lha pa*, within his own body, can bridge the distance between the human realm and that of the gods. During the *glu rol* festival, the *lha pa* in a state of 'adorcism' plays various roles, acting as the conductor of the festival, as an officiant of the sacrifice rituals, and also as the *'go ba'i lha* itself.

Then, what is the significance in the *glu rol* festival of the co-existence of two communication circuits by which to approach the gods — one by sacrifice rituals and one by 'adorcism' of the *lha pa*? These communication circuits perform different functions. So, let us examine the characteristics of these circuits and the relationship between them. For the purpose of comparison, I will call the communication circuit by way of sacrifices "the sacrifice type" shown as Type A, and that by way of 'adorcism' "the adorcism type" shown as Type B (see Table 3).

In the A-type, villagers as the hosts of the ritual, offer sacrifices to gods and expect the blessing from them as their returns in the future. Moreover, A-type can be sub-categorized into the A1-type and the A2-type according to the sorts of sacrifices. A1-type is the one using the substitute sacrifice for the hosts of the ritual. A2-type is the one using the part of the bodies themselves of the ritual hosts. As A2-type sacrifice does not include any substitute, the communication between

the men and gods is more direct and the degree of man's approach to gods is higher.

B-type reminds us of the shamanistic rite by possession. This type can be regarded as a sacrifice in that all the villagers as the offerors of the sacrifice dedicate the entire body of *lha pa* to the guardian gods as a gift, for the sake of their community. Unlike the *kha dmar* and human blood sacrifice, however, this sacrifice does not entail destruction of any part of the body or of a substitute sacrifices. Rather, it is the personality and consciousness of the *lha pa* that are destroyed and offered to the gods as a sacrifice. At the present *glu rol* of Sog-ri, it seems that the *lha pa* rather acts as a ritual officiant who offers material sacrifices

Table 3

A1	offeror of sacrifice	⇒ officiant: *lha pa* the medium: material objects	⇒protecting deity——→	'blessing' of a god offeror of sacrifice
A2	offeror of sacrifice	⇒ officiant: *lha pa* the medium: one's own body	⇒protecting deity ——→	'blessing' of a god offeror of sacrifice
B	*lha pa*	→ officiant: *lha pa* the medium: (*lha pa*'s body)	→ protecting deity ⇒	possession of a god *lha pa* medium: *lha pa*'s body
AB	offeror of sacrifice	⇒ officiant: *lha pa* the medium: material objects and *lha pa*'s body	⇒protecting deity ⇒	'blessing' of a god and its possession. offeror of sacrifice medium: *lha pa*'s body

to the gods on the side of approaching to protecting gods. On the other hand, in the side of approaching from the gods to the *lha pa*, the gods themselves invade into the body of *lha pa* to manifest themselves before all the villagers by possessing the body of the *lha pa*. They, then, communicate with villagers through *lha pa* and they let the villagers know whether the future well being of the whole community is ensured or not. The gods also immediately act to eliminate evil beings through the *lha pa*'s adorcism. The elimination of evil beings can also be regarded as a kind of benefits from the guardian gods to the villagers.

The A-type including its subcategories has a weak point that villagers cannot know at least until harvest time, whether or not the gods surely give the blessing of 'return' to offerors of the sacrifices. The circuit of B-type, is considered to work

effectively as compensation for the weak point of the A-type. Thanks to the circuit of B-type, Sog-ri's participants and sacrifice offerors can perceive the response of gods directly and instantly through *lha pa*'s gestures, his trance dance titled "God's play", his augury, the oracle and the like. On the communication between man and gods, therefore, A-type circuit and B-type are different in each emphasis, and they are complementary each other. From the viewpoint of village offerors, the most desirable type is the AB-type uniting A-type and B-type. The *glu rol* of Sog-ri has this ideal AB-type.

By the way, let us look back historically whether or not Tibet had the communication circuit between man and gods through either A-type or B-type, or both of them. During the time of Tibetan Kingdom (the 7th-9th centuries), we can find a funeral ritual accompanied by the animal sacrifices executed by the Bonpo priests who were pre-Buddhist priests before the formation of institutionalized Buddhist order. In the ritual, it had been already established the sophisticated form that *gShen* and Bon took their tasks side by side at these two sides of communication circuit between gods and man. *gShen* officiated "probably as the delivery ritualistic priest of the sacrifice to a god", while Bon did "probably as the priest to let the gods descent" (Snellgrove and Richardson 1980: 59). However, even in the oldest Dunhuang manuscripts, these priests were considered to be the purely ritualistic ones; "not the least sign of trance was found in the rites on the part of any of the officiants" (Stein 1972: 238).

Then, historically can we find no B-type communication circuit, that is, that of 'adorcism'? In the time of the ancestor of the Tibetan Kingdom (before the 7th century), we can find the tradition of the politics by a sacred king, who called himself the child of a god. It is said that he went into ecstasy in the presence of the whole company, going to the heaven, asking the divine will, and that after being awaken, he performed the political affairs on the ground (Yamaguchi 1991: 89). Even at the present day, Dalai Lama government has maintained the tradition to hear the oracle of gNas-chung on the serious political situation.

It is, thus, considered that Tibet has preserved two communication circuits of A-type and B-type in her long history. The tradition of communication circuits with gods would probably belong to that of the 'nameless' folk religious rituals. Later, most probably Bon religion and Buddhism would take it in positively without abandoning it, and priests of both religious orders would come to officiate at the rituals in each communication circuit of A-type and B-type. In the B-type, they carefully avoided the 'adorcism' as much as possible. It is, therefore, surmised that before they officiated at the sacrifice rituals, A-type and B-type communication circuits with gods might have co-existed among Tibetan populace.

The Tibetans in Reb-skong are considered to have invented the most desirable type to villagers, that is AB-type, after having held the more original circuit forms of A-type and B-type separately. During the duration of the *glu rol* festival at Sog-ri, the participants of the rite can get the actual feelings and the confirmation that

their wishes and desires are being realized through the two essential means — sacrifice and possession, while operating effectively the circuit of this AB-type.

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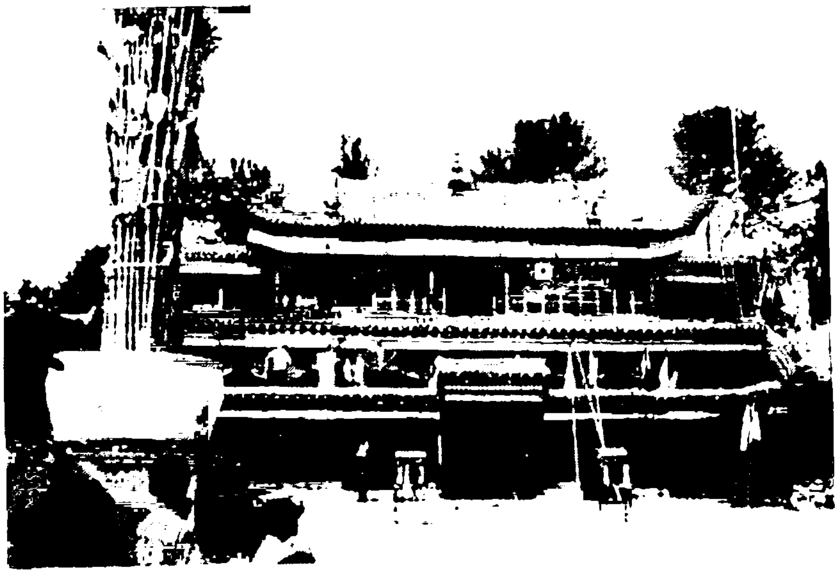


Plate 1 Sog-ri shrine and La-btsas in its courtyard
(S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 2 rMa-chen spom-ra
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

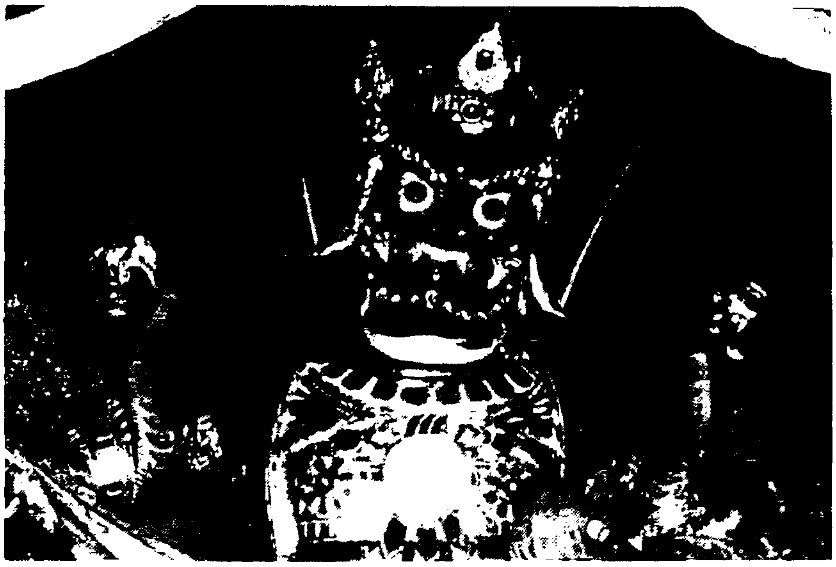


Plate 3 dGra-'dul dbang-phyung
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

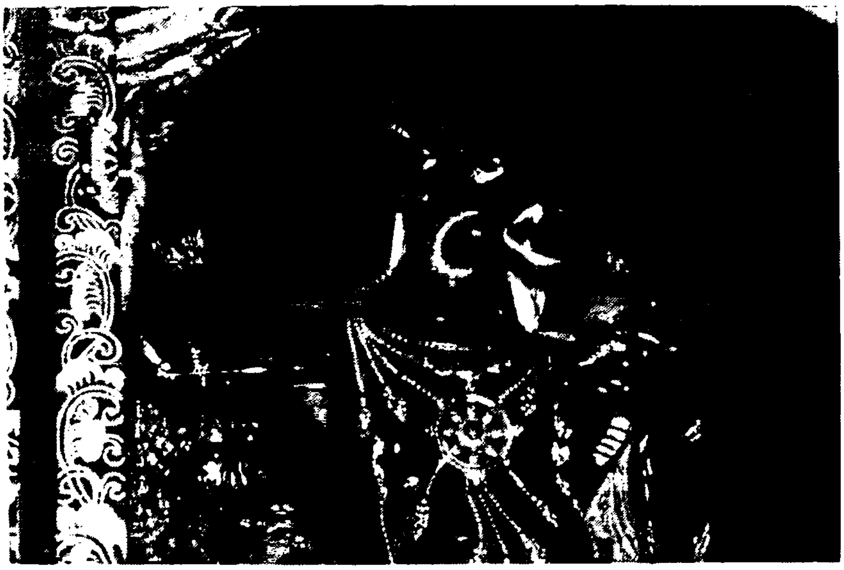


Plate 4 Shang-pa ra-mgo
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 5 Blon-po
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

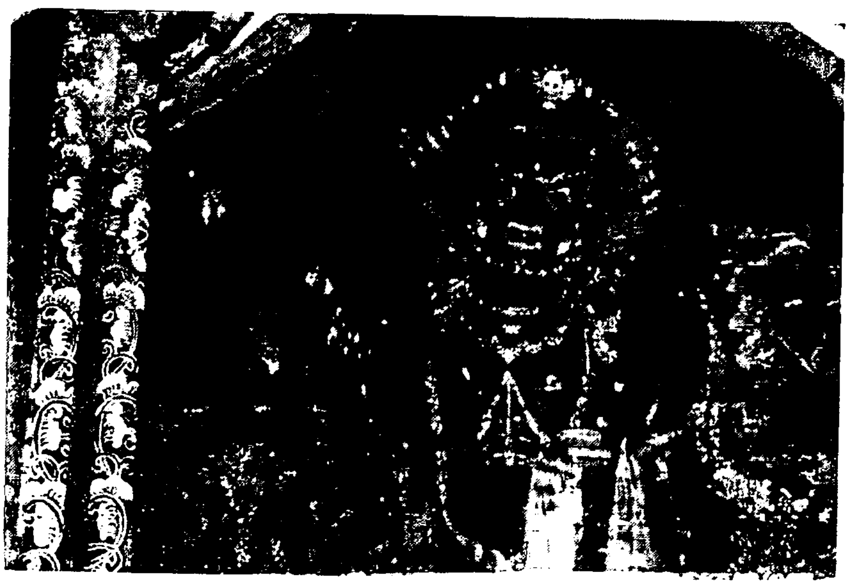


Plate 6 Blon-po shan-pa tsi-tung
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

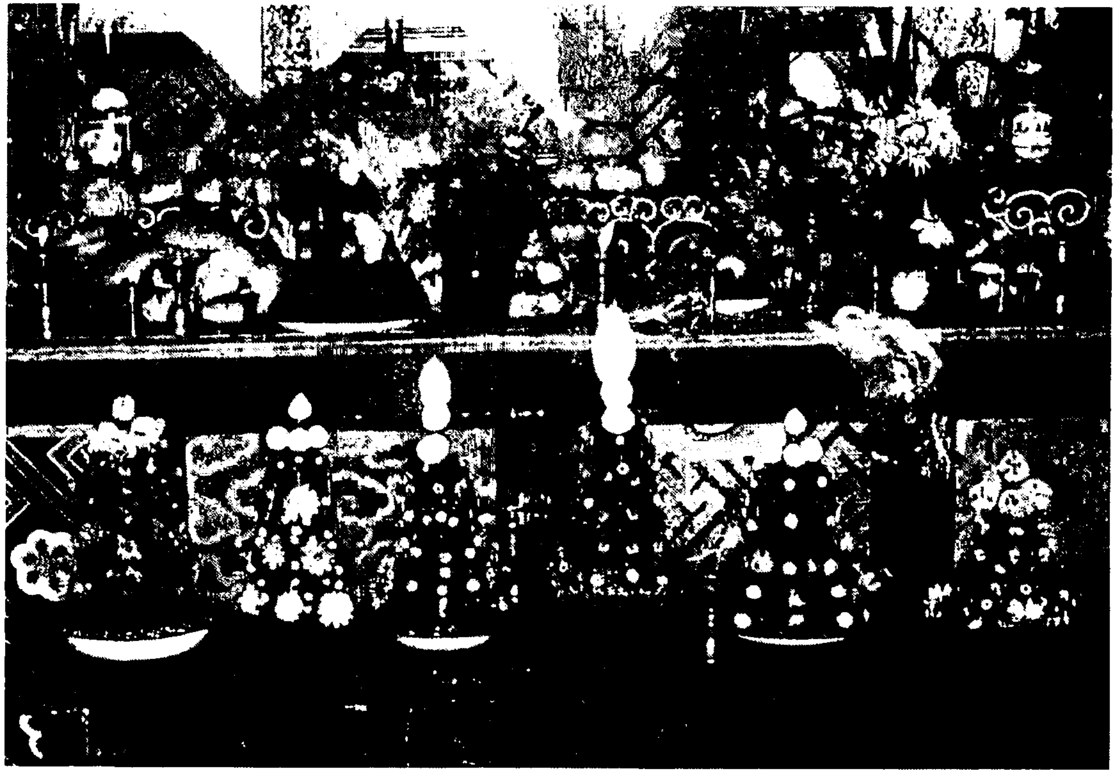


Plate 7 White offerings (upper shelf)
and sDe-brgyad gyi gtor-ma (lower shelf)
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 8 Men, who are going to lha-chu-kha,
Carrying a bag of tsampa, white gtor-ma and a cedar
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 8 Men, who are going to lha-chu-kha,
Carrying a bag of tsampa, white gtor-ma and a cedar
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

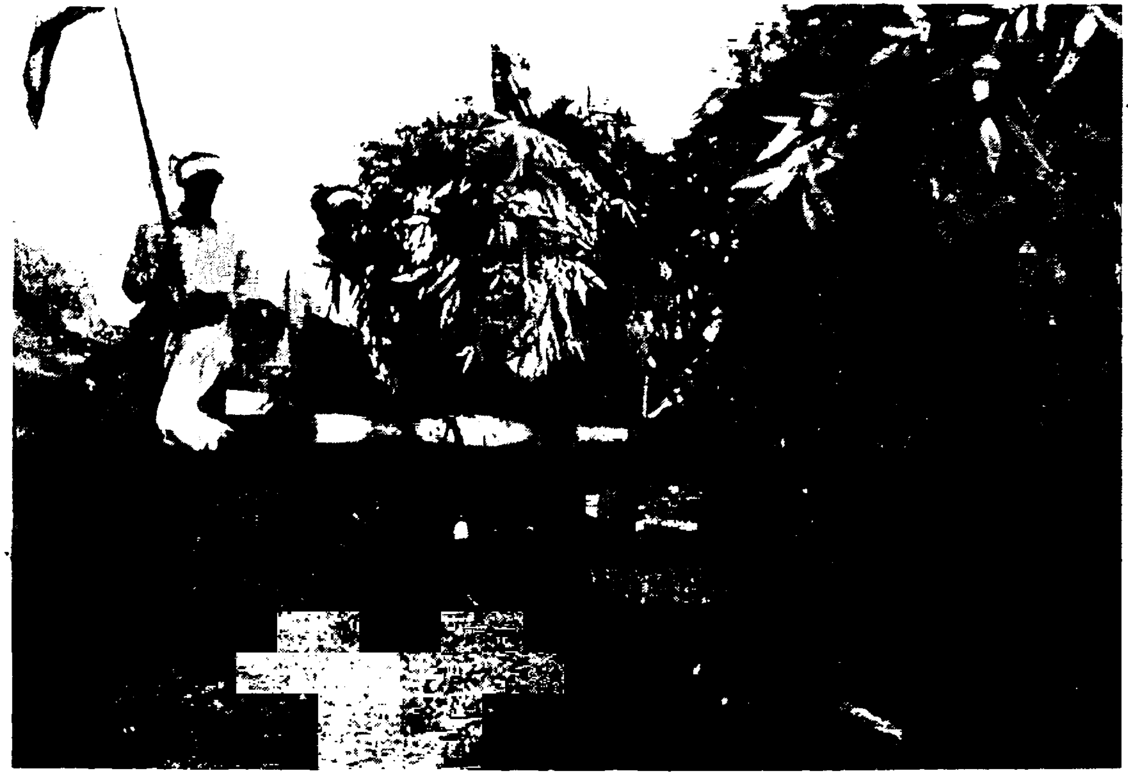


Plate 9 Sacred palanquins, fixed with the willow branches,
are purified by smoke.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 11 White bsangs on a big stone on the river bank
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 10 A party and a senior lha-pa are going to lha-chu-kha.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 12 Men, lha-pa, thang-ka and sacred palanquin bathe in the river.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)

Plate 11 White bsangs on a big stone on the river bank
(S. Nagano, August 1998)





Plate 13 After returning from lha-chu-kha to the shrine, the participants listen to the oracle by the senior lha-pa at the inner shrine. (S. Nagano, August 1998)





Plate 13 After returning from lha-chu-kha to the shrine, the participants listen to the oracle by the senior lha-pa at the inner shrine. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 14 The palanquin visits each village house. (S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 15 Offerings of each house in lha-chung-kha
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



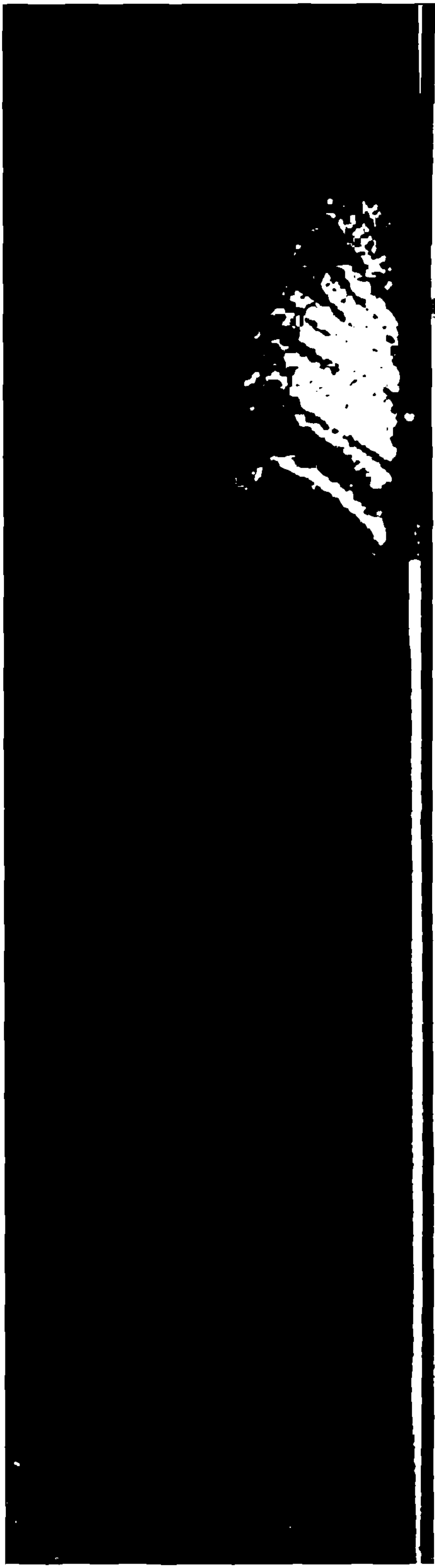






Plate 16 Lha-chung-kha at courtyard of each house
(S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 17 Dzogs-shing, hung with Klu-rta at the base of la-btsas in the center of the courtyard (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 18 Willow branches and klu-rta, grasped by the klu-rta dzin-mkhan
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 19 Men and the younger lha-pa, going to the hillside to set up a dar-lcog (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 20 After setting up the dar-lcog, people toss rlung-rta heavenward, and shout "Ki-ki so-so (The gods are victorious)". (S. Nagano, August 1998)



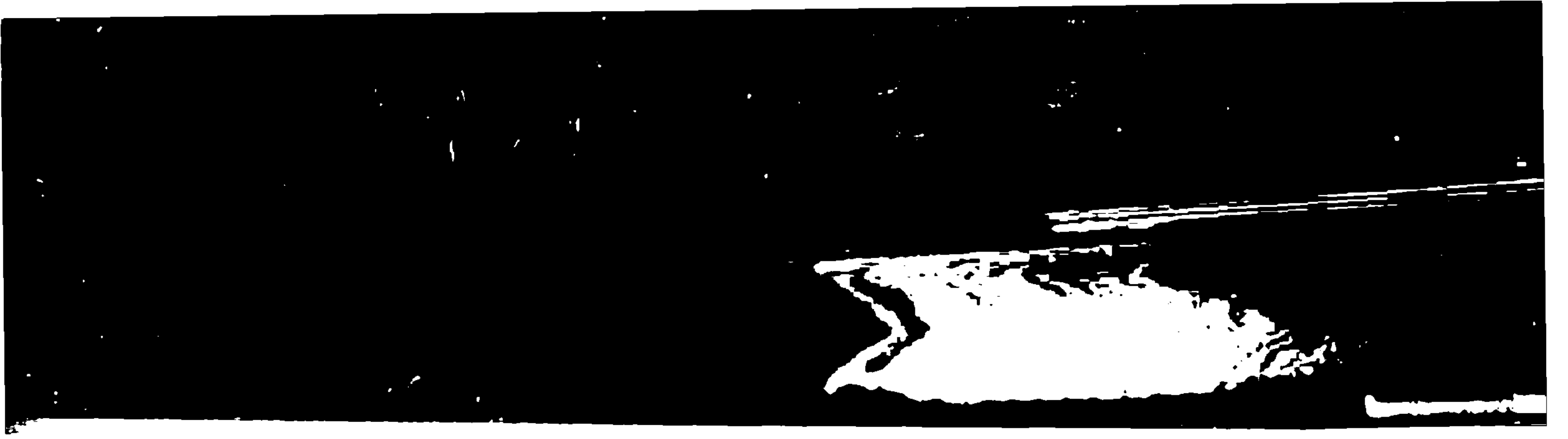
lar-lcog



nward,



Plate 21 The community la-btsas of Sog-ri,
at which a ritual is held on the 9th of May
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



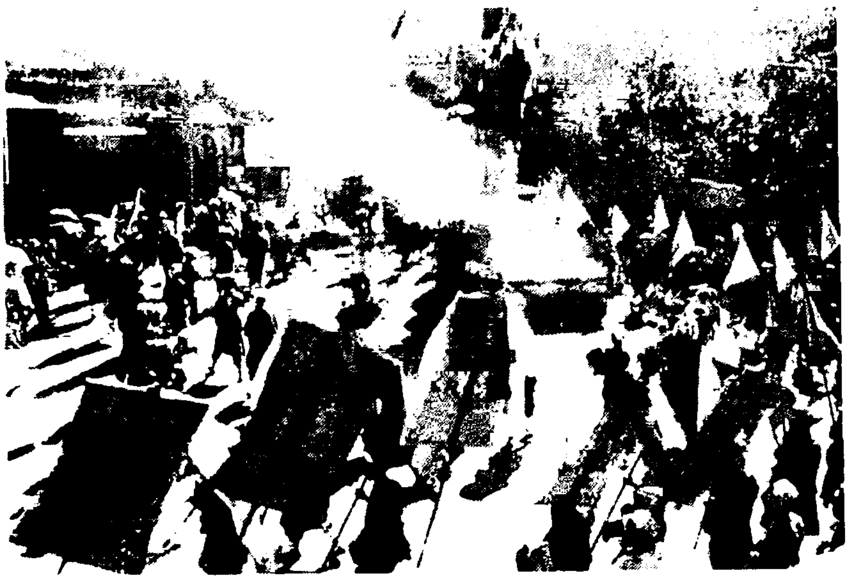


Plate 22 Performance of Ba'i lha gtong-ba
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 23 The seniors scatter liquor and yogurt, with the sound of conch shells.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 24 Two young men performing a stilt dance (rkang shing pa) (S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 25 The dance named 'the pupils of the stilted men (rkang shing ki grwa pa)' (S. Nagano, August 1998)



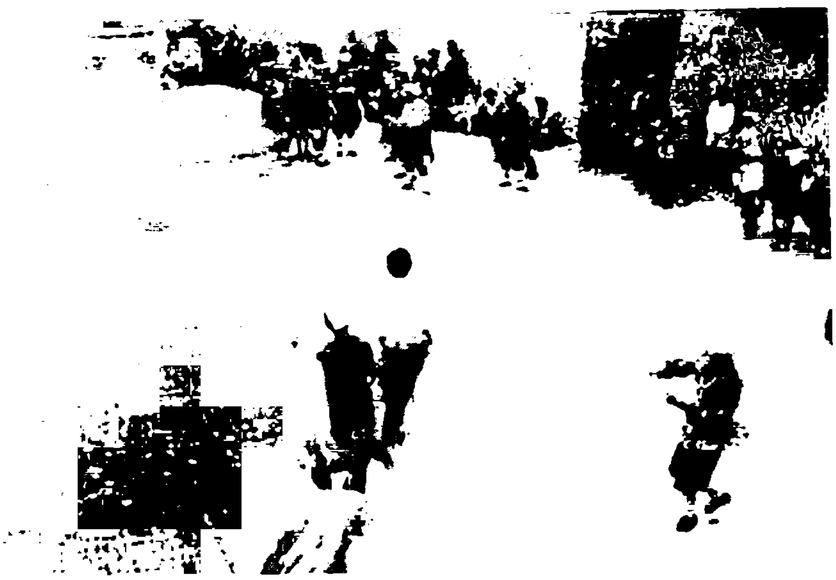


Plate 26 Two boys, wearing green a-tsa-ra masks, dance while the senior lha-pa welcome an imitative goat. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 27 The senior lha-pa welcomes unmarried girls' dance. (S. Nagano, August 1998)

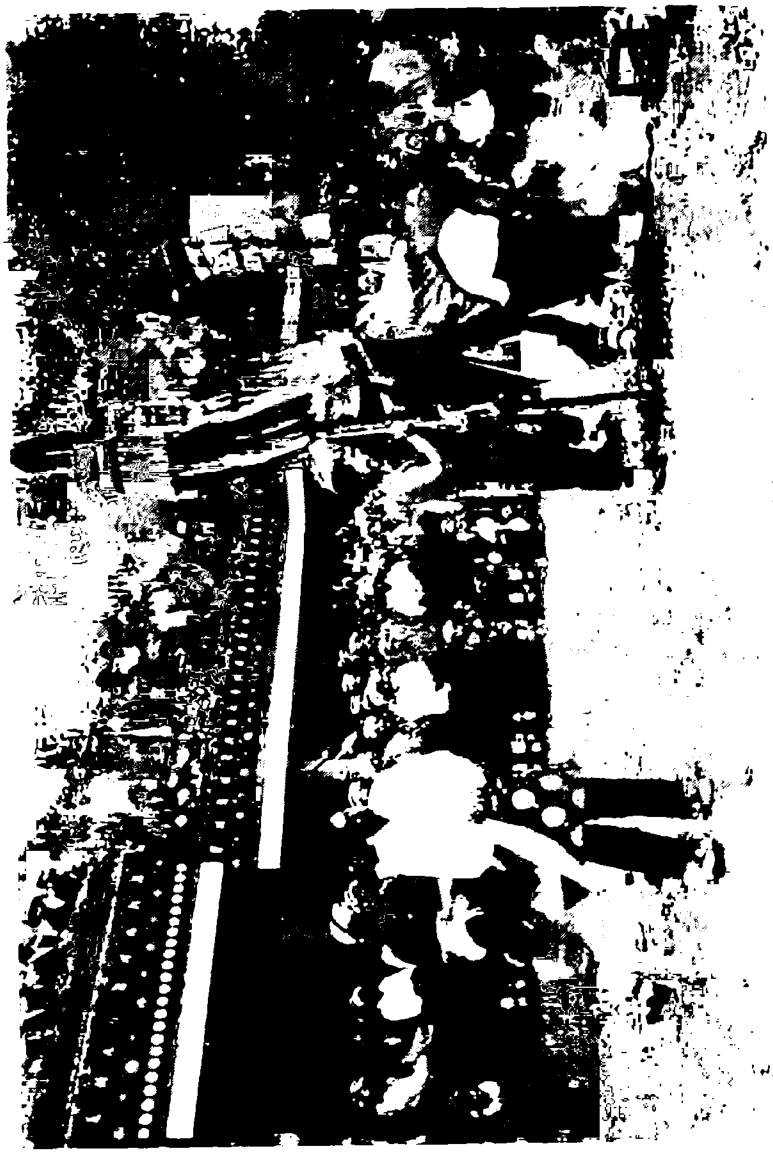


Plate 29 A short play (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 30 Four imitative goats placed in front of the inner shrine (S. Nagano, August 1999)



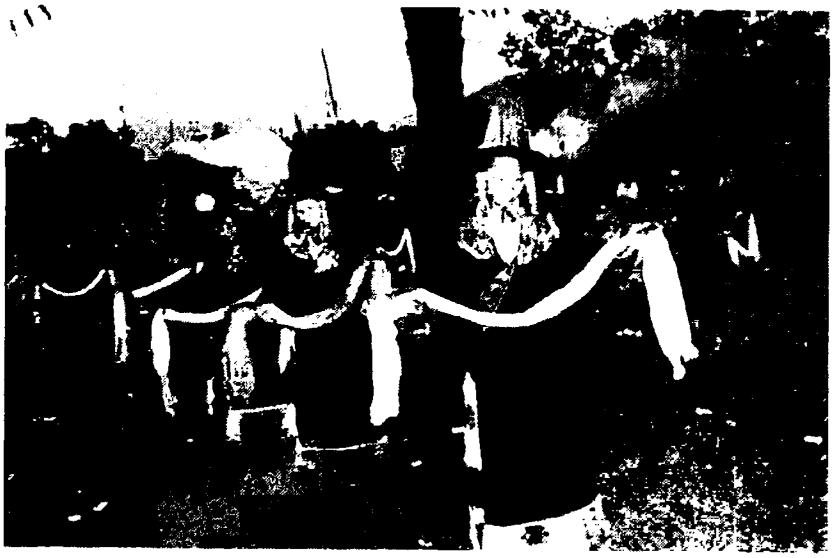


Plate 28 Gar-ma's wearings and their coral earrings
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 31 A drum dance, entitled 'god-satisfying dance (lha ngom-pa)', which is dedicated to the sacred palanquin of stag-lung
(S. Nagano, August 1999)

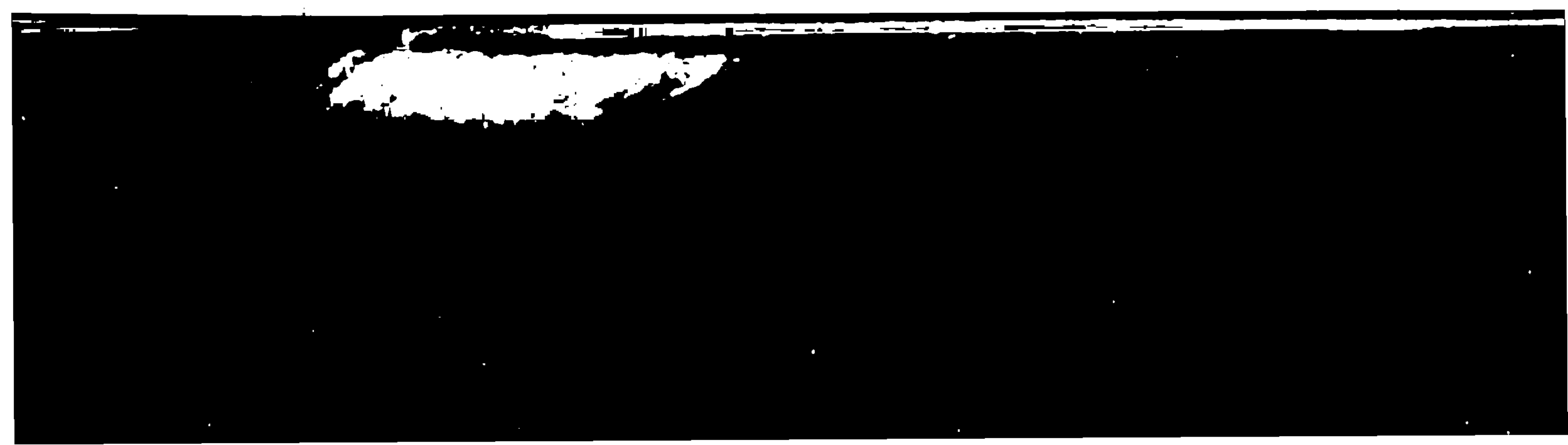


Plate 30 Four imitative goats placed in front of the inner shrine
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 32 The other drum dance, entitled lha-ngom-pa (S. Nagano, July 1997)

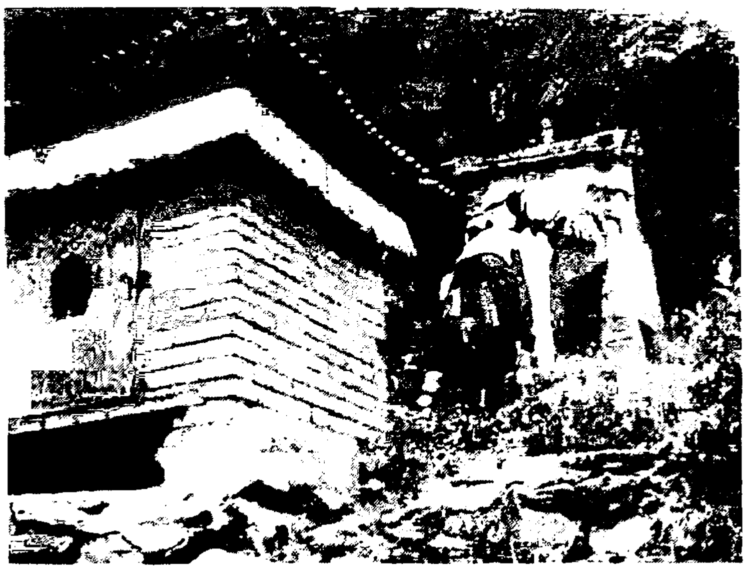


Plate 33 The younger lha-pa goes to the sanctuary with chu-'khor, dedicates klu-bsangs, and hangs the ritual scarf to each chu-'khor. (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 34 The younger lha-pa ties a ritual scarf to a chu-'khor.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 35 A young man gets his mouth stabbed with a spike. (S. Nagano, August 1999)





Plate 35 A young man gets his mouth stabbed with a spike. (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 36 Young men with skewers, wearing derby hats that symbolize A-myes stag-lung (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 37 The dance of 12 young men with skewers
(S. Nagano, August 1999)

Plate 37 The dance of 12 young men with skewers
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 38 The senior lha-pa augurs with a black horn.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 40 The four imitative goats, the other offerings and ritual scarves are burnt. (S. Nagano, August 1999)

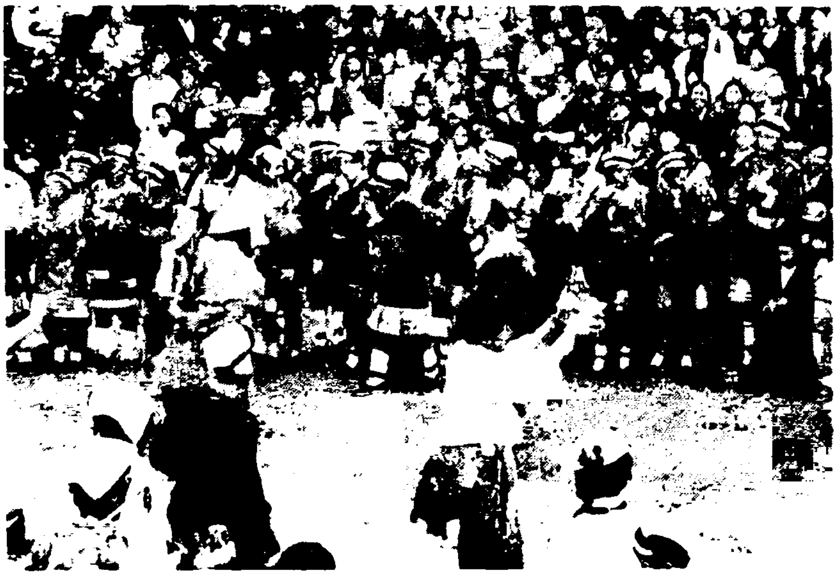


Plate 39 'Eight kinds of gtor-ma' are incinerated by the lha-pa in the furnace of the courtyard (S. Nagano, August 1996)



Plate 41 After incineration of offerings, beer is showered and rlung-rta paper are tossed heavenward. (S. Nagano, July 1997)

Plate 40 The four imitative goats, the other offerings and ritual scarves are burnt. (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 42 The flesh offering by inserting several spikes into their backs (rgyab la kha-dmar btab-pa) (S. Nagano, July 1997)

Plat

(rgyab la kha-dmar btab-pa) (S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 43 Blood offering; a bowl of yogurt and klu-gtad in the offerer's hands (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 45 Performance of mountain love songs (la-gzhas) (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 44 Blood offerers light klu-gtad paper and throw it out of the shrine. (S. Nagano, August 1999)

Plate



Plate 46 An elder person gives an address praising the gods. (S. Nagaño, August 1998)



Plate 47 The performers of rtsed-rigs entitled khri-ka'i yul-lha phebs-pa come into the inner shrine. (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 48 Minced meat is carried into the shrine and distributed to everyone. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 49 The dance of great gratitude (thugs-rje chen-po'i gar) (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 50 The senior lha-pa, falling into a trance, performs a dance entitled lha rtse-pa. (S. Nagano, August 1998)









Plate 51 The senior lha-pa dances with the sacred palanquins and pushes them to the four directions of courtyard. (S. Nagano, August 1998)

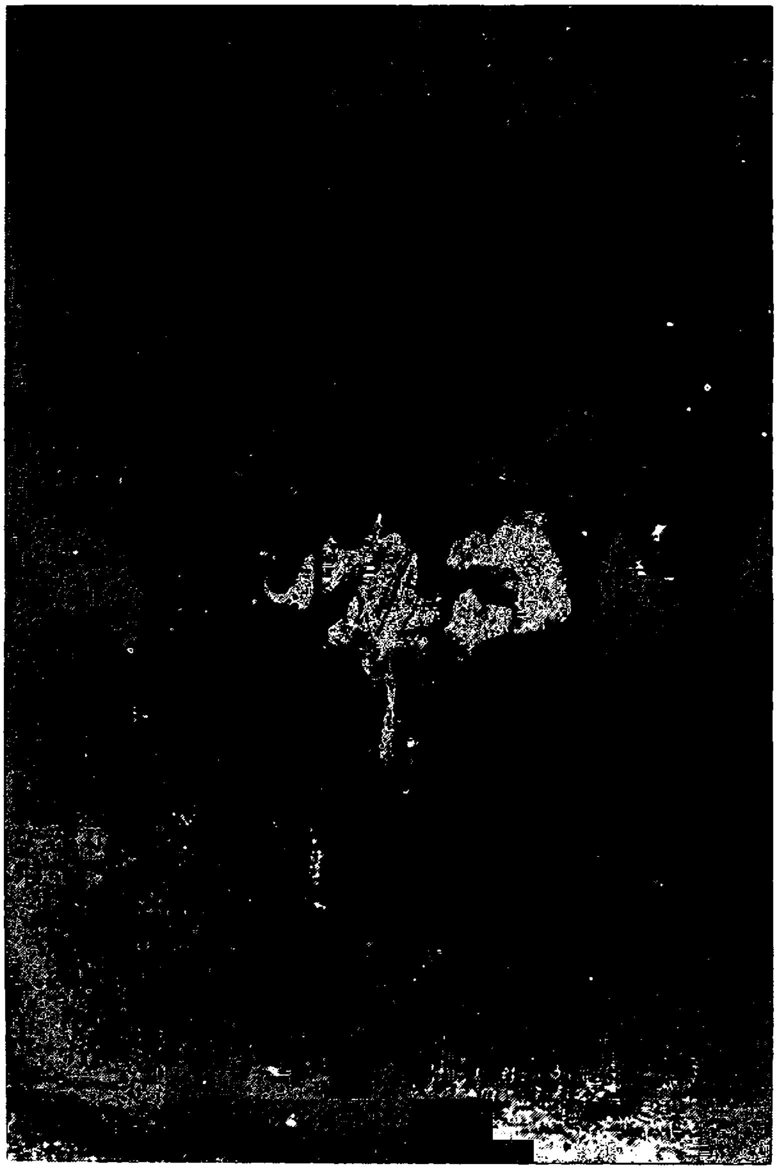


Plate 52 The younger lha-pa acts, holding a rtse-mdung, as if he sweeped something out towards the crossroad. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 53 Two kinds of willow sticks with Klu-gtad are just about to be fired on the road. (S. Nagano, August 1999)

The Indus Valley civilization and early Tibet

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Introduction

The basic idea of this article came to me while reading some recent works on the Indus Valley or Harappan civilization (Kenoyer 1995, 1998; Shaffer 1992; Schaffer and Lichtenstein 1995; Possehl 1998). I was struck by some similarities between the Indus Valley civilization, as currently understood, and Tibetan society, and I wondered whether these might point to significant historical linkages between these societies.

In fact, Shaffer, Kenoyer and others now tend not to speak of the Indus Valley or Harappan "civilization," preferring a different term, the "Indus Valley cultural tradition". This goes along with a new emphasis on cultural continuity within the region. Kenoyer urges that rather than seeing the Indus Valley Civilization as "an enigmatic urban culture that sprang up and then disappeared, eventually to be followed by an alien and unrelated urban culture during the Early Historic period" (Kenoyer 1995: 212), we should view it as part of an ongoing "cultural tradition," with continuities to both what preceded it and what followed. Shaffer divides this Indus Valley cultural tradition into three major periods, of which the Indus Valley civilization as generally known, the urban culture of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and similar cities, is the second (Shaffer 1992):

(1) ***The Early Food-Producing and Regionalization Eras***, lasting from 6500 BCE, when settled agriculture emerged in the region, until around 2600 BCE. The Early Food-Producing Era is at this stage represented by only one site, Mehrgarh, but in the succeeding Regionalization Era there is evidence for the growth of a variety of relatively small-scale cultures, many of them exhibiting features continued during the succeeding phase.

(2) ***The Integration Era*** (or Harappan Phase), from around 2600 to 1900 BCE, the period of the major archaeological remains from the cities at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and elsewhere. This period is marked by a relative similarity of cultural traits throughout a very large region including much of present-day Pakistan and extending well into North-West India. Trade networks developed over long distances: Kenoyer has traced and mapped networks associated with the trading of marine shells, carnelian and lapis lazuli, steatite, tin, copper and gold, extending from

the Gulf of Oman in the West to the Amu Darya in the north and the Deccan Plateau of India in the south-east (Kenoyer 1995).

(3) ***The Localization Era***, from around 1900 to 1500 BCE, perhaps somewhat later, in which a number of local, culturally-distinct variants of the Indus Valley cultural tradition develop: those usually distinguished are the Punjab Phase, Jhukar Phase and Rangpur Phase.

Kenoyer describes the Integration Era as "the earliest state level socio-political organization in South Asia" (1995: 212). His wording here is careful and deliberate: "state level," not "state". It has been argued persuasively by Jim Shaffer and others that while we may have "state-level organization" in the Indus Valley cultures during the Integration Era, we do not find many of the features we would normally associate with a centralized state (Possehl 1998). I shall return to this question later. For the Localization Era, according to Kenoyer, the archaeological record suggests "the rise of regional polities that were no longer integrated by a single ideological and economic system" (1995: 224). The most likely cause is "the overextension of socio-economic and ritual networks and the fatal disruption of the agricultural base" (1995: 224). There was "a decline in urbanism and in the control of long distance trade" (1995: 225).

For a Tibetanist, there are two striking features about these descriptions. The first is to do with agricultural technology. These societies, in their mature forms, operated with a mixture of agriculture and pastoralism. The agriculture was largely based on barley, supplemented by millets and wheats, while the pastoralism was based on sheep, goats, cattle and water-buffalo. As has been noted in the Mesopotamian context (Zeder, cited in Shaffer and Lichtenstein 1995: 144) there are inherent contradictions between large-scale agriculture and pastoralism, and it seems that this was resolved, at least in the final or Localization Era, in part by the development of separate pastoralist settlements, where the herds were kept either full-time or seasonally (Shaffer and Lichtenstein 1995: 144-5).

The second feature I have mentioned already: the lack of a centralized state. While the Indus Valley Civilization at its height had a considerable degree of coherence and unity at the cultural level, with numerous cultural features, including a common system of writing, being found over a very wide area, there is little evidence of political centralization. Kenoyer writes:

> Based on the current state of research I feel that the Indus state was composed of several competing classes of elites who maintained different levels of control over the vast regions of the Indus and Ghaggar-Hakra Valley. Instead of one social group with absolute control, the rulers or dominant members in the various cities would have included merchants, ritual specializts and individuals who controlled resources such as land,

> livestock and raw materials. These groups may have had different means of control, but they shared a common ideology and economic system as represented by seals, ornaments, ceramics and other artefacts . . . The largest cities may have been relatively independent, possibly even small city states, with direct political control only over local settlements and land . . . (Kenoyer 1995: 213-4).

These two features, an economy based on a combination of agriculture with barley as a major crop, and pastoralism using sheep, goats and cattle, along with an apparently highly decentralized political system held together by trade and sharing a common ideology and culture over a very large area, are both central features of the Tibetan cultural adaptation as it existed until the Chinese takeover in modern times. The Tibetan economy was, and to a large extent still is, based on a combination of agriculture, pastoralism and trade. As in the Indus Valley, barley is the main crop and sheep, goat and cattle the main herd animals, with the yak as a high-altitude substitute for other less altitude-tolerant bovines. And, as readers of *Civilized Shamans* will know, I have argued at length that Tibetan societies were highly decentralized (Samuel 1993a, see also Samuel 1982). There was no standing army for most of Tibetan history. Villages and local regions largely managed their own affairs, and even where one finds governmental structures over larger regions, such as that of the Dalai Lama's government at Lhasa, their authority derived from ideological and religious factors rather than direct political control, and their ability to control events at the local level outside the immediate vicinity of the capital city was very limited.

I argued these points at considerable length in *Civilized Shamans* and I shall not deal with them in any detail here. It is worth mentioning, however, that I suggested in *Civilized Shamans* that if Western writers thought of pre-modern Tibet as a centralized state this was in part because of their excessive reliance on data which derived from the 1920s and 1930s, when the Lhasa administration was relatively strong, and which also derived from Lhasa itself and other regions close by, where the power and influence of the Lhasa regime was greatest. I also argued that Western biases towards seeing the centralized hierarchical polity as the only form of large-scale political organization played a part in the development of a false picture of the Tibetan polity.

So far we have two intriguing similarities, one ecological and one political: but is there more to it than this? The Tibetan plateau is, of course, easily accessible from the Indus Valley. The Indus itself rises in Western Tibet, and the population along its upper reaches today is Tibetan. However, the Integration and Localization Eras of the Indus Valley cultural tradition are dated at around 2600 to 1500 BCE. If there was a significant influence from the Indus Valley cultural tradition, it would have been on the populations living on the Himalayan plateau

before 1500 BCE. Tibetan historical records do not take us reliably back before 600 CE, so we would need to suppose cultural continuity on the plateau throughout a gap of at least twenty-one centuries. What do we know of the populations on the Himalayan plateau during this period? Here, obviously, we are looking not just at the antecedents of the central Tibetan state at Yar-lung and later at Lhasa, but also those of Zhang-zhung and other groups which eventually became incorporated into the wider Tibetan cultural complex. More specifically, since the focus of this symposium is on Bon, can we suppose that any such relationship might have a bearing on early religious forms on the Tibetan plateau?

In the remainder of the chapter I shall attempt to answer these questions, and to evaluate whether the hypothesis of a relationship with the Indus Valley civilization is of any use in understanding the evolution of the Bon religion and of Tibetan society and culture more generally.

1. Chronological and Linguistic issues

Despite occasional suggestions of a genetic relationship with Indo-European languages (Beckwith 1987: 3-5, nn.2-3; Walter and Beckwith 1997), the scholarly consensus regards Tibetan as part of a larger Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan language family. George van Driem notes that while "[i]n terms of its number of speakers, the Tibeto-Burman language family is the largest in the world after Indo-European . . . by comparison little is known of its past" (van Driem 1998: 67). Van Driem suggests that the Bodic grouping (including Tibetan) and the Sinitic (including Chinese) form a sub-grouping within the wider Tibeto-Burman family and that they separated from each other at a relatively late stage (van Driem 1998: 67-8). On the basis of admittedly tentative parallels with the archaeological record, he identifies this separation with the development of the so-called Majiyao Neolithic cultural complex (dated 3900-1700 BCE), which he identifies as "proto-Bodic," in eastern Gansu and adjacent parts of Qinghai and Ningxia (76-77).

Following Parpola (1994: 142), he suggests that this proto-Bodic cultural complex may also underly the "Northern Neolithic" or "Kashmir Neolithic," an archaeologically-distinct cultural complex located in the Kashmir and Swat (dated 2500-1700 BCE), as well as the neolithic cultures of Sikkim and Chab-mdo. In other words, Parpola and van Driem assume that peoples speaking Bodic languages may have migrated into the plateau area and beyond to the Kashmir Valley and some sub-Himalayan regions before 2500 BCE.

Van Driem envisages two directions of migration from the Gangsu-Qinghai-Ningxia area. One would have taken place westward, across the Karakorum into Swat and Kashmir, with a subsequent movement eastward along the south side of the Himalayas, leading to the Himalayan sub-group of Bodic languages (Manchad,

Bunan, Rangkas, Kanauri, Newar etc). The other would have been southwest into present-day northern Sichuan and eastern Tibet and on into Bhutan, Sikkim and southeastern Tibet, and would be the origin of the Bodish subgroup (including Tibetan proper, and various Bhutanese languages; van Driem 1998: 76-84). The Zhang-zhung language has generally been placed in the Himalayan sub-group, as in van Driem's contribution to the present symposium, where he suggests that it would have arrived by the first of these routes, probably by the middle of the third millennium BCE (van Driem 1999).

If this is a reasonable model, then we can assume a continuity of Tibetan occupation on the Himalayan plateau and neighbouring areas from around 2500 BCE onwards. There is, however, a catch to this model from the point of view of tracing Indus Valley connections[1]. As van Driem has pointed out, while the Northern or Kashmir Neolithic is contemporaneous with the Indus Valley Integration Era, it is quite distinct from it, and technologically much less advanced. The Indus Valley cities had copper and bronze, while the Neolithic lasted in the Kashmir region, according to Ramachandra, until at least the second half of the 8th century BCE, with continuing use of bone and stone tools. Only a couple of copper items have been found in the upper levels of the late phase (Ramachandra 1990: 51-52).

Ramachandra notes in relation to the Northern Neolithic that

> [t]he Neolithic culture of the [north-west Indian] region is distinct and stands aloof from that of the rest of India . . . This culture appears to be an isolated development, particularly when we observe that the contemporary well-developed urban Harappa culture . . . in the immediate neighbourhood has had little impact on this culture although doubtful but incipient infiltration of this urban culture has been observed in the Neolithic ceramics in the form of a couple of pot forms. (Ramachandra 1990: 51).

Parpola similarly observes that "contacts between the Northern Neolithic and the Harappans were very limited" (Parpola 1994: 142).

On the Tibetan plateau itself, bronze artefacts again do not appear in the archaeological record until well into the first millenium BCE. A bronze mirror with an iron handle, in a grave site in the Lhasa region carbon-dated between 758 and 401 BCE, is currently the "both the earliest bronze and the earliest iron artifact found in Tibet" (Tang and Hare 1998). This mirror is probably an imported item, and the indigenous adoption of bronze technology by Central Tibetan agriculturalist populations may not have occurred until as late as the 7th to 9th centuries CE. Tang and Hare emphasize the relative lateness of technological developments on the Tibetan plateau, and hypothesize that 'the region's special geographic conditions retarded cultural diffusion" (Tang and Hare 1998).

Thus it seems, whether we follow Parpola and van Driem in identifying the Northern Neolithic with an immigrant Bodic-speaking population or not, that both the Northern Neolithic in Kashmir and Swat and the adjoining plateau populations remained technologically well behind the Indus Valley cultural tradition, and that there is very limited direct evidence of technological borrowing by either region from the Indus Valley culture of the Integration or Localization Eras.

It is, of course, common for technologically less complex societies to be in contact with more complex societies over long periods, to trade with them and to borrow from them while preserving their own cultural distinctiveness. Such situations are particularly likely to persist where, as here, the neighbouring peoples are associated with very different physical environments and ecological adaptations. The "tribal" populations of modern India, whatever their origins, have been in this situation for many centuries, and so have many other peoples around the world. The urban Indus Valley cultural tradition during the Integration Era appears to have been in contact with many such groups. Shaffer and Lichtenstein stress the wider "cultural mosaic" of which the Harappans (i.e.the urban populations during the "Integration Era") formed part:

> Although "mature" Harappans were the Greater Indus Valley's dominant social group, they were not omnipotent and interacted to varying degrees with culturally similar, as well as different, social groups . . . Their cartographic isolation by scholars, . . . completely fails to depict the full, dynamic, social and geographic system of which they were but one part. (Shaffer and Lichtenstein 1995: 137)

We should, I think, avoid being caught in an artificial choice between the two extremes of total openness to Indus Valley influences and of complete closure. That contact existed between plateau cultures and the Indus Valley can scarcely be doubted. Civilization on the Tibetan plateau, at least in recent centuries, has only been viable as a combination of agriculture, pastoralism and trade (Samuel 1993a: 42-3, 145-6). While it is likely on both archaeological and historical grounds that what we now know as Western Tibet, the former Zhang-zhung, was a less arid, more productive and more populous region in earlier times, it is hard to imagine the plateau ever supporting a substantial population purely on its own resources. In other words, the people living on the Tibetan plateau have always been involved in long-distance trade, both to obtain specific goods and resources not available locally, but also because these communities would simply not have been viable at more than the barest subsistence level without the profits derived from long-distance trade.

Giorgio Stacul, discussing Northern Neolithic material from Swat, notes that the kinds of economic exploitation which probably characterized these mountain

regions, where the "principal resources consisted of not only grazing and a small amount of agriculture, but also very probably the exploitation of the rich forests," would have promoted "vertical communications and cultural interaction" (Stacul 1992: 119-120). Many of the commodities which were passed along the Himalayan trade routes in modern times, such as salt, butter, tea and wheat, would leave little or no trace in the archaeological record.

In other words, it seems likely that despite the cultural distinctiveness of the neighbouring populations, there was plenty of contact between them. The peoples who occupy these regions into modern times have maintained a considerable level of cultural distinctiveness as one moves upwards from the lower Indus or the Gangetic plain through the Himalayan foothills and onto the Tibetan plateau, despite the extensive and ancient trading networks.

In such situations of culture contact, one would expect members of the less technologically advanced society to accept and adopt those features that make sense within their own cultural context and ecological adaptation, often transforming them in the process, while rejecting those that do not fit, much as the Tibetans at a later period were to select and transform elements from the Tantric Buddhism of India to develop their own unique form of Buddhism (Samuel 1993a). We should thus expect to find selective transfers of cultural features from the lowland cultures to the highland populations, which might or might not leave significant traces in the archaeological record.

The importance of barrel-shaped carnelian beads, the famous *gzi* beads, in Tibet points to at least one likely borrowing along these trade routes. These beads are still traded throughout Tibet, where they are highly valued and regarded as protective talismans (Ebbinghouse and Winsten 1988; see also Tucci 1980: 245). Similar beads were produced by the Indus Valley craftsmen, who worked extensively with this material (Kenoyer 1995: 218). While Kenoyer's map of the Indus Valley trading network in carnelian (Kenoyer 1995: 247, Figure 5) does not mark a trade route along the upper Indus into Tibet, carnelian barrel beads occur in Northern Neolithic contexts in Kashmir (Ramachandra 1990: 50, 51), and were presumably traded onwards into Tibet through this region. Turquoise and coral, also of ritual or magical significance in modern Tibet, might likewise have been traded up onto the plateau via the Indus Valley.

The importance of such trade items should not be underestimated. The two areas which I pointed to at the start of this chapter, however, the mixed agricultural-pastoralist economy and the political structure of Tibetan societies, are more central and pervasive cultural features, and one might suppose that the degree of cultural difference between the upland and lowland societies might be a barrier to such substantial borrowings. In the next section, I examine these in more detail.

2. Agriculture

Despite their reliance on Neolithic technology, the Northern Neolithic cultures were quite sophisticated farmers. Stacul notes that in lower Swat there is "conclusive proof for early, well-developed double cropping . . . and for a well-balanced farm breeding system . . . which dates from the beginning of the second millennium BC" while large stone-walled settlements in the upper Swat valley, associated with grazing, some agriculture, and probably also forest exploitation, also go back to at least the second millennium BCE (1992: 119-20). The Majiyao Neolithic was apparently a millet-cultivating agricultural society (van Driem 1998: 79-80), so that the Tibetan shift to the more altitude-resistant barley may well have been learned from populations adjacent to the barley-growing Indus Valley people.

The combination of agriculture and high-altitude grazing mentioned by Stacul is a characteristic Central Tibetan mixture in more recent times. Often, this takes place within a single household or village community (the so-called *sa ma 'brog* pattern, e.g. Samuel 1993: 41). Whether this combination was part of the technological inventory brought by the hypothetical proto-Bodic population when it first arrived on the plateau is unclear. The Majiyao culture seems to have been purely agricultural:

> In China, all Neolithic remains belong to agricultural peoples. The exceptions are the microlithic and shell-mound sites where hunting and fishing economies predominated. Agriculturists were also spread over the fringe region of the Plateau and the northern steppes of China during the Neolithic. In essence, there were no nomadic cultures operating in China during the Neolithic (Hare 1998).

Hare's contrast here, however, is between "agricultural" and "nomadic": I am not clear whether the evidence from the Majiyao culture is compatible with the *sa ma 'brog* pattern, in which agricultural communities also pasture animals at higher altitudes. If evidence for such an adaptation is lacking from Majiyao, the *sa ma 'brog* pattern could have been adopted, like the use of barley, from the Northern Neolithic populations adjacent to the Indus Valley civilization.

The conspicuous division of Tibetan society as a whole into agricultural and pastoralist (*'brog pa*) populations probably did not come from either Majiyao or the Indus, however. Hare suggests that the nomadic pastoralist component of Tibetan culture originated through the displacement of agriculturalists in the middle and east part of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau by nomadic herders from Bronze Age steppe cultures. He dates this process from the beginning of the first millennium BCE (Hare 1998). If this is so, then it was the beginning of a long-term

process of incorporation and Tibetanization of non-Bodic pastoralists which has continued in the region until quite recent times.

At any rate, the degree of cultural similarity in modern times between Tibetan *'brog pa* culture and the Mongolian, Turkic and other steppe populations to the north-west, north and north-east suggests that they provided a major contribution to the overall Tibetan cultural adaptation. Many important cultural features of the Tibetan population clearly do *not* come from the Indus Valley civilization or from the Majiyao culture. One of the most obvious of these is the horse, and the associated tradition of fighting from horseback. It is unclear how far back the use of the horse goes in the history of settlement on the Tibetan plateau. Men on horseback are depicted in rock paintings at lCe-do in the Byang-thang, but there seems little indication of when these paintings might date from, beyond the assumption that they are pre-Buddhist (Bellezza 1997: 244). John Bellezza divides these paintings into phases before and after the domestication of the horse, but since the main criterion for inclusion in one phase or the other is whether horses are present in the paintings, it might be unwise to build too much on the distinction (1997: 240). A painting without horses may, after all, simply mean that the painter had no particular reason to include any.

If Hare is right in suggesting that immigration of (presumably horse-riding) steppe cultures onto the plateau dates back to the early 1st millennium BCE, then the spread of the horse and of horse-based fighting techniques may have been a major component behind the subsequent history of the plateau. Christopher Beckwith has argued that developments in the technique of fighting on horseback were responsible for the expansion of the Yar-lung state in the 7th century CE, and by this time the horse had clearly been thoroughly "Tibetanized" (Beckwith 1977, 1987). The later Bonpo tradition regards the land of sTag-gzig (see below) as a source of horses, as does the epic of Gling Ge-sar, but both of these date in their present form from a period where the horse has long been an established part of Tibetan society. Certainly, there seems no reason to assume that the horse was borrowed from the Indus Valley cultures, where the evidence for its existence is both very limited and heavily contested (see e.g. Parpola 1994: 155-9), and there are no traces at all of horse-based militarism (see below) [2].

3. Political Organization

I turn now to the second issue mentioned at the start of this chapter, that of the decentralized nature of Indus Valley societies.

The idea of a complex and large scale society without what we would typically regard as state organization - centralized control, a bureaucracy of some kind, hierarchical structure encompassing the whole territory, some form of police

or military organization to enforce obedience - arose in modern times from British social anthropology. At least, it was my own background in British social anthropology, with heavy exposure as a student to the literature on stateless societies such as those of sub-Saharan Africa, that led me to explore models of Tibetan society in which state elements were limited or absent (Samuel 1982, 1993a).

Archaeologists in recent years have been increasingly interested in models derived from social and cultural anthropology, and Possehl's 1998 article, 'Sociocultural Complexity Without the State,' which argues, in the context of a volume on *Archaic States*, for a non-state model of the Indus Valley civilization, also goes back to the anthropological literature, here more American than British but with similar orientation.

It is perhaps worth pointing out to those unacquainted with this literature that there is an extensive body of anthropological research demonstrating the existence of effective modes of large-scale organization and co-ordination in the absence of state structures. These structures may be based on clan and lineage structures, with patterns of segmentary opposition, feuding, etc., as found among the pastoral populations of Northern and Eastern Tibet in modern times, but we also find, for example through parts of West Africa, a combination of sedentary populations with mostly small-scale authority structures linked together through collective agreements to protect trade and markets into large-scale trading networks (Mair 1962; Nadel 1942).

Possehl suggests that the state is "a highly successful form of sociocultural organization . . . Peoples organized as states are often able to expand through conquest; this political form can be seen as aggressive, even predatory" and explains that the prevalence of states in the ethnographic record may result from "other forms of sociocultural complexity simply fall[ing] prey to state forms of organization or their own internal failings in organization" (Possehl 1998: 267-8). Some non-state societies appear to have effectively resisted being absorbed by the state (Clastres 1977), but in general large-scale stateless forms of organization, "sociocultural complexity without the state," seems to have survived only in areas where specific geographical or ecological factors have inhibited the growth of state mechanisms in pre-modern times. Thus Islamic societies in North Africa and elsewhere (Samuel 1982), and Tibetan societies (Samuel 1982, 1993a), remained stateless for long periods because the physical obstacles facing those who might wish to impose state organization on them were such that until the mid-20th century such control could never be maintained (or was simply not worth maintaining) for more than short periods of time. This underlies, for example, the partial and intermittent Chinese attempts to exert sovereignty over the Tibetan region during the 17th to 19th centuries.

Shaffer and others place some emphasis on the absence of evidence of militarism in the Indus Valley cultural tradition. To quote Possehl,

> There is no direct evidence for warfare during the Mature Harappan. There are no murals picturing warriors, prisoners, or battle; no settlements can be shown to have been attacked, with defenders who died on the spot, their bones scarred by blows, or arrow-points sticking in the fire-blackened walls of destroyed buildings. (Possehl 1998: 269)

As I have already noted, Tibetan civilization has had a military aspect, most conspicuously during the expansionist era of the Yar-lung state, leading to the early Tibetan empire of the 7th to 9th centuries CE. Within the picture of Tibetan societies sketched in *Civilized Shamans*, such militaristic and centralising episodes were the exception rather the rule, and never succeeeded in establishing long-lasting state structures. Earlier societies on the plateau, such as Zhang-zhung, would not necessarily have been as militaristic as the Yar-lung state, which indeed rapidly overcame and absorbed them during its expansionist phase. On Hare's model, the growth of militarism within Tibet, such as it was, would presumably be associated with the progressive influence and assimilation of steppe cultures. Even today, the image of the horseback warrior is strongly associated with the nomadic-pastoralist (*'brog pa*) populations of the east and north-east.

At the same time, if Possehl is correct that the existence of sociocultural complexity without a state is, as it were, the natural condition of things except where (as usually) it falls prey to the aggressive expansion of the state model, then we hardly need the Indus Valley to provide a model for the development of such a political form on the Tibetan plateau. We might simply regard this as the normal state of affairs where large-scale cooperation develops in the absence of expansionist military states. Are there other, more specific, features of Tibetan political forms that might point to an Indus influence?

One feature which might be considered here is that of dual-organization structures in Tibetan societies. The prevalence of such structures in societies on the Tibetan plateau, including Zhang-zhung, is very marked. I discussed this theme briefly in *Civilized Shamans* (1993a: 152-3), considering there a number of examples:

1. the presence of two *sde pa* (heads of state) in some east Tibetan states, such as 'Ba and Li-thang;
2. the relationship between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, the two heads of the 'Bri-gung-pa order (Che-tshang and Chung-tshang), or the two heads of the Karma-pa order until the late C18 (Zhwa-dmar-pa and Zhwa-nag-pa);

3. the appointment of two persons, usually, though not always, a lay person and a monk, to *rdzong dpon* positions under the Lhasa administrations;
4. the two capitals of ancient Zhang-zhung.

Unlike the moiety systems found in many small-scale preliterate societies, such as those of Aboriginal Australia, these relationship are not primarily relationships of *opposition*, although this may enter into the situation in particular cases. More typically they may be seen as relationships of *functional equivalence*, in which one partner is recognized as senior, and the other takes over in his absence or at his death, or of *partial functional specialization*, in which one represents a more secular and the other a more sacred or spiritual orientation. I suggested in *Civilized Shamans* that a parallel might be drawn with the Tibetan practice of polyandry, in which two or more brothers marry a wife in common and act as joint husbands, with the eldest recognized as having primacy. In such families, one brother may become a monk, but return to take over the household and act as husband to the joint wife should the other brothers predecease him.

It should be noted that this dual organization is distinct from the pattern recently identified by John Bellezza for ancient Tibetan civilizations, and referred to by him in terms of "Divine Dyads". Bellezza's dyads each consist of a mountain and lake, associated with a god and goddess respectively, and there is no sense that one partner might replace or substitute for the other. It may be significant, though, that the Bonpo in modern times have a set of three holy mountains (rTa-rgo, Gangs Ti-se and rKong-po Bon-ri). The relationship between these mountains might bear comparison with those I am discussing here (Bellezza 1997: 293, Cech 1987).

The Indus Valley civilization during the Integration (or "mature" Harappan) Era was initially often described as having had two capitals, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, of approximately equal importance, and it has also been suggested that Mohenjo-Daro served primarily as a ceremonial centre. The parallels with Tibetan dual organization seem tempting. However, it now seems, with the identification of a third major, as yet unexcavated, urban centre at Ganweriwala, that the dual-capital model of the Indus Valley was an oversimplification. Shaffer and Lichtenstein note that

> [t]he three largest "mature" Harappan urban centers, Moenjo-daro, Harappa and Ganweriwala have comparable sizes, configurations and associated objects, and are approximately equidistant from each other… none emerges as *the capital* settlement of an ancient state. (Shaffer and Lichtenstein 1995: 135).

This need not invalidate the comparison with dualism on the Tibetan plateau, since I have suggested that the essence of the Tibetan pattern is less dualism than multiplicity and equivalence, but it perhaps makes it less striking.

A second feature may be considered here. Indus Valley urban centres generally have raised platforms, which have been associated with ceremonial purposes, although no definitive evidence of cult activities has been identified. Can we compare these to the tendency for settlements on the Tibetan plateau to be associated with raised structures with administrative or ritual purposes? Here I am thinking both of the *rdzong* or castle, as at Lhasa, Leh or rGyal-rtse, but also of the *dgon pa* or monastic settlement, which is frequently in Tibetan communities a separate enclosure some way above the main settlement. The Tibetan structures are more substantial, and differently placed, to the Indus Valley structures, but there may be something in the parallels between the two situations.

All in all, it seems that the situation may have existed for cultural transfer between the Indus Valley and societies on the Tibetan plateau, but that the kinds of similarities we can trace at present are relatively general in nature, and do not offer any particularly conclusive argument for invoking a significant influence from this direction. In the following section I turn to the question of religion.

4. Religion

Our earliest direct evidence for Tibetan religion comes from inscriptions and historical texts referring to the mid-7th century CE onwards. As I have pointed out elsewhere, these represent the cults associated with the Yar-lung and Lhasa courts, and it is not clear what relationship they might have with the religion of the general population at that time, or with earlier religious forms on the plateau (Samuel 1993a: 436-443). I have suggested tentatively that one might hypothesize the existence of a 'shamanic'-style religion at an earlier period, in which spiritual powers (*bla/lha*) inherent in the landscape, particularly in mountains and lakes, are closely related to local social and/or kin groups (Samuel 1993a: 186-7, 436-9; see also Samuel 1985). I would be even more tentative about such a suggestion today, especially given the multiple misunderstandings that seem inevitably caused by any use of the term 'shamanic' in scholarly discourse, however carefully defined. The importance of mountain god-cults and the lake-goddess cults often associated with them has nevertheless been born out by a series of more recent ethnographic studies (Blondeau and Steinkellner 1996; Bellezza 1997; Macdonald 1997; Blondeau 1997).

Some years ago, I attempted to relate aspects of this model to Bonpo historical understandings of their own religion, in particular the three phases or periods (*rdol bon, 'khyar bon, bsgyur bon*) and the distinction between the "Bon of cause" (*rgyu*

bon) and the "Bon of effect" (*'bras bu'i bon*). This latter distinction is significant in that the "Bon of cause" comprises matters such as divination, prediction, rituals to local gods and spirits, and funerary rituals, which presumably predate in some form both the court religion of the Zhang-zhung and Yar-lung courts, and the importation of Buddhist and similar material that shaped the subsequent development of Bon (cf. Samuel 1993b). We may summarise the scheme as follows (see also Karmay 1972, 1975; Tucci 1980: 224):

Phase of Bon	Chronology	Traditional description
I (*rdol bon*)	from time of sTon-pa gShen-rab to murder of legendary king Gri-gum	partial teaching of Bon by sTon-pa gShen-rab of 'Ol-mo lung-ring on his visit to Tibet; persecution of Bon by Gri-gum, prohibition of some Bon teachings and concealment of texts; loss of king's direct link to heaven at Gri-gum's death
II (*'khyar bon*)	from death of Gri-gum to time of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan (late C9); importation of "Bon of effect"	restoration of Bon by son of Gri-gum, sPu-lde Gung-rgyal; emphasis on funerary rites; ascendancy of Bon; persecution by Buddhist king Khri-srong lde'u-btsan
III (*bsgyur bon*)	C10 onwards	dominance of Buddhism; rediscovery of Bon by *gter ston*, beginning with gShen-chen Klu-dga

In this scheme, Phase I could be taken tentatively as the time of the early religion of local gods and spirits, Phase II as representing the religion of the Zhang-zhung and Yar-lung courts, while Phase III is the Bon religion as we know it today. Bonpo and Buddhist (*chos pa*) historians differ over the content of religion in these various phases, with Buddhist historians arguing that only the "Bon of cause" (divination, prediction, rituals to local gods and spirits, funerary rituals) existed in the pre-Buddhist period (Phases I and II), while Bonpos claim that the "Bon of effect" (i.e. the ascetic and Tantric material) also existed during this period (Karmay 1972: 34 and n.1). It is quite likely that, as Per Kvaerne has suggested, there may have been contact with Buddhist or Śaivite yogins during the period of the royal courts (i.e. Phase II). Any "Indus Valley" material would presumably, however, be part of Phase I, and might be associated with the figure of sTon-pa gShen-rab himself.

While I am not suggesting that the Bonpo historical material be taken at face value as a literal historical account[3)], the above at least serves to suggest the distance between contemporary Bon and "folk religion" material and any hypothetical Indus Valley influences.

As for Indus Valley religion, this too is a highly speculative area at present. A fair amount has been written in recent years (e.g. Hopkins and Hiltebeitel 1987, Parpola 1994, Jairazbhoy 1994, Atre 1998), but there is little agreement, which is perhaps hardly surprising given the ambiguity of much of the surviving evidence and the unlikelihood of any conclusive decipherment of the Indus Valley script in the foreseeable future.

I shall restrict my discussion to two features: animal deities and goddess cults. It seems very likely that the Indus Valley religion included a cult centred on sacred animals, primarily bulls but also buffalos and other animals. The bull in profile is by far the commonest single item on Indus Valley seals, though other animals also occur, and it is invariably represented along with an object of probable ritual significance in front of it, apparently a censer or offering-stand (Possehl 1996). The water buffalo also seems to have been of religious significance, with buffalo horns occurring frequently as apparent signifiers of divine status on human figures e.g. (Parpola 1994: 159, 248).

The importance of wild animals, above all of the yak and its wild counterpart, the *'brong*, but also of wild varieties of the sheep, goat and donkey, in Tibetan mountain-deity cults is well known. In modern iconography, these animals are frequently depicted as the vehicle of the deity, but the idea of the deity appearing in the form of an animal, particularly a yak (*lha'i g-yag*) is still prevalent in the Byang-thang and other *'brog pa* areas. Both gNyan-chen thang-lha, a major ancestral deity of the Central Tibetan kingdom, and rTa-rgo rin-po-che, the divine protector of the Zhang-zhung kingdom, are held to manifest in this form (Bellezza 1997: 39, 305). In addition, a divine yak (the Srid-kyi g-yag-pho dkar-po) plays an important part in at least one version of the Bon cosmogonic myth (Tucci 1980: 219-20, Bellezza 1997: 47). It seems plausible that in earlier periods the deity was thought of as having the form of the animal itself. Early Tibetan rock-paintings frequently depict such animals (e.g. drawings in Bellezza 1997), though there is no especial indication of divine status. Could we imagine a relationship here with the theriomorphic deities of the Indus Valley civilization?

As for goddess-cults, there has been considerable speculation regarding the role of goddesses in Indus Valley religion (Hopkins and Hiltebeitel 1987, Jayakar 1989, Jairazbhoy 1994, Atre 1998) and we might look at possible relationships between these and early Tibetan goddess-cults. Tibetan goddesses in more recent times have been associated mostly with lakes (Bellezza 1997) and with the earth more generally. Examples include the famous *srin-mo* nailed down in the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po, and perhaps relatable to figures such as dPal-ldan lha-mo

and her Bonpo counterpart Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo (Samuel 1993a: 168, 222, Volkmann 1995). Dang-ra rgyal-mo, the goddess of the lake adjoining Mount rTa-rgo, is a lake goddess who also is also, according to Bellezza, "the primary guardian of the fertility of the land and livestock" (1997: 334). Some apparently female figures in early rock drawings may represent goddesses (Bellezza 1997: 184, fig.6; 199, fig.13).

At this stage, though, while it seems fairly clear that there were divine female figures in the Indus Valley, it is difficult to say anything conclusive about their nature. There are indications of associations with trees and vegetation and with wild animals, in particular the tiger, as in a well-known group of seal-images, and possibly also with fertility and agricultural productivity (Jairazbhoy 1994) but none as far as I know with lakes or with the earth as such.

5. Conclusion

My intention here is modest. I am not in a position to demonstrate conclusively that there has been major influence from the Indus Valley Civilization on early societies on the Tibetan plateau. Given the limited nature of our knowledge concerning both early Tibet and many aspects of the Indus Valley Civilization, this is hardly surprising. Yet the material presented above is perhaps sufficient to suggest that the Indus Valley should be taken seriously as a possible source for early Tibetan cultures, and that its neglect in the literature so far is unjustified.

Given the long time-gap between the Indus Valley cultural tradition and the oldest Tibetan historical sources, and the absence, as far as we know, of writing on the plateau during this period, we would be unlikely to find detailed knowledge of Indus Valley societies preserved within Tibet. Yet I shall conclude with a tentative suggestion that we may find a reflection of the Indus Valley civilization in the accounts of the semi-mythical Bonpo homeland 'Ol-mo lung-ring, the place of origin of the original teacher of Bon, sTon-pa gShen-rab.

Dan Martin has dealt in some detail with the problem of 'Ol-mo lung-ring in his recent *Tibet Journal* article (Martin 1995). In later Bonpo tradition, 'Ol-mo lung-ring is often associated with or identified with sTag-gzig, which is itself usually taken by Western scholars to mean Iran. The emphasis in the earlier sources, however, is on 'Ol-mo lung-ring itself, and there is no particular reason to locate it in Iran. Martin points out that the famous map of 'Ol-mo lung-ring analysed by Kuznetsov as a map of the Persian Empire and its tributary states, including such locations as Cyprus and Jerusalem, is not really a map, and that its graphic form may be quite modern (Martin 1995: 66). Martin is, I think, entirely convincing with regard to the dubious nature of Kuznetsov's conclusions, and

certainly the geographical content of this map or diagram appears of little use to the seeker for Bonpo origins. Martin concludes that the "true" 'Ol-mo lung-ring may be permanently hidden behind the semi-mythical "Sharp Teeth" (dBal-so) Glacier.

Yet, earlier in the same article, he points out that the area suggested for 'Ol-mo lung-ring by the *Mdo 'dus* and other relatively early accounts might correspond to Baltistan, Gilgit, northern Kashmir, the northern part of present-day Pakistan (Swat, Chitral, etc.) and perhaps Badakshan "along with possibly the mountainous parts of northern Uttar Pradesh" (1995: 57). This region, Badakshan perhaps excepted, corresponds to the upper fringes of the Indus Valley Civilization, the area of interface between the Indus Valley peoples and the Tibetan plateau. Could it be that this traditional location does retain some sense of genuine connections along this interface?

We might ask too whether the actual name 'Ol-mo lung-ring has any reference to the Indus Valley. Several authors have assumed that the term Meluhha was used by the Sumerians to refer to the Indus Valley civilization, with which they traded (e.g. Parpola 1994; see also Possehl 1998: 274). Meluhha, it has been suggested, is cognate to Sanskrit *mleccha* - which means, of course, non-Aryan, outside Brahmanical civilization. If Meluhha is really equivalent to *mleccha*, it may well be the Indus Valley people's own term for themselves, or at least one used by other populations besides the Sumerians.

Could we relate these names to 'Ol-mo lung-ring? 'Ol-mo lung-ring can be read as "The Long Valley of Olmo," and the occurrence of 'Ol-mo gling as a variant form in relatively early contexts suggests that the 'Ol-mo component should be read on its own (Martin 1992: 49). From Meluhha to Olmo is perhaps not an impossible leap. And so I will close this chapter with the suggestion that perhaps we may still be able to glimpse beyond the Sharp Tooth Glacier and see, beneath the Long Valley of 'Ol-mo, the distant and shadowy memory of the Long Valley of the Meluhha, the Long Valley of the Indus.

Acknowledgements

I would particularly like to acknowledge the comments and assistance of George van Driem and Hiroya Iida in revising this paper for publication.

Notes

1) As George van Driem pointed out when the original version of this chapter was presented at the Osaka workshop in August 1999.
2) If Parpola and others are right in associating the Ghalegay IV culture of Swat (c.1700-1400 BCE) with an Indo-Aryan population, this would provide an early western (if post-Harappan) source for both horses and horse-based militarism (Parpola 1994: 152, 168). There is however as far as I know no evidence to suggest that Tibetan plateau populations ever employed the chariot-based fighting techniques of the Indo-Aryans, which would in any case be of limited utility on the plateau. Tibetan military technology appears to have been much more closely allied to that of steppe nomadic peoples.
3) Though according to Namkhai Norbu the traditional date of gShen-rab's birth can be dated on the basis of Bonpo material to 1917 BCE, which would fall right at the end of the Indus Valley Integration Era as currently dated (Namkhai Norbu 1995: 156-158).

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Kharamshing: An antidote against evil

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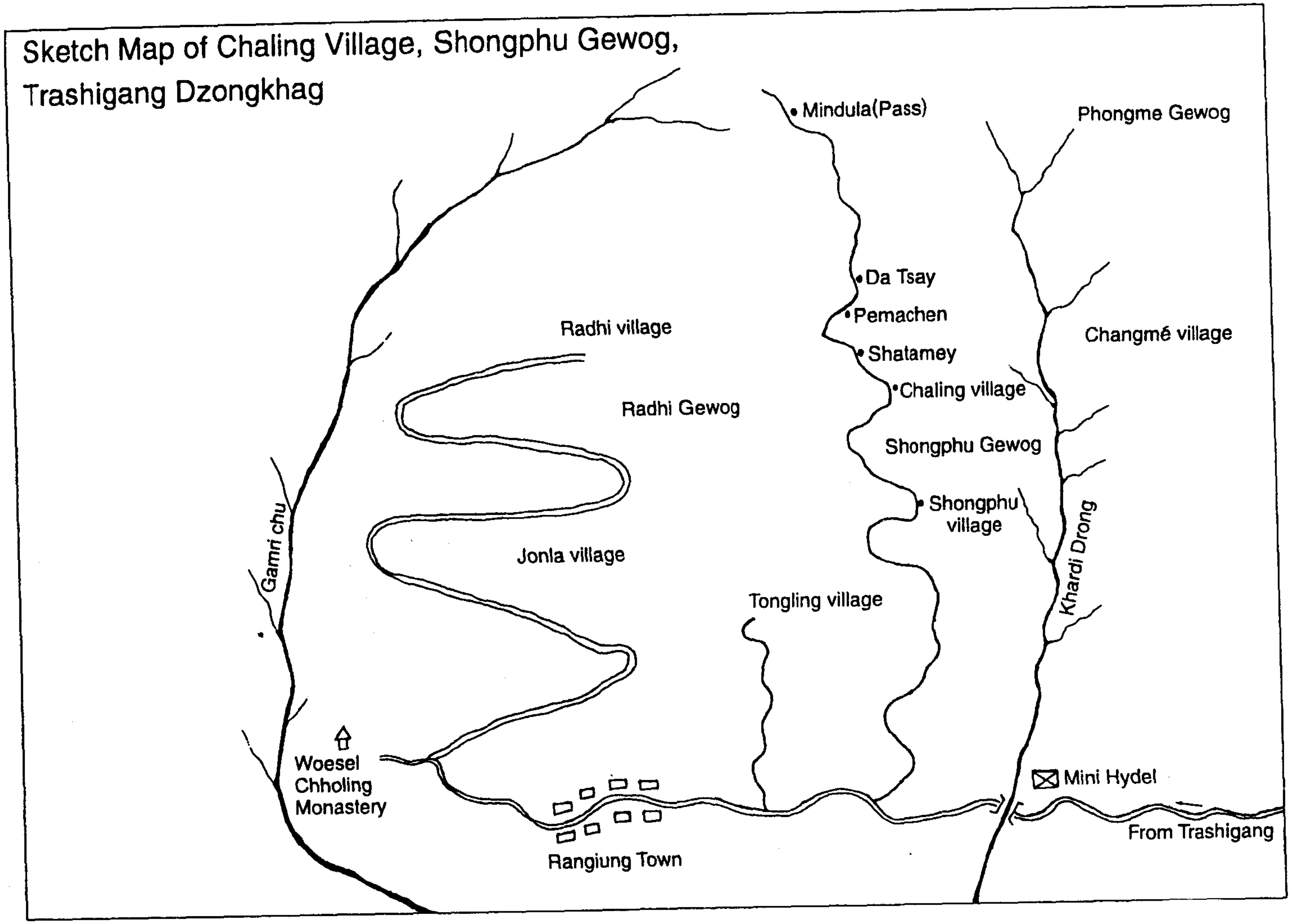
A striking feature of the Bhutanese landscape apart from its towering mountains, deep valleys and distinct architecture are the wooden phalluses that do not bypass one's eyes. Known by various names, each according to the dialect of the locality, they symbolise the richness of Bhutan's past. These wooden phalluses feature significantly in Bhutanese culture. Considered a part of the ancient religion Bon, the use of phalluses in the Bhutanese society is as diverse as its significance[1]. Varying in size from an arm's length to that of an average Bhutanese height, these phalluses adorn the front and side walls of the houses. It is customary of a family to have wooden phalluses hanging from the four corners of their newly constructed houses; to place them above their doors or in front of their houses. Painted in rich and bright, attractive colours with scarves adorning them, the phalluses are of various shapes. Some are twisted, while some are as straight as arrows, while others are crooked or curved with gentle lines. These phalluses display various moods. Some have dynamic and aggressive looks while others have calm and gentle looks with ready smiles.

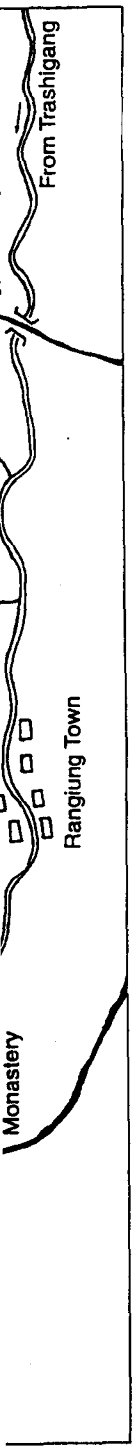
It is not my intention to analyse the nature of all the phalluses. I intend to present a study of the Kharamshing[2] a Bon practice of making wooden phalluses and erecting it in front of houses to keep away bad omens, curses and from any other ill will that might bring misfotune and bad luck to the family members.

Enroute to my field visit to Merak and Sakteng in Eastern Bhutan in March 1999, I came across numerous Kharamshing in Chaling village[3]. Although it is found in many pockets of eastern and central Bhutan, an overwhelming number of Kharamshing in Chaling promted this study. In my study of this practice, I have focussed primarily on oral interviews conducted over a period of time with Bonpo[4] Rinchen Drakpa[5] and few other scholars.

1. Background

The history appropriate to this widely accepted practice is as baffling as its ritual. Different views are presented by different scholars. However, most of the scholars accede that it is a Bon ritual that came along with numerous other Bon beliefs and practices. Lopen Chorten Norbu, Lecturer of Dzongkha in Sherubtse


Sketch Map of Chaling Village, Shongphu Gewog,
Trashigang Dzongkhag
Mindula(Pass)
Phongme Gewog
Da Tsay
Pemachen
Shatamey
Chaling village
Changmé village
Radhi village
Radhi Gewog
Shongphu Gewog
Shongphu village
Khardi Drong
Gamri chu
Jonla village
Tongling village
Woesel Chholing Monastery
Mini Hydel
From Trashigang
Rangiung Town



College argues that Bon is a pre-Buddhist religion dating back to the 1st century AD and it was introduced by Shabdrung Tshenden Dewa from Tibet[6]. However it was limited only to few parts of central and western Bhutan. It took a concrete form with the arrival of lHa-sras gTsang-ma[7] in the 8th century AD. However, it is felt that was not instrumental in propagating it in Eastern Bhutan. Dasho Tenzin Dorji, a noted Bhutanese scholar and historian, on the other hand, strongly asserts that Bon in Eastern Bhutan is not accredited to lHa-sras gTsang-ma but rather to Dri-gum btsan-po[8]. From this early period, the concept of curse befalling a family and the animals was perceived by the Bonpos.

This tradition of conducting the Kharamshing ritual as a protection against curses is also evident in the Buddhist ritual practices. According to a text entitled *Mi kha dgra bgyur* and attributed to Padmasambhava[9] it is said that King Don-grub and his family were cursed by demons such as lHa-sbyin. 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs, the god of wisdom, transformed himself into an eight year old boy and treated the king. Similarly kings Indrabhuti and Khri-srong lde-bstan were also treated by Padmasambhava. Also treated of similar evil curses was Ba-gor Vairocana. At the end of the text, it is mentioned that Padmasambhava related this story to A-ya Bonpo lHa-'bum. This seems to be an indication that Bonpos might have later adopted this practice from the Buddhists.

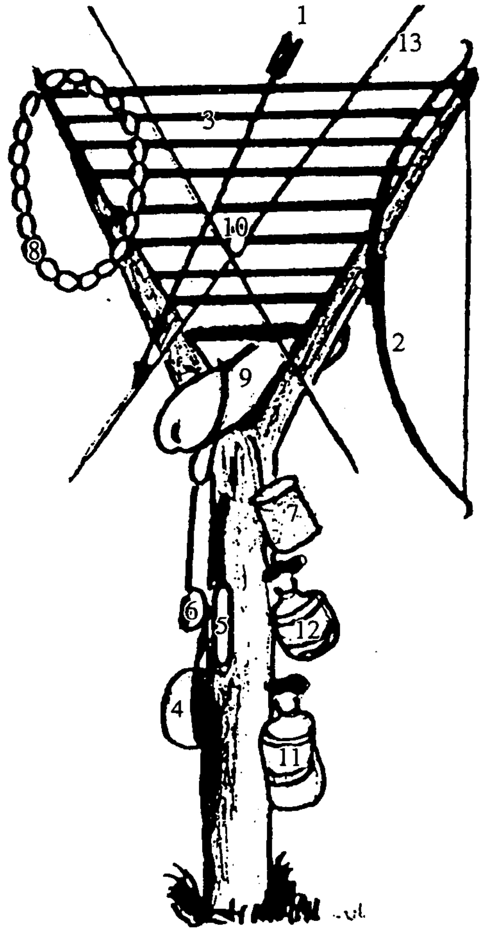
The *Mi kha'i gto bsgyur*, another ritual text against curse, narrates[10] that in Tibet, curse and evil eye were so rampant and powerful that diseases were spreading and Dharma was coming to an end. Animals were becoming extinct and mountains were falling apart. Seas and oceans were drying up. Forest cover was reduced and curse was enveloping the whole area. People were cursing more and more. Let the father curse and the mother curse go away.

In the same ritual text, it is mentioned that the nine sisters each went to the following places, India (rGya-gar) China (rGya-nag) Tag-zig (sTag-gzig), Ge-sar, Byang-kha rnam-brgyad, Kong-po, Mon-yul and Tibet. It again states that there were nine *mi kha* sisters in a *mi kha* family. Each of them was taken by Pha-bdud rgyal-mo, the *btsan*, the mGyogs-po sde-brgyd, the sun (*nyi ma*), the moon (*zla ba*), the clouds (*sprin pa*), the stars (*skar ma*) the planets (*gza'*) and the fog (*smug*). This way, the nine sisters were separated from each other.

As many Bon traditions have been incorporated into Buddhist teachings, I feel that this Buddhist practice must also be of Bon origin. Though the rituals are conducted differently, their purpose remains the same.

2. Some preparatory niceties

The 29th day of every month of the lunar calendar (*dgu stong*), is a chosen day for the preparation of the Kharamshing. Considered an inauspicious day of the



Kharamshing (*Sketch by Dorji Lethro)*

1.	mla	-	arrow
2.	li	-	bow
3.	phanglebs	-	planks
4.	bangchung	-	bamboo plate
5.	sibsa	-	wooden ladle
6.	zerkhu	-	aluminium ladle
7.	phaykem	-	bamboo strainer
8.	Khalom sopa	-	Garland of egg shells
9.	mlea	-	Phallus
10.	Khalon	-	Egg
11.	bla	-	ash
12.	Dru-na-gu	-	Nine varieties of crops
13.	Zurchags	-	pointed sticks

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month both by the Bonpos as well as by the Buddhists, this day is, however, considered the most favorable day for designing and erecting of the Kharamshing. Both Bonpos and the Buddhists believe that conducting rituals and erection of the Kharamshing on this day will be most beneficial for the family members.

The Kharamshing is entirely made from a particular type of tree known as *rob tang* (Lat. Rhus chiensis) that belongs to the Anacardiaceae family. It is a soft tree with small leaves and does not bear any fruit. The Kharamshing is not made from the wood of any other tree. This *rob tang* tree grows abundantly in all parts of Bhutan. In higher altitudes where *rob tang* is not found, the Kharamshing is made from a tree known as *ga lang*. This tree grows only in higher altitudes and is short with thin, slender leaves like that of the leaves of willow.

A male preferably born in the tiger year of the lunar calendar is designated for the purpose of looking for the tree and making the Kharamshing. Nonetheless, in the absence of a person born in the tiger year, people look for someone born in the year of the snake. It is believed that since tigers and snakes are fierce and vicious, the *rob tang* tree cut by either of these persons would be as ferocious and vicious too to effectively stop the evil curses.

This person is then invited to the house and offered *chang* and served food. As the sun crosses midday, the person sets off for the task carrying an axe, a bamboo plate (*bang chung*) of packed lunch and a bottle of *chang*, that is prepared locally. Before entering the forest, he chooses a favorable site to offer prayers. The packed lunch and the bottle of *chang* is placed on a clean site and offered to the local spirits and deities to help him find the *rob tang* tree. He then takes a mouthful or two of the food and drinks a few sips of the left over *chang* before entering the forest. On coming across a suitable tree, he waits for nightfall. It is believed that no one should see him cutting the tree nor should he meet anyone on his way back. If he is seen cutting the tree or if he meets anyone on his way, then it is believed that the effectiveness of the tree would be reduced. It would have become less potent. He then cuts the selected tree under the cover of darkness and heads for home when he feels that he would not meet anyone on the way.

3. Construction of the Kharamshing

On reaching home, the *rob tang* wood is kept in a safe place where no one can see it. Generally, the wood is kept at the back of the house where there is a small shed. The housewife offers him wine and food before he begins his task of fashioning the Kharamshing from the *rob tang* wood. The Bonpo who would have already reached the house where the ritual is to be conducted, helps him with the preparation. Lighting a lamp the Bonpo[11)] and his attendant who brought the wood set off for their task. Except for the arrows (*mla*) and the bows (*li*) that are made

from a type of bamboo known as *li shing*, the whole component of the Kharamshing including the phallus is made from a single piece of tree. The Bonpo helps him with the measurement while he does the rest of the work right from cutting to shaping the phallus (*mlea*) and painting it. It should be noted that every component of the Kharamshing has specific measurement. The length of the main pole is nine times the length of the phallus. The length of the phallus is equal to the distance between the elbow and the tip of the middle finger (*gru gang*) and its size is the stretched span between the thumb and the first finger. Its circumference is also the size of the phallus which is known as *gong phu*. The main pole of the Kharamshing fixed to the ground bifurcates at the top end. The bifurcating ends of the pole are sharpened to tapering ends and are painted red. The two ends of the Kharamshing are shaped into the phallus and are also painted red. At the point of bifurcation the phallus is placed horizontally. The one that turns outwards is the talisman against curses from outside and the other turning inwards is meant to counter curses from within.

Then they prepare the *phang leb*, nine flat planks of various lengths. The length of the smallest *phang leb* is one *gong phu*, the stretched distance between the thumb and the first finger and the length of the longest *phang leb* is one *gru gang*, the length of the phallus. The rest are cut into appropriate lengths. They are placed horizontally one above the other on the bifurcating pole with the smallest just above the phallus and the longest at the end of the pole. They represent the nine sisters.

Then they prepare four pieces of thin sticks called *zur chag*. They are also of the same length as the phallus and have pointed ends. The ends of the *zur chag* are placed at the center of the *phang leb* with the pointed ends facing four different directions. These four *zur chag* represent the relatives of the *mi kha* family. At the point of bifurcation and close to the phallus is hung a bamboo plate (*bang chung*), wooden ladle (*sib sa*), an alminium ladle (*zer khu*) and a small bamboo strainer (*phye kem*). All these are kitchen items.

Then in a piece of white cloth, they put nine small cups filled with nine varieties of grains known as *'bru sna dgu*. The nine grains are maize (*a shom*), paddy (*khu*), buck wheat (*kha la*), wheat (*gro*), soya beans (*gun tsung ka bu*), finger millet (*kon pu*), barley (*phe mung*), foxtail millet (*yang ra chong*), and common millet (*cher gay*). They also mix the nine grains with a few onions (*tsong*), garlic (*lashu*), salt (*tshwa*) and wild pepper (*yar*). Wrapped in the cloth and tied at the mouth by nine varieties of strings they are hung from the phallus. They represent the ration for the Kharam.

In another piece of cloth, they put a large cup made of ash (*bla*), which acts as a lid (*kha gnon*). An egg (*kha lom*) is then placed in the middle of the nine *bang leb*. It represents the heart (*snying*) of the Kharamshing. Then they encircle the entire upper half of the Kharamshing with nine varieties of strings. A garland of

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empty eggshells is also made which is either hung from one point of the *zur chag* or with the household items. Mixed grains are put in a small container called *bray* and kept near the Kharamshing. The Kharamshing is now ready. In the mean time, the family members would have prepared the *tshogs* which consists of cooked rice, meat, fish and eggs. Then they arrange the house to welcome the Kharamshing.

4. The performance of the rituals

Around 11:30 p.m., in pitch darkness the Kharamshing is then taken inside the house for conducting rituals. It is placed horizontally close to the base of the family altar[12)] with the end of the Kharamshing facing to the door. The bow and the arrows are placed at its side. A *bang chung* containing the *tshogs* is placed in front of it along with three cups of *chang*.

The family members take seats near the Kharamshing along with the Bonpo who takes his seat at the head. Starting from the eldest member in the family, they smear their right thumb with butter and take turns in sealing the nine varieties of grains wrapped in a piece of cloth by pressing it with thumb. This is done to put an end to all misfortunes that befall them. Then they pay their reverence by bowing three times before the Kharamshing and offering scarves (*dar*) and sticking money onto it. The Bonpo then chants his invocation[13)]. According to Rinchen Drakpa, the rituals differ in the length. In the absence of any ritual texts, the invocation chanted are either conducted short or in a more elaborate manner while the procedure and the altar arrangement are more or less identical. At the end of every syllable the Bonpo throws grains at the Kharamshing with the following words:.

> "May the family be spared of the curses from the North
> May the family be spared of the curses from the South
> May the family be spared of the curses from the East
> May the family be spared from the curses from the West
> Spare from bad people and jealousies
> Spare from bad food and water
> Spare from evil curses
> Spare houses from curses
> Spare cattle's from curses."

At the strike of the midnight hour, when it is generally believed that the three realms of beings (*lha 'dre mi sum*) are too sound in their sleep to notice anything, the Kharamshing is taken outside to be erected. Normally, the women folk stay indoors while it is being erected. Oblivious to the surroundings the Kharamshing is hailed with hue and cry as it is taken outside with all the members joining in the clamor. The Bonpo leads and is followed by the rest.

In the hole that is dug outside a few yards away from the entrance, is poured the leftover water which was used earlier in the day by the family members to take bath. This is done to remove all their sicknesses and curses to be sealed by the Kharamshing which is then erected. Then they take turns in shooting arrows at the egg placed in the middle of the *bang leb*. The arrow with the iron head is first shot at followed by the rest. Whoever hits the egg is considered to have slain and vanquished the evil and is offered the *dar*, the *tshogs* and the *chang* that was offered to the Kharamshing inside. This brings to an end of the erection and the celebration proccess of the Kharamshing.

Conclusion

The Kharamshing as an antidote against the evil eye has held a very firm place in the Bhutanese tradition. Despite the disappearance of the Bon tradition over the years, the Kharamshing still exists and has retained its significance. In fact, most of the surviving Bon practices have lost much of their earlier grandeur and survive only in their simple form. Their conduct has become arbitrary with even laymen conducting them whenever they feel the necessity. They are known as *kha bon*, the "Oral Bon". They survive only amongst the villages and the educated people have long ago given up these practices. The performance of the ritual varies from one village to the next and in some villages it has disappeared.

Notes

In this article, Bhutanese names are transcribed in the form common in Bhutan.

1) Phalluses are also important tools for the *atsara* (clowns) to draw attention. Small wooden phalluses painted in bright red and fiery colours are carried in their hands. Brandishing gallantly in the air, they play their mischief on crowds of onlookers. A newborn baby is often given to receive its blessings. They also have phalluses made of stitched cloth hanging from their heads. Small wooden phalluses, the size of a middle finger, are hung on new born calves and mother cows. Today it is a common sight to see miniature wooden phalluses hanging from the front of cars and trucks. Phalluses have come to pervade all aspects of Bhutanese culture.
2) Kharamshing are also referred to as "Ana" particularly to avoid of shyness amongst the family members.
3) Chaling village is administered by the Trashigang district. As per the census record of 1998, the village has a population of 643. It is inhabited by two ethnic groups-Tshanglas, inhabitants of eastern Bhutan and the Bramis, semi-nomadic people. Tshanglas are the original inhabitants whereas the Bramis are immigrants from Tawang. According to Dasho Tenzin Dorji, they came to Bhutan towards the close of 17th century along with rJe Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan *alias* Ganapati, the reincarnation of

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8) Nya-kh
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King w
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eastern
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village).
9) Fol.3a-b
sngon ts
chos rg
lha sbyi
mi kha
thabs la
lo brgy
mi kha s
mi kha s
rgyal po
mi kha d
ha gor h
rgya ga

Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal's son 'Jam-dpal rdo-rje. rJe Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan was born in brDa-dkar-po monastery in Mon, Tawang in a Brami family. He was extended invitation to Bhutan by rDzong-dpon bKa'-blon Norbu of Trashigang. They settled in Tshem-ri gom-pa in Chaling. Since then the first lot of Bramis came with him and was later followed by others.

4) The term Bonpo is referred to any person who carries out such activities like making the Kharamshing, invoking and offering prayers to *gzhi bdag*, *gnas bdag*, *yul lha*, and involving in other similar activities of curing sick persons. As far as Chaling vilage is concerned the Bonpos are oridinary people without any educational background whatsoever. They do not occupy any important status in the village as is conferred to other Buddhist religious people like the *sgom chen* and the *dge slong*. It is only while conducting such rituals that they are shown some respect. During my interviews I always found him engaged in the field. Nor are there any Bonpo monasteries. The use of ritual text is limited and teachings are passed down orally to any interested student at any point of time.

5) Rinchen Drakpa is a veteran practitioner in Chaling village. He studied this practice about 40 years ago under Lopen Phuntsho from Mokto village in Tawang district. Today he is the only Bonpo and the only practitioner of this ritual in Chaling village.

6) Zhabdung Tshenden Dewa is said to have built a monastery in Phubjikha valley in Central Bhutan under Wangduephodrang district. This is the only Bon establishment in Bhutan which is intact. Today it is looked after by the Central Monastic Body and every year a lama is appointed by the monastic body at Wangduephodrang.

7) lHa-sras gtsang-ma was a Tibetan prince who according to the tradition was banished from his country in the 9th century AD due to trouble back home. He settled in Jamkhar and at Tshenkharla in eastern Bhutan and started the Khoche lineage. The ruins of his castles can still be seen in Jamkhar and at Tshenkharla.

8) Nya-khri (khyi) was one of the three sons of King Dri-gum btsan-po of Tibet. In a battle that was fought between the king and one of his ministers called Lo-ngam, the King was defeated and his country was overtaken by the ministers. The three princess fled Tibet and Nya-khri settled in Durang village in present day Trashiyangtse in eastern Bhutan. He established the Nyakhar dzong in Tomiyangtse. This was the beginning of Bon religion in Bhutan. (Interview conducted on 10th July 1999 at Galing village).

9) Fol.3a-b:

sngon tshe sngon gyi dus 'di ru/
chos rgyal rgyal po don grub la/
lha sbyin la sogs bdud rnams kyi(s)
mi kha gra mchu'i dmod btang bas/
thabs la mkhas pa'i 'jam dpal gyis/
lo brgyad lon pa'i kye'ur sprul/
mi kha sna tshogs yas bsags te/
mi kha sna tshogs bde byas pas/
rgyal po don grub 'khor bcas kyang/
mi kha dag las thar ba bzhin/ .....
ba gor bai ro tsa na la/
rgya gar yongs kyi mi kha 'dus/

mtshan ltas ngan pa sna tshogs byung/
slob dpon shri sinha yis/
mi kha bra mchu'i yas bsags te/
lam brgya'i bzhi mdor bor byas pas/
ba gor bai ro tsa na yang/
mi kha dag las thar ba bzhin/ ....

10) Fol. 2b-3a:
mi kha de'i pha mos pa/ stong de'i pha gcig lags/ mi kha de'i ma mos pa/ stong de ni stong pa lags/ de gnyis bshos pa las/ mi kha de ni spun dgu byung/ gcig ni pha bdud rgyal mos khyer te song/ gcig ni bstan gyis khyer te song/ gcig ni mgyogs po sde brgyad khyer te song/ gcig ni nyi mas khyer te song/ gcig ni zla bas khyer te song/ gcig ni spen (sprin) pas khyer te song/ gcig ni karmas (skar mas) khyer te song/ gcig ni gza' yis khyer te song/ gcig ni ramug yis (gis) khyer te song/ mi kha spun dgu chas te song/ rgyal kha spun dgus chas te song/ ha ha thang gsum rgod kyis song/ bzhan mo thang gsum gzhad gcig song/ bod yul de ni thang shes na/ mi kha de ni che che nas/ nad kyis thang rgyang lhang la khad/ sangs rgyas bstan pa nub la khad/ sems can rnams ni shi la khad/ ri bo mo'i nas dgyes la (ming nas 'gyel la) khad/ rgya mtsho'i (mtsho) gting nas skam la khad/ ri bo (bo'i) srog shing chag la khad/ mi kha che ba de la che/ rgyal kha gleng ba de la gleng/ smra mchu ring bo de la ring/ mi kha de ni spun dgu de/ bra bo noms pa'i zur gsum po/ lcam pa nams pa'i sdong gal po/ la phug sman pa'i rtswa gcig po/ g-yer ma men (sman) pa'i rtswa gcig po/ sgog pa man (sman) pa'i kha tsha po/ mi kha spun dgu chas te song /......

11) The Bonpo does not have any particular dress for this ritual, nor does he have any ritual texts. The elaborate use of *gtor ma* and other sacrifical cakes are also absent. Instruments that usually accompany rituals by both Bonpos and Buddhists are also absent. It is indeed a simple ritual.

12) The altars in Chaling village are known as *mchod bsham*. I did not come across any well made altars but almost every family had a *mchod bsham* where offerings were made.

13) *yar kha ram thams chad zlog/*
mar kha ram thams chad zlog/
mi ngan khra dog thams chad zlog/
rdzas ngan chu ngan thams chad zlog/
byad kha phur kha thams chad zlog/
khang khim kha ram thams chad zlog/
mi kha kha ram thams chad zlog/
nor kha kha ram thams chad zlog./

References

Mi kha dgra bsgyur.
A ritual text attributed to Padmasambhava and discovered by Guru rNon-rtse in rTa-nag. The *gter ston* is identified with A-ya Bonpo lHa-'bum mentioned in the *Padma bka' thang*. Manuscript, 6 folios.

Mi kha'i lto (gto) bsgyur.
A similar ritual text. It is anonymous. Manuscript, 5 folios.



Plate 1 A side view of the Phallus placed at the bifurcating pole.
(Photo by Tshering Dorji)

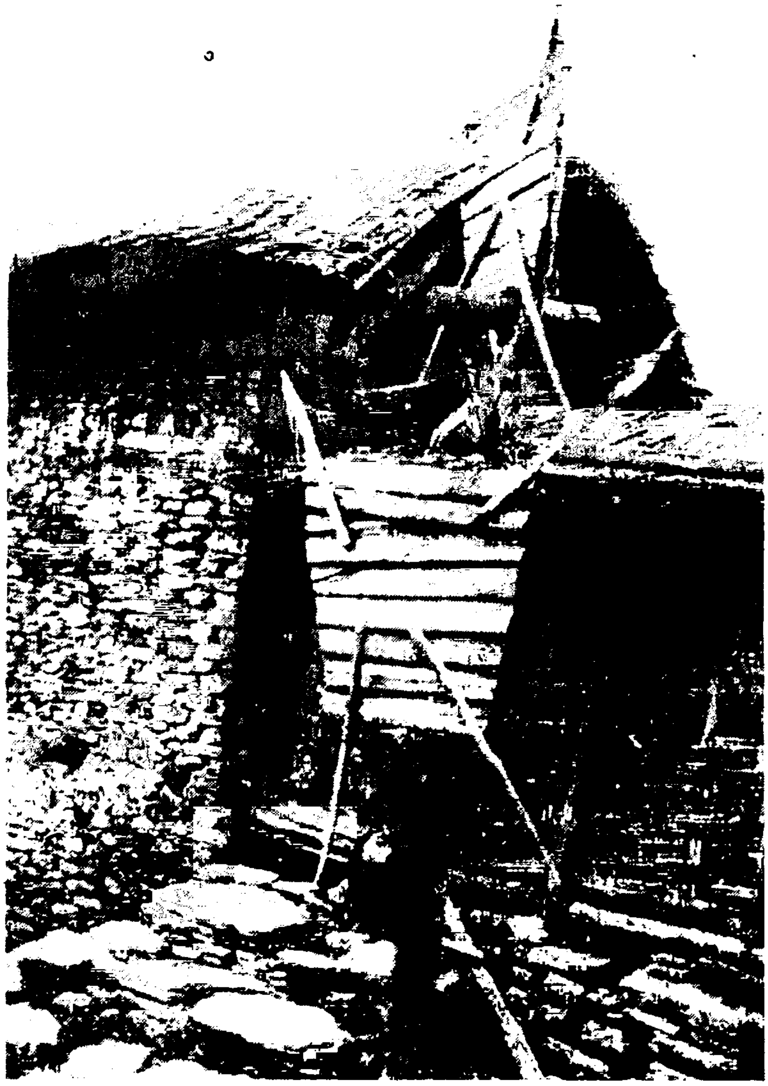


Plate 2 A front view of two Kharamshings raised in front of a house in Chaling Village. (Photo by Tshering Dorji)

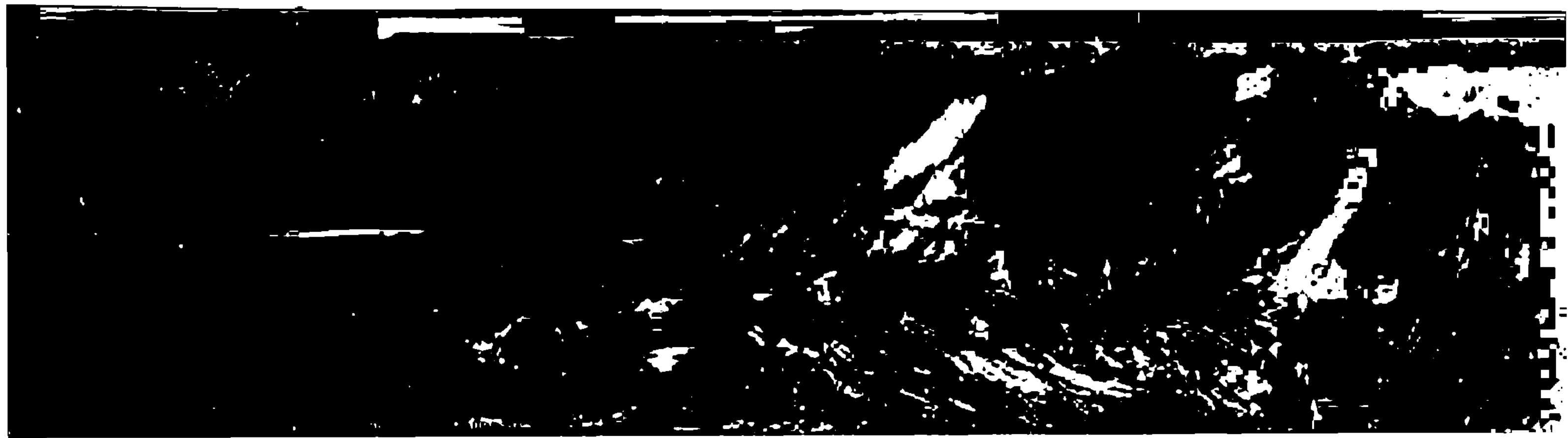


Plate 1 A side view of the Phallus placed at the bifurcating pole. (Photo by Tshering Dorji)

Space, territory, and a stupa in Eastern Nepal: Exploring Himalayan themes and traces of Bon

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Introduction

Recent research has adduced growing evidence for a distinct stratum of cultural practices that underlies various 'tribal' traditions in the Himalayan region and that also seems to be characteristic of various local versions of the Bon tradition. Bon literature is not uncommonly embedded in cultural patterns that are more specifically Himalayan than belonging to the greater South Asian heritage. Two aspects of this that have received attention in Ramble's (1997) study of a Bon guide to the sacred Kong-po mountain (rKong-po bon- ri) are the symbolism of wild boar hunting involved in marriage rituals and poison cults with their corresponding beliefs about poisoning. Another pattern of cultural organization that may help better understand the Bon tradition against its Himalayan background is spatial conceptualization.

The comparative analysis of indigenous conceptualizations of space, as manifested by both linguistic and nonlinguistic forms and practices, suggests that there are two basic traditions in the Himalayan region, often superimposed onto each other or blended together in various ways (Bickel and Gaenszle 1999). One type of space construction rests on the Indic *maṇḍala* tradition but ultimately reflects the ancient Indo-European equation of the cardinal directions with a bodily space defined by left and right and front and back (e.g. Skt. *uttara* 'north, left, up', *dakṣiṇa* 'south, right', *pūrva* 'east, in front, before', and *paśca* 'behind, later, western'; Old Irish *tuath* 'left, north, malign', *dess* 'right, south, convenient'; Hertz 1909, Brown 1983, Gaborieau 1993, Bickel 1994). The body-based notion of space brings with it an up/down trajectory as well as an inside/outside distinction (Bickel, in press-b) — notions that are also core aspects of the *maṇḍala*. An essential characteristic of the *maṇḍala*ic conceptualization is that the concept of space is in itself detached from the local environment, but can be projected onto the environment, indeed onto any environment. This is different from spatial concepts that dominate language and cultural practice in much of the Tibeto-Burman world of the Himalayas. Here, space is INTRINSICALLY linked to the local landscape, taking as its base the up and down of hills and mountains. Rituals, shamanic journeys, and mythology emphasize these directions and bring with them a strong

sense of local territories (Gaenszle 1994, Forbes 1998, Höfer 1999, Oppitz 1999, among others). Similarly, spatial language rests on constant attention to uphill and downhill trajectories, and is thus firmly anchored in local realities (Allen 1972, Rai 1988, Bickel 1997, Ebert 1999, among others). Notice that under this conceptualization, notions of UP and DOWN follow the actual inclinations of hills and mountains. They are fundamentally GEO-MORPHIC notions and are only secondarily applied to the vertical axis as defined by the canonical upright position of the human body. This is different from the body-based notions of 'up' and 'down' that underlie the *maṇḍala*ic conceptualization of space.

Another core ingredient of many Tibeto-Burman traditions is the emphasis on sacred landmarks at important geographical points, such as river confluences, selected hilltops, passes or specific mountains. Examples of this are the religious and political powers associated with mountain deities and other *yul lhas* in Tibet (cf. Karmay and Sagant 1987, Blondeau and Steinkellner 1996, Blondeau 1998, among others), but similar notions also prevail in the Nepalese Himalayas (cf. e.g. Sagant 1981 on the Limbu, or Höfer 1972, 1999 on the Tamang). Interestingly, such notions retain their significance in these areas when *maṇḍala*ic space is superimposed on local perceptions. The *maṇḍala* thereby loses some of its abstract geometric nature and becomes part of a territory, and vice-versa, the landscape gets detached from its raw reality and is regimented into an ideal order (Ramble 1995, 1997; Oppitz 1999). Typically, such territorial *maṇḍalas* are centered on sacred mountains, such as the Bon mountain of Kong-po.

In this essay, I want to focus on another such sacred landmark and the ways in which this landmark defines and structures space both as a territory and as a mental order. I will be concerned with a hill marked by a stupa in the foothills of the Himalayas in Eastern Nepal. The stupa is located on the Belhara (Nep. *Belahārā*[1)]) hill (87° 18' E, 26° 57' N; ca. 1150m above sea-level), to the immediate west of Dhankuta (Nep. *Dhanakuṭā*) bazaar in the Kośī zone of Nepal. This area is geographically rather distant from Tibet, but there appears to be some testimony of shared Himalayan themes, and these themes may be of help in better understanding Bon traditions in their local contexts. Moreover, the stupa in Belhara is of particular interest to Bon studies because there is preliminary evidence that it is linked to other traditions involving stupas, especially those of Bon affiliation. However, there is no historical material that I know of, and any assessment of the significance of the stupa in a comparative perspective must be very tentative. At any rate, the stupa is unique in its local Nepalese context; I have indeed neither seen nor heard of anything similar in the region. There are of course numerous Buddhist stupas and Hindu temples, but the stupa I will be concerned with is neither Buddhist nor Hindu.

1. The stupa in Belhara

While the stupa is not literally placed on the highest peak of the Belhara hill, it marks what may be called the 'social top' — or 'center' — of the hill. The stupa is placed on the ridge at a place where the trails of the hill come together and where a small hamlet, with tea stalls, a school, and administrative offices, defines the traditional center of social activity on the Belhara hill. The stupa is enclosed in a concrete square building with a tin roof, which is said to have been added only about fifteen years ago, with funds from the Nepalese government. The enclosure of the stupa makes it difficult to photograph, but Plate 1 may give a sense of its structure (The picture was taken through a barred window; the dark shading of the stupa reflects the shadow of a window bar).

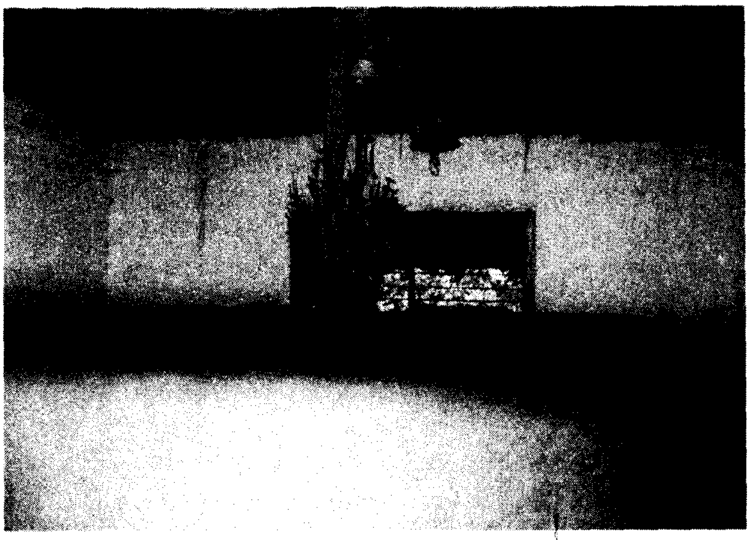


Plate 1 The Stupa in Belhara (photographed by B. Bickel, 1998)

The stupa is about 1.5m high, divided by a step in the middle, and has a diameter of about 2m. At its center is a wooden pole, which apparently takes up the same theme as what is called the *srog shing* 'life-tree' in Tibetan stupas. In Belhara this pole has a value comparable to the ritually important central pillar in local homes, which divides the house into a religiously 'pure' back part and a more public front side. On the stupa, the pole is surrounded by numerous tridents and umbrellas, decorated by small strips of white and red cloth (Belh. < Nep. *dhajo*). From the roof, bells hang down that the priest rings during rituals. On the platform, one usually finds incense and *dubo* grass (*Cynodon Dactylon*) left from rituals. All these elements, except the *dhajo*, are also present in the drawing reproduced in

Plate 2, but additionally the drawing includes the representation of two stones which are said to be inside the stupa. Consultants claim that these stones are engraved with depictions of Mura, the goddess or ancestral founder (Belh. *maŋ*) to whom the stupa is dedicated (see below). The drawing in Plate 2 was created by the priest associated with the stupa. It was intended as a model for the production of a stamp that was used to give away certificates to people who sponsored renovation work at the stupa.

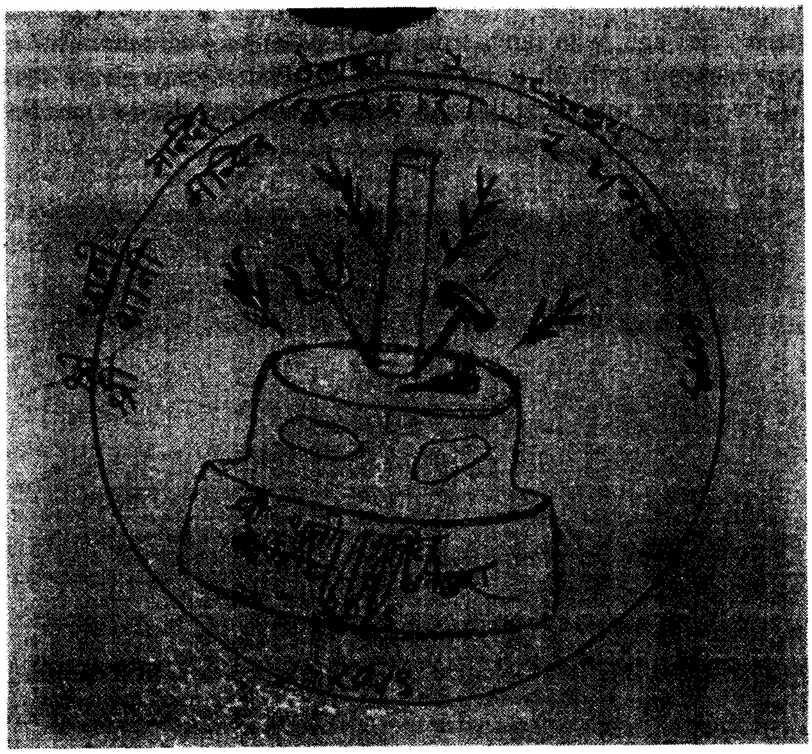


Plate 2 Sketch of the Stupa in Belhara (I. Rāī, 1993)

I am using the term 'stupa' here because of the shape and structure of the building. The building is different from a classical stupa, however, in that it does not contain to my knowledge any relics — unless one interprets the stones with their alleged engravings as local versions of such relics, and indeed effigies like this are a conventional part of stupa reliquaries. In native terms, the stupa is referred to as a 'temple', using the Nepali words *mandir* 'temple' or *thānī* 'place of worship' (cf. the caption in the drawing in Plate 2: *śri thānī mandir Belahārā - 5 Dhanakuṭā 2049*). This is reminiscent of what Denwood (1980) reports about Bon stupas. Drawing mostly on the *gZi brjid*, Denwood notes a certain terminological conflation of stupas (Tib. *mchod rten*) with temples and other places of worship

(*gsas khang*, *mchod gnas* in Bonpo texts). Further, the literary evidence examined by Denwood suggests that the Bon sometimes loosen the original notion of the stupa as a reliquary, developing instead a more general notion of religious edifice. From this point of view, the native vocabulary used for the building in Belhara should not necessarily be taken at face value in interpreting the nature of this building in a comparative perspective. In any event, the building clearly appears to be a locally adapted form of a larger stupa tradition.

Another way in which the 'temple' in Belhara is reminiscent of a stupa is that it is regularly circumambulated in rituals of the Athpare, the indigenous Kiranti (Tibeto-Burman) population of the hill. Much to the surprise of Hindu and Buddhist visitors, Athpare circumambulation is, however, counterclockwise (Belh. *cuptaŋ-lamma* 'via the right side'). Counterclockwise circumambulations are performed even on auspicious occasions such as marriages. The marriage procession (which is by itself strongly influenced by the pan-Nepalese Hindu style) goes from the bride's home via the stupa to the groom's house. The bride's and groom's houses too are circumambulated in a counterclockwise direction. In various home-related *pūjās*, the central pillar of the house is also circumambulated, again counterclockwise. The same direction is observed in dances during the communal festival of Waraŋmet that takes place every year in the month of Kārtik and that is dedicated to the three most important deities of Belhara: Marga, Mura, and Bokrohaŋ (which I will discuss below). On this occasion, the youth form a large circle that slowly turns in counterclockwise direction, following the rhythm of drums. The counterclockwise direction is of course strongly reminiscent of the Bon practice, and it is tempting to see in this a link between the stupa in Belhara and the Bon tradition. However, we also have to reckon with the possibility that the directional choice in Belhara is an independent development, functioning as a mark of distinction (in Bourdieu's 1979 sense). In a similar vein, other details of ritual practice, such as the exact number of calabashes (Belh. *uhop*) used on a sacrificial altar, are an important vehicle for carrying marks of distinction between clans in Belhara. That the same logic applies to the direction of circumambulation is certainly possible. What makes this interpretation less likely, however, is the fact that in all neighboring communities, the counterclockwise direction is inauspicious. This is not only the case in Hindu and Buddhist practice but also reflects what is known about other Kiranti societies, e.g. the Kulung (McDougal 1979:65) or the Lohorung (Hardman n.d.:344f). Against this background, the counterclockwise direction is unlikely to reflect a choice of limited local significance. The directional choice rather seems to continue a tradition of wider scope, where it could develop its own auspicious meaning — a meaning that goes, as it does for the Bon, beyond simple distinctiveness or opposition.

Functionally, the Belhare building clearly serves as a temple. Squatting on the platform, a specialized priest performs various *pūjās* there, including sacrifices of pigeons and small chickens. Some of these *pūjās* are part of a ritual cycle, such as

planting and harvest *pūjā*s. Others are performed 'on-demand', e.g. for marriages, for people who seek help against some illness or on behalf of travelers who pass through Belhara (an observation I will come back to later).

The symbolism found on and in the stupa reflects the fact that the stupa serves not only the Athpare but also others, including Indo-Aryan Hindus. The tridents and umbrellas are said to have been added for the benefit of the Hindus. The other symbolism, especially the stones with the alleged engravings of goddess Mura, reflects the stupa's main function which is firmly grounded in the indigenous Athpare tradition. Note that no one has ever actually seen the stones inside the stupa. This clearly sides with the rule that no one is ever allowed to see Mura (Belh. *hitma nnuiʔni* 'she must not be seen') and that Mura would never show us her face (*unabhak kapiuʔni* 'she does not give us her face'). Reference to these stones combines with an invocation of the ritually important *dubo*-grass in the collocation *dubo ḍhuṅgā* (< Nep.) that is often used in prayers, ritual speech, the *mundhum* ('myth, ritual codex'), and shamanic chants.

2. Territorial notions and the mythological context of the stupa

As mentioned before, the stupa in Belhara is located on the ridge of the hill, where it marks the social center of the hill, and thereby of the territory of its inhabitants. The indigenous population of this territory is a group of Athpares who entertain extensive relations with the Athpare from Dhankuta, but who form a socially and linguistically distinct group (cf. Dahal 1985). Following Hanßon (1991), I refer to the group in Belhara, and to their language, by the loconym *Belhare*, but I will continue to use the term Athpare when the distinction between the groups is not at issue. Evidence that the stupa has territorial significance comes from two sources. First, while non-Athpares (mostly Hindus and Buddhists) call the stupa simply *thānī* or *mandir* (cf. above), the Athpares commonly refer to it as *Jimthān*, an expression that includes the Nepali word *jimī* 'land, ground'. The other, more compelling evidence derives from the mythology that is associated with Mura, the goddess or ancestor to whom the stupa is dedicated.

Mura is the younger sister of Marga, the most venerated god of the Athpares in Dhankuta (cf. Dahal 1985:107). A popular and often narrated myth explains why Mura is in Belhara but Marga in Dhankuta (Bickel 1999):

> One day, Mura was going up north to the Himalayas. Midway, she meets her elder brother Marga who tells her that there is no need to go further north. Rather, she should go to Belhara and take hold of land there. Marga and Mura came back down to Sanne (a place on the northwestern fringe of Dhankuta), from where Marga sent his younger sister over to Belhara. In Belhara, everything belonged to Bokrohaŋ, also called *Cār-Killa Rājā-Rānī* 'Royal Fortress of Four Borders'.

Bokrohaŋ, however, did not allow Mura to take hold of the land. And so Mura went back to her brother who sent her over again, telling her that she should only ask 'to make one step', and then do another one and yet another one. The Royal Fortress of Four Borders agreed to one step, but Mura went on to make two more steps, thereby snatching away three parts of the land. Mura thus became *Tin-Killa* 'the Fortress of Three Borders' and left for Bokrohaŋ, though still called *Cār-Killa* 'the Fortress of Four Borders', only one single part of the land.

The procedure of taking hold of land is referred to in the text by Belh. *ripma* 'to stand on, make a step on', a commonly used metaphor for taking possession. The metaphor is further developed by distinguishing between 'making one step' (Belh. *ek paila ripma*), thereby taking one part in possession, and 'making another step' (Belh. *arko ek paila ripma*), thereby taking possession of yet another part. The 'parts' are referred to as *killa*, a Nepali term which generally refers to a fortress or any 'place surrounded by a protecting fence in four [*sic!*] directions serving as a powerful guard' (Pokharel *et al.* 2040, *s.v.*). The term also occurs in set expressions like *cār killa khulāunu*, literally 'to open the boundaries', which denotes the act of registering land in the governmental land-register after a transaction (Yogendra P. Yādava, personal communication). Both elements of meaning, the fortress and the territorial boundary, seem to occur in the use of the expression in the text. At one and the same time, Cār-Killa is a symbol of the complete possession — in all four directions — and of the guardian of these possessions with royal (Belh. < Nep. *rājā-rānī* 'king and queen') power. Cār-Killa is moreover personified as *Bokrohaŋ*, the ancestral king/owner (Belh. *haŋ*), who is defeated by Mura. (Occasionally, however, Cār-Killa is also identified as the elder brother of Mura, which would suggest a triad Marga – Bokrohaŋ – Mura). The stupa devoted to Mura symbolizes this 'conquest' and people say that Mura 'keeps' or 'employs' (Belh. both *yuŋtu*) the Jimthān in order to protect the land. Mura thus appears as a territorial deity, and this fits with the fact that the Belhare often use *Tin-Killa* as an epithet of both the goddess and the stupa.

From this it appears that the stupa signals a territorial claim: with its mythological connotations the stupa 'engraves' cultural ideas into the landscape and as a building it establishes a distinctly Belhare 'point of relevance' (to borrow a term of Höfer's, 1999). The stupa is also a SACRED symbol: as a rule, only a Belhare who is faithful to a series of traditional demands on household purity (see Bickel 1999), is ever allowed to touch the stupa or even to enter the building that is erected around it[2]. The immediate surroundings of the stupa are also sacred. When a Chetri immigrant recently wanted to build a tea-stall on his own land near the stupa, the Belhare Athpares immediately expressed the fear that the stupa may become impure (Belh. < Nep. *juṭho*) and registered a violent protest. Eventually, the construction work was abandoned.

The territorial claim symbolized by Mura's stupa and the sacred place attached to it is strongly reminiscent of a *yul lha* in Bon and other Tibetan traditions (e.g. Karmay and Sagant 1987, Karmay 1996). First of all, the mythology of Mura recalls the common Tibetan theme of a territorial conquest that establishes a place as sacred and as the abode of a *yul lha* (or, for that matter, a *gzhi bdag*) (e.g. Ramble 1996). Also like a *yul lha*, Mura has an elaborate entourage (Belh. < Nep. *aghuvā-pachuvā*) of lesser deities localized in the jungle north and south of the stupa. Another aspect of Mura that is reminiscent of a *yul lha*, or at least some regional varieties of *yul lha*s, is that she is referred to in Belhare by a term that encompasses not only 'deity' but also 'ancestor' (*maŋ*). As an ancestor, Mura has family relations like humans and her genealogy forms a relevant point of orientation for structures of the current society — properties that are often also important for Tibetan *yul lha*s (Karmay 1996). Belhare society is divided into three groups of patrilineal descent lines (Belh. *kuria*) that each associate themselves with Mura, Marga or Bokrohaŋ, respectively, as their primordial ancestors (which are distinct from the more immediate clan-ancestors that define exogamous descent lines, Belh. *pacha*). The three groups are organized around dedicated 'god/ancestor-houses', Belh. *maŋ-khim*: Mura is associated with a single *maŋ-khim* that dominates about thirty *kuria*s. Bokrohaŋ's group is divided among four *maŋ-khim*s, each with 5 – 10 *kuria*s. Marga, finally, has only one *maŋ-khim* in Belhara which also functions as its own *kuria* (but Marga has more *maŋ-khim*s in Dhankuta).

While a close relationship between ancestral and territorial notions is a general theme of Kiranti societies, these notions are not usually linked in these societies, as they are in Belhara, to places that are PERMANENTLY sacred and marked as such by stupas or other religious buildings (cf. Ramble 1996, Forbes 1998). This seems to be more a Tibetan theme, and may be taken as another indication of a specific relationship between Belhare and Tibetan traditions.

3. Relations of the Belhare stupa to other places

The Belhare stupa is deeply anchored in the Athpare tradition. This does not prevent it from being of service, as noted before, to people of other religious or social affiliation, e.g. Hindus, Kirantis of non-Athpare affiliation, Tamangs, Magars, etc. This is particularly important in connection with the popular Chintaṅ devī temple located a three to four hour walk west of Belhara. The *pūjārī* of this temple is a Kiranti ('Rai'), but the temple, which is built around a sacred tree, is attended by people of varied ethnic and religious backgrounds. Before traveling to the Chintaṅ devī temple from Dhankuta, the rule is that one passes through Belhara and sacrifices a pair of pigeons at the Jimthān stupa. The sacrifice itself is performed by the Athpare *pūjārī* on behalf of the visitor. During rituals, the priest

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faces north, i.e., in the direction of the Himalayan mountain range. This direction is generally referred to as 'upward, uphill' (Belh. *tulleŋ*), which is a generally auspicious direction (cf. below). However, as the *pūjārī* reminded me, it is at the same time the direction of the first part of the trail leading to Chintaṅ.

The connection of the Belhare stupa to the Chintaṅ temple brings us to the wider context of the stupa and its mythological links to other religious places in the region. Through the myth referred to above, the stupa is linked to Marga and his temple in Dhankuta, which is centered on a small rectangular platform decorated with small tridents, umbrellas and bells. There is another important place to which the Athpare, especially the Athpares from Belhara, relate themselves through mythological constructions, and this is Tibet. In a myth of origin, the first three humans are said to be a Brahmin (Belh. < Nep. *bāhun*), a Blacksmith (*kāmī*) and a Tibetan (*bhoṭe*), living on an earth that was only water and rock.

> They were fed by a cow who was their mother. When the cow had died, they divided her body into three and gave one part to the Brahmin, one to the Blacksmith and one to the Tibetan. The Brahmin and the Blacksmith, however, tricked the Tibetan into eating his share: hiding their own shares, they told the Tibetan that they had already eaten and that he should go ahead and eat his share. Realizing that he had been tricked into committing a great sin, the Tibetan got angry and threw the cow's gut onto the Brahmin, on whose chest it got firmly stuck. Onto the Blacksmith he threw the cow's skin and it too would not go off again. They went to ask a *munī* for help, and this *munī* declared the gut as the Brahmin's sacred thread (Belh. < Nep. *janai*) and told the Blacksmith to make bellows from the skin and to begin his business with it. The Tibetan, however, was sent to the Himalayas and was ordered to found a monastery (Belh. < Nep. *gumbā* < Tib. *dgon pa*) from which he was to create many branches (and in one version of the myth, all the castes of mankind). Some of these branches were the Rai, including the Athpare, who brought with them a yak tail (which is still used for fanning incense when a shaman is possessed by Mura).

The first episode in this myth recalls the pan-Himalayan theme of a 'creative dismemberment' (MacDonald 1980), whereby the parts of an animal body are linked to social groups and symbolize their distinction (cf. Sagant 1981, Karmay and Sagant 1987, Diemberger and Hazod 1997, Oppitz 1997, etc.). The second episode, in which the Tibetan is tricked into a sin, has parallels in Tamang (see MacDonald 1980, citing Höfer in personal communication) and Mewahang Rai (Martin Gaenszle, personal communication) mythology. What is of particular interest in our current context, however, is the last episode, where the Athpare associate themselves with a Tibetan monastic tradition. Three explanations suggest themselves, but it would be premature to attempt a choice between them.

First, the myth could be a post-hoc rationalization of the stupa as an artifact that has more counterparts in Tibet than in the lower foothills of Eastern Nepal. The Jimthān would then appear as a product of Tibetan origin, but this origin would be a secondary attribution without historical motivation. Such an explanation of the myth would fit with the fact that the location of the monastery is extremely vague: it is simply in the *Himāl*. The myth is remarkably more precise in details that are independent of geography. For instance, the Tibetan is said to put bamboo poles in the four directions (Belh. < Nep. *cārai sur liṅgo*) at the monastery. Such a construction, decorated with red and white *dhajo*s, is exactly what one finds next to the Belhara stupa at a place where the priest performs additional prayers after the ones on the stupa itself.

Second, the myth could indeed reflect an actual historical link, attesting to original ethnic unity, population shift or missionary activities (or any combination of these). The Belhare had regular commercial relationships with Tibetans, who were the main suppliers of salt in the region before the Tarai belt was cleared of malaria in the 1960's and 1970's. If there is a historical connection between the Athpares and Tibet, it is likely to be with non-Buddhist Tibetan traditions. As shown by Allen (1980), there is evidence from comparative mythology in Eastern Nepal that "Tibetan influence has spread further south than Tibetan Buddhism" (Allen 1980: 6). In the case of Belhara, this Tibetan influence is most likely to specifically reflect Bon heritage, since this would explain the counterclockwise direction in circumambulations. Possible support for such an assumption comes from the name of the stupa's goddess/ancestor, *Mura*. It is plausible (but not certain) that this corresponds to *dMu-ra* or *Mu-ra*, a name of Lord gShen-rab(s) in the Zhang-zhung of the *mDzod phug* and other Bon-po texts (Dan Martin and Henk Blezer, personal communication). Also note that the first syllable of this name, *dMu*, is the name of gShen-rab's lineage (see Dondrup Lhagyal, this volume). This onomastic construction would fit with the fact noted above that the Belhare *maŋ* too is a lineage ancestor. If the similarity between Belh. *Mura* and Zh. *(d)Mu-ra* is indeed non-accidental, the Belhare stupa would reflect an original Bon foundation, which was heavily overlaid, however, by local traditions in the course of time. Pointing against such an onomastic interpretation is the fact that in Belhare the word *mura* also denotes 'grandmother', a title which could easily be given to an ancestral deity. However, consultants do not all agree in equating the goddess's name with the word for 'grandmother', and it possible that the words were conflated later and only partially.

A third explanation is based on the observation that there is a general tendency among Nepalese groups to claim various relationships with important religious sites in the region. Indeed, Tibet, or more specifically Lhasa, frequently occurs in local mythologies in one way or another. In various Kiranti mythologies, for instance, one of the ancestors travels to Tibet, marries a Tibetan girl and then comes back south again and settles at the current location. This is contrasted with

the rest of the group, which is said to have come from Khāśī (or *Kāsi*), i.e. from Banares (Gaenszle 1991:126f, Forbes 1998). In a similar vein, the Athpare also claim, apart from Tibet, an affiliation with Khāśī: Goddess Mura is said to originate ultimately from there and to have traveled to Belhara and Dhankuta via the Sapta Kośī gorge and, more importantly, via the famous Hindu temples of Bāraha Kṣetra near the Sapta Kośī confluence. The choice of precisely these locations is no doubt governed by their religious importance, but this is not to say of course that the Tibetan and Indian regions as such are irrelevant in historical terms.

The mythological itinerary of Mura is reflected by a *cautār* 'resting place' dedicated to her on the way up from the Tamur river (one of the tributaries of the Sapta Kośī) to Belhara. Also, when Mura expresses herself through a shaman (on which see below), she starts with a big sigh, which is compared by consultants to the sigh one makes after having climbed up a steep hill. Although an in-depth analysis of these chants is pending, it seems that this detail reflects the mythological itinerary up from the Gangetic plains to Belhara. On the other hand, a shaman possessed by Mura also produces sounds which are perceived as being in Tibetan and as coming from Tibetan deities/ancestors (Belh. *Bhote maŋchi*) that accompany Mura.

This last scenario would again fit with the Tibetan link. This link would not be necessarily historical, however. It would first and foremost reflect the perceived religious and economic relevance of Tibet and would place Belhara in a network of important places. Another place in this network is Dolakha (Nep. *Dolakhā*), which is sometimes mentioned (especially by Athpares from Dhankuta) as the place of Athpare origin. Dolakha is a Newar town east of Kathmandu and is particularly famous for its Bhīmsen temple. Interestingly, the Bhīmsen temple in Dolakha is regarded by the Eastern Tamang as a territorial deity (Tam. *sibda*, Tib. *gzhi bdag*) (Tautscher 1998). This could point to a specific relationship to Mura or Marga, but sofar I have not come across independent evidence for such a connection.

Dolakha is sometimes referred to as *Nepāla Dolakhā*. This integrates the place in the wider region of the Kathmandu Valley, which is traditionally called *Nepāl* (a term that acquired its current, wider sense only during the last few decades). The Kathmandu Valley has an additional significance for the Athpare insofar as they claim that in former times they would travel there as pilgrims, a practice which apparently has been discontinued.

4. Politics of the stupa

Let us now turn to more recent issues involving the stupa. Earlier we noted that the stupa has a certain territorial significance. This also transpires in modern politics and this combination of religious and political dimensions of the local

geography again reflects a Himalayan, and especially Bon theme (e.g. Karmay and Sagant 1987, Karmay 1996). In recent years some Belhares have started to challenge the authority of the current priest at the Jimthān. They object to his way of caring for the stupa and performing the rituals, and in general accuse him of violating traditional rules. A second series of similar objections is aimed at the *maŋ-khim* that is associated to Mura and where Mura is expected to be able to possess a (female) shaman (Belh. *maŋtaŋma*). Many people claim that Mura has not expressed herself through a shaman there for more than 70 years, although the *pūjārī* of the *maŋ-khim* claims the opposite. This conflict became acute some five years ago when a *maŋtāŋma* in Sāṇṭāṅg, a hamlet near Dhankuta, started to be possessed by Mura. Mura expressed herself in Belhare rather than in the language of the Athpare of Dhankuta that is spoken in Sāṇṭāṅg, and this authenticated her identity. Mura's appearance in Sāṇṭāṅg would suggest, as many Belhare people now believe, that the *maŋ* left her place in Belhara and went back to her paternal home in Dhankuta (Belh. < Nep. *māitī*), just as a wife would return to her *māitī* if she is treated badly at home. The conflicts surrounding Mura and the perceived danger of impurity led a group of Belhare traditionalists to erect a new stupa in 1997. A photograph of the new stupa is reproduced in Plate 3. Unlike the old one, the new stupa is not protected by an entire building but only by a thatched roof.



Plate 3 The New Stupa (Photographed by B. Bickel, 1998)

The new stupa is located two thirds of the way up on the western hillside. The choice of this location seems to be anything but arbitrary: the western hill-side is turned away from the Dharan (Nep. *Dharān*) – Dhankuta road and therefore seems

to be better protected from urban influence. Moreover, the old place on the hilltop is more and more occupied by non-Athpare immigrants (mostly Hindu Indo-Aryans), and this sometimes results, as mentioned earlier, in problems of purity. Another reason for the choice of location is that it is near Mura's *cautār* 'resting place' referred to before. From this point of view, the place is already sacred and 'belongs' to Mura.

Re-erecting the Belhare stupa at a new place does not break with tradition and is not unheard of. Indeed, just about 150m south of the Jimthān on the ridge are the ruins of an earlier stupa. People assert that this stupa is no longer 'active' because its last priest died without children. (Jimthān priesthood follows a patrilineal rule of descent.) In contrast to the move from the old to the current Jimthān location, however, the more recent erection of a new stupa entails a radical shift. It is as if this shift symbolizes the fact that the hilltop is no longer the center of the BELHARE world, but rather the center of a multiethnic community in which the Belhare become less and less dominant. Indeed, in the small village on the Belhara ridge, the indigenous Belhare population is no longer the majority.

5. The stupa in its spatial context: issues of language and conceptualizaton

From the preceding it becomes clear that the specific location of the stupas in Belhara is highly significant in both religious and political ways. There is yet another way in which the location of the stupas is important, and this is the type of spatial conceptualization that underlies the form of many cultural practices as well as of language use in Belhare society (Bickel 1997, 1999). The location of the old stupa on the hilltop, and the location of the new one downhill, emphasizes the same UPHILL – DOWNHILL trajectory that is fundamental for a plethora of cultural practices from weaving to house-building. Weaving mats, for instance, needs to be done in an uphill way — the downhill way is reserved for mats that will be used for a dead person. When building a house, the hearth needs to be placed in an uphill corner. 'Uphill' can either mean pointing to the local Belhara hilltop or, in a more global sense, to the Himalayan mountain ridge. In language, reference to objects and places is usually framed in terms of the same UPHILL – DOWNHILL trajectory. There is a complex grammatical system, extensively discussed in Bickel (1997 and in press-a), that allows one to differentiate between these trajectories in numerous parts of speech from demonstratives to case desinences and verbal derivations. Even an expression as semantically light as an interjection that draws attention to a place is necessarily specific as to whether the place is 'up' (*tu!*), 'down' (*mu!*) or neither, i.e., 'across, on the same level' (*yu!*).

While in English and other languages, we use the terms for 'left' and 'right' or 'front' and 'back', e.g. when referring to locations on a small scale in front of us,

Belhare speakers prefer terms that make an UP – DOWN – ACROSS distinction. Distinguishing a glass on a table from another glass, for example, one is more likely to use a term like *tona* 'the uphill one' or *mona* 'the downhill one' in Belhare, rather than, say, *cuptaŋŋetna* 'the one to the right' or *pheŋsaŋŋetna* 'the one to the left'. The terms *tona* and *mona* refer to places on trajectories that ultimately lead up and down, respectively, on the hill or the Himalayan range as a whole. The terms can also refer to the vertical axis but this is by no means their most common or 'core' meaning. In this regard the Belhare system again contrasts with the English and similar system, which are based on the body. The Belhare system does not rely on the experience of the body coordinates, including the vertical axis, but rather on the practical experience of the local hill and the regional topography.

Notice that this is by no means a 'natural' consequence of living in a hilly environment; it is a profoundly CULTURAL choice. The Swiss Alps are equally mountainous as the habitat of the Belhare, yet spatial conceptualization in Swiss German is firmly rooted in the body model. Indeed, the body model is even projected onto the environment, and valleys for instance, are assigned a front (where the valley opens up) and a back (where the source of streams in the valley is); 'up' and 'down' are not usually applied, as they are in Belhare, to this distinction, but are reserved for steep terraces dividing the valley and for the valley's side slopes. In line with having a front and a back, valleys also have a left and a right side as well as an inside and an outside (see Bickel, in press-b). This conceptualization is utterly odd from a Belhare point of view. The Swiss German model reflects an entirely distinct way of conceptualizing space, more reminiscent of the ancient Indo-European conception mentioned in the introduction. The Belhare type of spatial conceptualization, by contrast, fits into a general pattern that is characteristic of numerous Tibeto-Burman societies, especially those in the Himalayas.

This brings us back to where we started. There appears to be a style of spatial conceptualization that attests to a specifically Himalayan tradition. Spatial thought in this tradition is strictly tied to local territories and terrains and is often structured by sacred places. All these properties are also characteristic of spatial conceptualization in Belhare. The single most important sacred place in Belhara is marked by a stupa, or from a diachronic perspective, by a sequence of such stupas. This place structures the territory of the Belhare by providing its center. At the same time, its location emphasizes, recalls and enlivens the UPHILL - DOWNHILL trajectories that are characteristic of numerous cultural practices and fundamental for referential language.

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Walking around on the Belhare hill is as much a cultural as a physical experience. Mura's stupa on the hilltop, the *cautār* on which Mura is said to have rested when climbing up from the South, the *maŋ-khim*s associated with Mura, Bokrohaŋ, and Marga, Mura's entourage of lesser deities north and south of her stupa – all these places are part of this experience. They are Athpare points of relevance and engrave religious and cultural ideas into the landscape. In line with this, these points serve as prominent landmarks when Athpares give directions in everyday conversation[3]. This contrasts with linguistic practice among non-Athpares who are less likely to use these locations as landmarks.

The stupa in Belhara and its deity are permanent symbols of the Athpare territory. In this regard, they are more similar, as we saw, to what one finds in Tibet's sacred geography than to what is common practice among the Kiranti family of ethnic groups to which the Athpare belong linguistically. The fact that the stupa is circumambulated counterclockwise, that its associated deity/ancestor, Mura, appears to recall gShen-rab's Zhang-zhung name dMu-ra, and that the Athpare are mythologically related to a monastic tradition in Tibet raises the question whether these similarities attest to a more specific relationship between the Belhare stupa and Bon. Is the stupa a Bon foundation that was overlaid by local traditions? Or does the stupa and its cultural context reflect a common theme that underlies both the Bon and the Belhare tradition? Or is the link to Tibet a secondary attribution that has nothing to do with actual history? Given our present state of knowledge of the history of Eastern Nepal, we must leave the answer to these questions to future research.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1) The spelling *-hārā* is uncommon in Nepalese toponyms, but reflects a folk etymology that links the name to Nep. *hārnu* 'to lose, be defeated'. This alludes to the lost of the territory that plays a role in the local mythology reported below.
2) This is a pattern that is replicated through all the houses that contain the tutelary deities of a family: non-Athpares (Bèlh. *maʔi-chum* 'people's group'), or Athpares that have violated the rules of purity, are prohibited from entering these houses unless a specific purification ritual has been performed.

3) This follows a widespread if not universal pattern of language use; cf. Schegloff's (1972) classic study of English.

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Reflections
mountain
eichischen

A.W. ed.,

Toffin, G.,
Paris: Les

v, D. ed.,
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Tamang
cults and
mie der

Indexes

General Index

E

F

G

H

I

T

W

X

Y

Z

Tibetan I

Ka

Tibetan Index

Ka

Kha

Ga

Ga

Nga

Ca

Cha

Ja

Nya

Da

Na

Pa

Pha

Ba

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Tsha

Tsha

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